

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BOOK CARD

Please keep this card in
book pocket

THE RECORDS OF STEK

RTIAL TITLE

THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL



ENDOWED BY THE
DIALECTIC AND PHILANTHROPIC
SOCIETIES

DA685
.S12
W477
1921, v.1




00005430946

W. King.
Jan. 4 '50.

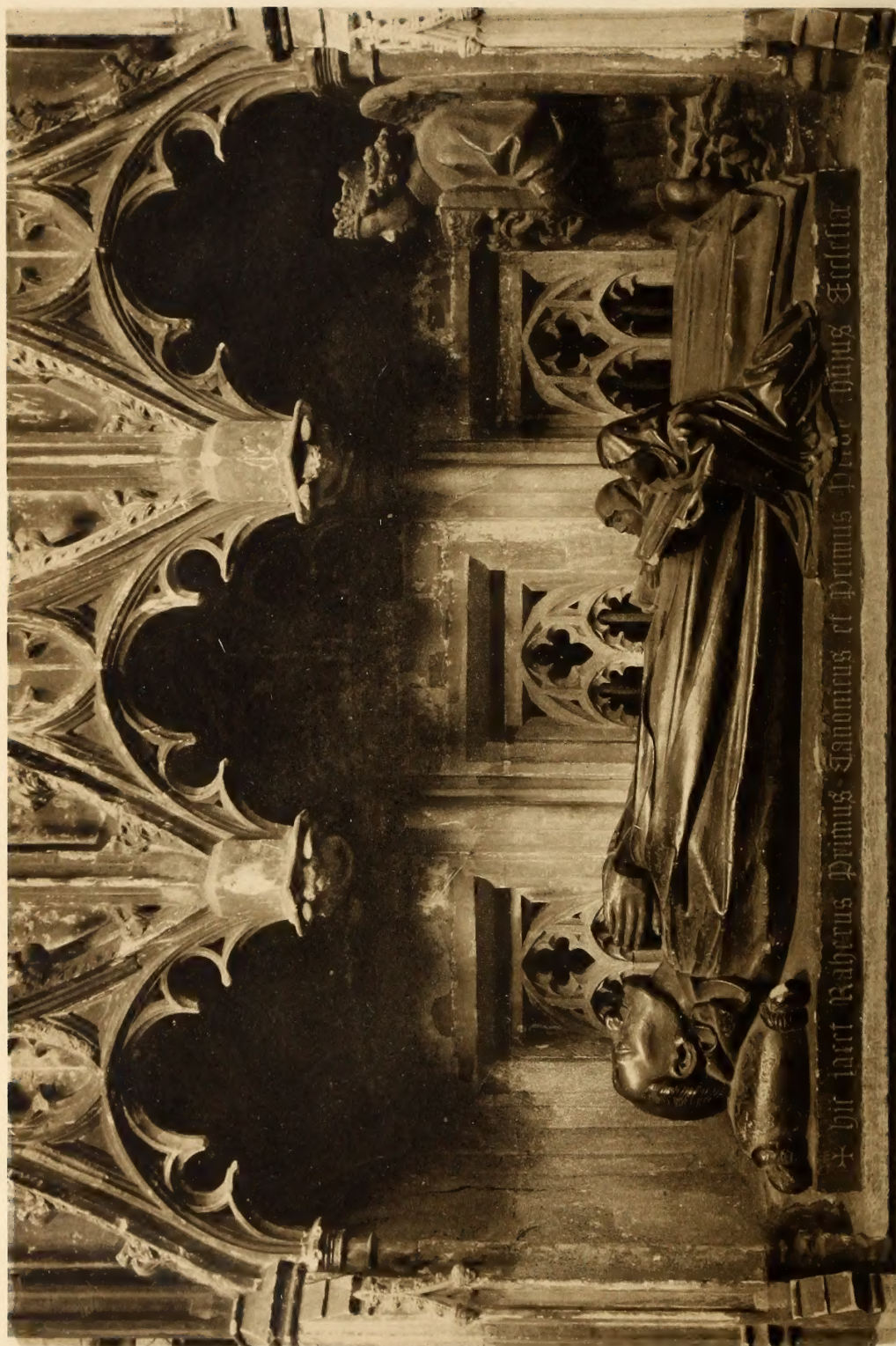
This book is due at the WALTER R. DAVIS LIBRARY on the last date stamped under "Date Due." If not on hold it may be renewed by bringing it to the library.

[illegible]



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

THE RECORDS
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S
SMITHFIELD



DA685
S12
W477
1921
v.1

THE RECORDS OF St. Bartholomew's Priory

AND OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF
St. Bartholomew the Great

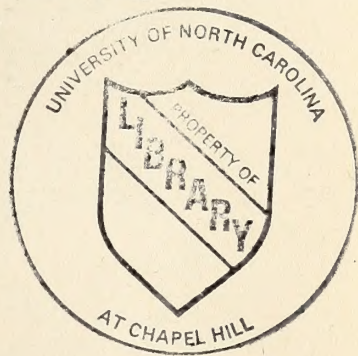
WEST SMITHFIELD

BY

E. A. WEBB, F.S.A.

CHURCHWARDEN; JOINT AUTHOR OF 'THE HISTORY OF CHISLEHURST', 1899

VOLUME I



HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW COPENHAGEN
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI

1921

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

PREFACE

SOME personal explanation of how it fell to my lot to write this book seems necessary.

During the second half of the nineteenth century two great efforts were made to restore this church to a more worthy condition for Divine worship, and also to restore it to its proper rank as one of the great churches of the land.

The first effort commenced in 1863, the second in 1884 : the latter is still not fully spent.

My family had been connected with the parish since 1828, when my grandfather, John Evans, came to reside in Bartholomew Close, and from No. 60 my father and mother were married in the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great in 1844.

In consequence, I suppose, of this long association with the parish, I was, in 1884, appointed Honorary Secretary to the Restoration Committee and Rector's Warden of the church.

In this dual capacity I have had occasion to search the records of the place and the results I have year by year made public by means of open lectures delivered in the church.

As I have often been asked to publish these lectures in the form of a book I am now doing so, and in a fuller manner than is possible in a lecture. It has been my endeavour to trace the history of the monastery of St. Bartholomew from the time of its foundation to the time of its suppression, and to show the causes which led to the practical separation of the hospital from the priory.

I have then endeavoured to trace the history of the parish church and of the parish to the present time, and to compare, from personal observations, the architectural features of the church and the arrangement of its monastic

buildings with those of similar great monastic churches in England. I have endeavoured to show the important place this church holds among the great twelfth-century churches in the history of the architecture of the country.

I have, together with the list of the authorities, given a brief description of the various manuscripts from which information has been obtained, and to the introductory account of the monastery I have added a short description of the Augustinian Order as illustrated by the records of St. Bartholomew's.

The Book of the Foundation has been translated from the Latin for this book by Mr. William Barnard and Mr. Humphrey H. King, and their translation I have used in the text, but I have printed in Appendix I the Middle-English translation, made towards the close of the fourteenth century, because of its interest as an example of the English of Chaucer's time.

I do not claim to be an historian, or to have any literary skill, but I offer these volumes to all lovers of St. Bartholomew's (and they are many) as an honest endeavour to put into one book all that is known about it. As the majority of my readers will not be antiquaries, and may not have more knowledge of such matters than I had when I commenced my researches, I have ventured to give such explanations of antiquarian, historical, and legal matters as I myself had to acquire before I could fully understand the records before me.

I gratefully acknowledge the help received from others in carrying out the work: from the custodians of the Public Record Office and of the Guildhall Record Office and Library; from the Librarian of St. Paul's; from the Librarians at Lambeth Palace and at the Society of Antiquaries of London, and from the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for permission to make the transcripts from their monastic cartulary; also from Sir Norman Moore's published researches thereon, and from Mr. J. A. Twemlow, when working on the *Regesta* at the Vatican;

from the Rev. H. F. Westlake for assistance in searching, by permission of the Dean, the muniments of Westminster Abbey. Great help was given by the late Mr. John Hope, the parish clerk and verger of St. Bartholomew's, by the accurate Latin transcripts made by him from the original records, and by Mr. William Barnard and Mr. Humphrey H. King for the translations and legal explanations of the same. I acknowledge help from Miss Benham on the Episcopal Registers at St. Paul's and from Mr. Leland L. Duncan on the Wills and in other ways.

On the antiquarian side I have had valuable suggestions from the late Sir William St. John Hope, Mr. C. R. Peers, and Mr. John Bilson of Hull; and in many matters, antiquarian and otherwise, from Mr. H. S. Kingsford, assistant-secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, who has also read the proof-sheets of the book.

On the architectural side I had the help of Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., and his two sons, Mr. Maurice E. Webb and the late Mr. Philip E. Webb (killed in action, 1916); from the late Mr. F. Renton Barry (also killed in action), who was a member of Sir Aston's staff, and from Mr. F. H. Greenaway, a member of the same during the Restoration of 1885, both of whom worked on the plans and threw light on the arrangement of the monastic buildings. I acknowledge assistance from the late Mr. R. Phené Spiers and Mr. F. H. Reed in securing for the church the plans of the Restoration of 1664, and from the late Mr. Tavenor Perry, who was engaged on the same plans. Also from the late Mr. F. J. Withers, who kept a diary of the work whilst it was in progress at that time. Help was also given by Mr. Bligh Bond by suggestions as to the use of the small clerestory window on the north side, and by the late Mr. J. D. Crace concerning the original colour-scheme of the church.

On the monastic side help came from the late Dr. J. C. Cox, both personally and by his writings, and information from Cardinal Gasquet and the late Rev. H. N. Birt, O.S.B.; on Rahere's effigy from Mr. E. S. Prior, and on the bells

from Mr. H. B. Walters, who has written a description of the bells for the book, also from Mr. R. A. Daniell. I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Miller, of Chislehurst, for the descriptions of the heraldry on the monuments.

To the late Mr. J. Franklin Adams I am indebted for the information concerning the orientation of the church. The copying of the graveyard inscriptions was the work of Mr. W. H. Irons, now my co-churchwarden.

For parochial affairs I had the fifty years' experience of the late Mr. W. H. Jackson, the vestry clerk. For much transcribing, copying of registers, verifying references, &c., I have to thank Miss C. G. Howes, Miss F. E. King, Miss M. M. Elson, Miss M. W. Gadd, and my daughter, Miss H. L. Webb. I am indebted to Mr. William Barnard and Mr. Humphrey H. King for reading the typewritten sheets, the work of Mrs. J. Jamieson. For many of the views of the church I am indebted to the Rev. Charles F. Fison, for all the views from the Gardner Collection to the late Major Sir Edward F. Coates, Bart., and for permission to use various plans and plates from my paper in *Archaeologia* to the Society of Antiquaries of London. To Sir Ernest George, R.A., for a water-colour drawing of the Smithfield Gatehouse, here reproduced. To my son Christopher I owe the drawing of Rahere's effigy and the design for the cover of this book. The plates are by Mr. Emery Walker. I ask for pardon from those donors of photographs many years ago whose names I may have failed to record. And last but not least am I indebted to my children, who have allowed me to devote to the book my short leisure time which they might rightly have claimed as their own.

E. A. WEBB.

60 BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, E.C. 1.

November 1921.

CORRIGENDA

VOL. I

Page vii, line 11 up, *for* 1664 *read* 1864.

- „ xxii, fig. 9, *after* South Side *add* of Gateway.
- „ xxviii, line 16 up, *for* Fauconbridge *read* Fauconberge.
- „ xxxiv, line 13 up, *for* Hosbond *read* Hosebonde.
- „ xxxvii, line 1 up, *for* Southwick *read* Southwark.
- „ xlvi, line 13 down, *for* Hennessey *read* Hennessy.
- „ xlvii, line 13 down, *for* Chalton *read* Charlton.
- „ 3, note 2, *for* p. 170 *read* p. 171.
- „ 177, line 6 up, *for* 1362 *read* 1562 and so delete paragraph.
- „ 308, note 1, *for* Chapter xii *read* Chapter xiv.

VOL. II

Page xvi, fig. 9, *after* South Side *add* of Gateway.

- „ 85, line 4 down, *for* Edmund *read* Edward.
- „ 110, line 6 up } *for* Wyngaerd's *read* Wyngaerde's.
„ and Pl. LVI }
- „ 153, line 6 up, *for* p. 77 *read* p. 131.
- „ 154, line 6 down, *for* p. 77 *read* p. 131.
- „ 176, line 17 down, *for* 'lodging parler' *read* 'hall'.
- „ 454, line 12 up, *for* changed *read* charged.
- „ 581, line 13 up, *for* Alan Dapifer *read* Dapifer, Alan.
- „ 587, line 5 down, *for* i. 441 *read* ii. 441.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xvi
RECORDS AND AUTHORITIES	xxiii
Manuscripts	xxiii
Printed Books	xliv
CONTRACTIONS USED	lv
INTRODUCTORY	i
I. THE MONASTERY	i
Other London Monasteries and their Incomes	2
Service to the Realm	4
Loans for Wars	5
Right of Sanctuary	9
Schools	10
Service to the Church	11
Service to the See of Rome	13
Relations with the City	17
II. THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER	19
Its origin	19
Houses of the Order	21
General Chapter	22
The Rule, Habit, and Food	25
Canonical Hours	27
Vows, Blood-letting, and Bede Rolls	28
Methods of Election	30
Obedientiaries	31
III. PRIORS AND RECTORS	35
CHAPTERS, A LIST OF.	
I. THE FOUNDER	37
Rahere's life and conversion	37
His Journey to Rome	40
His Illness and his Vow	41
His Vision and the Apostle's command	42
The Grant of the Site	44
The Founding (1123)	47

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE FOUNDER (<i>continued</i>)—	
A Conspiracy	53
A Royal Charter (1133)	55, 60
His Death (1143)	57
Rahere's Character	58
Miracles in Rahere's time	64
His Tomb	70
II. THE HOSPITAL	76
Rahere the first Master	76
Controversies between the Priory and Hospital	79
Intervention by the Popes	79
Ordinances by four Bishops	83
Matters in dispute	83
Practical independence	91
III. THE TWELFTH CENTURY (second half)	93
PRIOR THOMAS (1144-1174)	93
Continuation of the Building	94
His Ordinance for the Hospital	95
Charters from St. Thomas of Canterbury and King Henry II	97
PRIOR ROGER (<i>cir.</i> 1174 - <i>cir.</i> 1181) and hiatus in the names of Priors (<i>cir.</i> 1181— <i>cir.</i> 1201)	99
Six Royal Charters	100
IV. THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY	106
PRIOR RICHARD (here 1201, here 1206)	106
A Charter from King John	107
Second hiatus in the names of Priors (1206-1212)	108
The Great Interdict (1208-1214)	108
PRIOR G. OF OSNEY (1213)	110
Third hiatus in the names of Priors (1213-1226)	111
A conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical courts (1219)	111
PRIOR JOHN (BLUND) (here 1226-1232)	113
Two Royal Charters (1227, 1229)	114
PRIOR GERARD (1232-here 1241)	116
In the courts (1234, 1236-1239)	116
Gifts by the King to the Church and Canons	117
PRIOR PETER LE DUC (1242-1255)	118
Alexander de Swereford, a benefactor	119
Trouble with the Corporation (1246)	120
Forcible visitation by Archbishop Boniface (1250)	121
An appeal to Rome (1250)	125
A Royal Charter (1253)	127

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

CHAP.	PAGE
IV. THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (<i>continued</i>)—	
PRIOR ROBERT DE NOVO LOCO (1255-1261)	129
PRIOR GILBERT DE WELEDON (1261-1263)	130
PRIOR JOHN BACUN (1264-1268)	132
In the <i>Curia Regis</i> (1266)	132
The Belfry struck by lightning (1265)	133
PRIOR HUGH (1269-1295)	133
Possessions in Tewin in dispute (1269)	134
A <i>Quo Warranto</i> regarding the privileges (1278)	136
Confirmatory Charters granted (1290)	137
Profits of the Fair claimed for the King (1292)	137
Exempted by the King from paying a subsidy (1295)	138
V. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY	140
PRIOR JOHN DE KENSINGTON (1295-1316)	140
The revenues during voidance to belong to the Convent, not to the King (1297)	141
Inquisition by Archbishop Winchelsea (1303)	143
A Canon of St. Osyth's sent here for penance (1308)	145
A Rent Roll (1306)	146
Gray's Inn, Chantry served from St. Bartholomew's (1315)	146
PRIOR JOHN DE PEKESDEN (1316-1350)	149
'Christ's Dole' of fish at Yarmouth (1322-1323)	151
Released from Corodies, from Tallage, from Ninths, and from Aid for marrying the King's daughter, 1325	151
Rahere's Lady Chapel rebuilt (1335)	154
Chuntries founded in the church (1322, &c.)	155
Licence in Mortmain (1320)	156
A <i>Quo Warranto</i> regarding the Fair (1321)	160
The Black Death (1348)	160
A Royal Charter inspecting previous charters (1324)	161
PRIOR EDMUND DE BROUGHYNG (1350-1355)	163
Bonds given by the prior (1350)	165
His resignation (1355)	164
PRIOR JOHN DE CARLETON (1355-1361)	165
Further possessions acquired under licence (1359)	166
PRIOR THOMAS DE WATFORD (1361-1382)	168
Grants by John Chishull (1374)	169
Assessments for Clerical Subsidy (1379)	170
Names of the Canons in 1379	172
John Mirfield the physician (1362)	173
Wat Tyler Riots (1381)	175

CHAP.	PAGE
V. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY (<i>continued</i>)—	
PRIOR WILLIAM GEDENEY (1382-1391)	178
A Royal Charter inspecting other charters (1383)	178
An earthquake (1382)	179
PRIOR JOHN EYTON, <i>alias</i> REPYNGDON (1391-1404)	181
Statutes against the Lollards (1401)	183
Roger Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury (1397)	185
Roger Walden, Bishop of London (1404)	193
VI. THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	195
PRIOR JOHN WATFORD (1404-1414)	195
Summoned to Convocation, 1407, and to consider Lollardism in 1408	195
John Badby burnt in Smithfield (1409)	196
The prior attends the Council of Pisa (1409)	196
Grant of Indulgences for repairs to the church (1409)	197
The prior accused of delaying the presentation of a master to the Hospital (1413)	200
Dispute with St. Sepulchre's	202
Portable Altars (1413)	202
PRIOR WILLIAM COVENTRY (1414-1436)	203
Financial trouble and Bishop Fitzhugh's Ordinance (1433)	204
Walter Shirington	205
More of the income of St. Sepulchre's assigned to the vicar (1426)	207
Letters Patent inspecting nine charters (1429)	209
Sir Richard Whittington (1423)	210
PRIOR REGINALD COLLIER (1436-1471)	211
Cited to Convocation (1437, 1439)	212
Exemption from collecting or paying subsidies (1440)	212
The Corporation and the Fair (1453)	215
An acquittance for beer (1445)	215
Provision for a chantry for the Prior (1445)	217
Smithfield Tournaments (1357-1467)	218
PRIOR RICHARD PULTER (1471-1480)	219
PRIOR ROBERT TOLLERTON (1480-1484)	219
PRIOR WILLIAM GUY (1484-1505)	220
VII. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	223
PRIOR WILLIAM BOLTON (1505-1532)	223
' Maister of the work ' of Henry VIIIth's chapel at Westminster (1509); of Lady Margaret's tomb (1511), and of New Hall, Essex (1517)	224
Repairs the Church and Monastic Buildings (1513)	227
Applies for the Bishopric of St. Asaph (1518)	227
Appointed to the Rectory of Harrow (1522)	227

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xiii

CHAP.	PAGE
VII. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (<i>continued</i>)—	
Accounts of the collector of Rents in the Close, 1517	230
Arbitration between St. Bartholomew's and the Charter-house (1526)	232
The same between St. Bartholomew's and St. Sepulchre's (1531)	232
The Prior's Rebus, his ' Bolt and ton ' (1530)	234
Buried before the High Altar (1532)	237
PRIOR ROBERT FULLER, Abbot of Waltham (1532-1539)	238
Mode of his election	238
His relations with the King (1531)	242
The King and Monastic lands (1533)	243
Appointments by the Prior (1534-1539)	244
LEADING TO THE SUPPRESSION	247
The clergy constrained to acknowledge the King's supremacy (1530)	247
Revaluation of Ecclesiastical property (1535)	248
Visitation of the Monasteries by Thos. Cromwell (1534)	250
VIII. THE SUPPRESSION AND AFTER	253
The Deed of Suppression, 25 October 1539	253
Pensions to the Canons	254
Sale of the bells and plate	256
Valuations of the possessions (1535 and 1540-1)	257
Grants to Robert Fuller (1539)	258
His Will	259
The Monastic Quire given to enlarge the Parish Church	262
Particulars for the Grant to Rich (1544)	264
The Grant (19 May 1544)	267
Endowment of the Rectory	273
Sir John Deane the first Rector	273
Hospital suppressed and refounded	274
IX. THE RESUSCITATION AND SECOND SUPPRESSION	277
Grant by Rich to Mary (1555)	277
The Dominicans (Blackfriars) set up here (1556-1559)	277
PRIOR WILLIAM PERRIN, B.D. (1556-1558)	280
His Writings	282
Burnings in Smithfield	284
Second Suppression (1559)	285
Regrant by Elizabeth to Rich (1559-60)	286
X. SIR RICHARD RICH, 1496-1567	289
Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and Anne Askew	289
Appointed Lord Chancellor (1548)	292
His School at Felsted (1564)	295
His Tomb there	296

CHAP.	PAGE
XI. BARTHOLOMEW FAIR	298
Protected by the Kings	298
The Drapers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies (1190)	302
Disagreements with the Corporation (1246)	304
Agreement with them (1453)	305
The Court of Pie-powder	306
Proclamation of the Fair	307
The Corporation acquires the Fair (1829)	315
The Fair suppressed (1854)	317
XII. POSSESSIONS OF THE MONASTERY AND ITS SEALS	318
CONVENTUAL SEALS	318
POSSESSIONS in Suffolk; Essex; Bucks; Beds; Middlesex; Herts; and London	322
Taxatio Ecclesiastica, 1291; Valor Ecclesiasticus, 1535; Computi Ministrorum, 1540-1	378

APPENDIX I

BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION IN MIDDLE ENGLISH	385
BODLEIAN RENTAL	428
ROYAL CHARTERS AND LETTERS PATENT	477
OTHER CHARTERS AND DEEDS	489
Rahere's grant of St. Sepulchre's to Hagno, 1137	489
Charter of Thomas of Canterbury, 1147	490
Charter of Prior Thomas, 1162-1170	490
Bond of Prior Peter, <i>cir.</i> 1240	492
Receipt of a Psalter and Gloss, 1250	492
Confirmation of Prior Reginald Collier, 1436	493
Ordinance by Robert Fitzhugh, Bishop of London, for the better management of the Priory, 1433	493
From the <i>Curia Regis</i> Rolls (various)	495
Inquisition as to the advowson of the Hospital, 1285	498
Petition for the recovery of the 'Christ's Dole' of fish, 1323	498
Early Chancery proceedings, a disputed acquittance, 1445	499
Deed of Pensions, 1539	500
Deed of Surrender, 1539	501
Particulars for Grant to Rich, 1544	502
Grant to Rich, 1544	509
Endowment of the Rectory by Rich, 1544	518
Grant by Rich to Queen Mary, 1555	521
Queen Elizabeth's regrant to Rich, 1560	523
Of Processions	526

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xv

	PAGE
ABSTRACTS OF WILLS	528
In the Court of Husting, London	528
In the Commissary Court of London	531
In the Palace Lambeth Library	534
In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury	535
In the Public Record Office, Exchequer, T.R.	541
In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury	541

VOLUME II

CONTENTS

(fully set out in Vol. II)

PART

I. THE FABRIC OF THE CHURCH

II. THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

III. THE PARISH

IV. THE RECTORS AND THEIR TIMES

V. MONUMENTS AND THINGS APPERTAINING TO THE CHURCH

APPENDIX II. ARCHITECTS' REPORTS, &c.

INDEX

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

PLATE

RAHERE	<i>Frontispiece</i>
I. THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION. From the original at the Record Office	<i>Facing page</i> xxiv
II. MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE ABBEYS, PRIORIES, FRIARIES, AND PRINCIPAL COLLEGIATE CHURCHES IN LONDON	i
III. RAHERE'S TOMB. From a photograph by W. F. Taylor .	70
IV. THE MONASTIC HABIT FROM RAHERE'S TOMB. From a drawing by Christopher R. Webb	72
V. CANONS FROM THE FOUNDER'S TOMB. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	74
VIa. THE FOUNDER'S TOMB AS EXISTING IN 1781. From a drawing by John Carter, now in the Gardner Collection .	78
b. RAHERE'S CHARTER TO HAGNO, 1137. From the original at St. Bartholomew's Hospital	78
VII. ORDINANCE OF RICHARD DE ELY, BISHOP OF LONDON, 1198. From the original at St. Paul's Cathedral	82
VIII. TRIAL BY COMBAT IN WEST SMITHFIELD, 1442. From a reproduction of 'The Ordinances of Chivalry' in <i>Archaeologia</i> , lvii. 56	218
IX. FROM THE WILL OF KING HENRY VII. From the original at the Record Office	224
X. THE DEED OF SURRENDER, 1539. From the original at the Record Office	254
XI. MONUMENT OF LORD RICH IN FELSTED CHURCH. From a photograph by Spalding & Sons of Chelmsford	296
XIIa. THE HAND AND SHEARS. From the Gardner Collection .	308
b. THE PYE-POWDER COURT. From Wilkinson's <i>Londina</i> <i>Illustrata</i>	308
XIII. THE CONVENTUAL SEALS	318

VOLUME II

PLATE

	THE CHURCH. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	<i>Frontispiece</i>
XIV.	GROUND PLAN AS EXISTING IN THE YEAR 1913. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb . . .	<i>Facing page</i> 3
XVa.	PLAN OF TRIFORIUM LEVEL, 1913	7
b.	TRANSVERSE SECTION, 1913	7
c.	LONGITUDINAL SECTION, 1913	7
XVI.	THE CHURCH, LOOKING WEST. From a photograph by W. F. Taylor	8
XVII.	COMPOUND PIER, SOUTH SIDE OF QUIRE. From a drawing by F. H. Greenaway	9
XVIII.	CLOISTER DOOR AND EARLY ENGLISH MURAL SHAFT. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	10
XIXa.	NORMAN AND DECORATED WORK, NORTH AMBULATORY. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	11
b.	PULPITUM DOORWAY. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	11
XXa.	TRIFORIUM: JUNCTION OF NEW WITH OLD WORK. Photographed by the Rev. C. F. Fison	12
b.	TRIFORIUM: SOUTH TRANSEPT AND SOUTH-WEST PIER OF CROSSING. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	12
XXIa.	TOWER AND WEST FRONT. From a print inscribed to Sir Hans Sloane, 1737	14
b.	TOWER AND SOUTH TRANSEPT. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	14
XXII.	GROUND ARCADE, SOUTH SIDE OF QUIRE. Photographed by Emery Walker	16
XXIII.	PART OF GROUND ARCADE, NORTH SIDE OF QUIRE. From a photograph by the Rev. C. F. Fison	17
XXIVa.	MONASTIC QUIRE ENTRANCE, SOUTH SIDE. By F. H. Evans	18
b.	SOUTH-WEST PORTAL OF MONASTIC CHURCH. By W. F. Taylor	18
XXVa.	CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE EAST WINDOWS. From a drawing by F. H. Greenaway	19
b.	CLERESTORY WINDOW OF THE NAVE. From a drawing by Geoffrey F. Webb	19
XXVI.	EAST END OF QUIRE, 1822. From a drawing by T. H. Shepherd in Wilkinson's <i>Londina Illustrata</i>	20
XXVII.	EAST END OF QUIRE, 1838. From a drawing by R. W. Billings in <i>Churches of London</i> by Goodwin, jun.	21
XXVIII.	EAST END OF QUIRE, 1885. Photo. by Bedford Lemere & Co.	22
XXIXa.	THE QUIRE, 1803. From Malcolm's <i>Londinium Redivivum</i>	23
b.	GROUND ARCADE OF APSE. Photo. by Rev. C. F. Fison	23
XXX.	THE MEDIAEVAL PULPIT. From the Gardner Collection	24
XXXIa.	SOUTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING WEST } Photographed by	25
b.	ENTRANCE TO SOUTH CHAPEL } W. F. Taylor	25

PLATE	FACING PAGE
XXXIIa. EAST AMBULATORY. From a drawing by Tavernor Perry .	26
b. WEST END OF SOUTH AMBULATORY ditto .	26
XXXIII. EAST AND NORTH AMBULATORY, 1810 (Entrance to Purgatory on left). From a drawing by J. T. Smith .	27
XXXIV. EAST END OF NORTH AMBULATORY .	28
XXXVa. NORTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING EAST	29
b. NORTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING WEST	29
XXXVIa. NORTH TRIFORIUM	30
b. PRIOR BOLTON'S DOORWAY	30
XXXVII. LESSER ARCADE OF NORTH TRIFORIUM)	31
XXXVIII. PRIOR BOLTON'S WINDOW. Photographed by Rev. C. F. Fison	32
XXXIXa. MURAL ARCADE AND PANELS IN THE SPANDRELS OF ARCHES OF THE CROSSING. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	44
b. THE CROSSING: TWELFTH-CENTURY CORBELS TO EAST ARCH; FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CAPS TO NORTH ARCH. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	44
XL. BASE OF WEST WALL OF PULPITUM AND NAVE PIER, 1864. Plan by Hayter Lewis and W. Slater	45
.XLIa. QUIRE SCREEN, NORTH SIDE OF CROSSING	46
b. NORTH TRANSEPT, AMBULATORY AND SCREEN	46
XLIIa. FORGE ON SITE OF NORTH TRANSEPT. From a drawing by J. E. Rogers	47
b. NORTH END OF NORTH TRANSEPT. Photo. by F. H. Evans .	47
XLIII. ORGAN GALLERY, <i>cir.</i> 1740. From an old Mezzotint .	52
XLIV. SOUTH TRANSEPT, 1803. From Malcolm's <i>Londinium Redivivum</i>	53
XLVa. SOUTH TRANSEPT, 1781. From a drawing by J. Carter in the Gardner Collection	54
b. NORTH ARCH OF THE CROSSING AFTER THE SUPPRESSION. From a photograph by the Stereoscopic Co.	54
XLVIa. THE FONT	58
b. DOOR OF SACRISTY	58
XLVIIa. SMALL CLERESTORY WINDOW	59
b. BISHOP FISHER'S LETTER TO PRIOR BOLTON. Now in the possession of St. John's College, Cambridge	59
XLVIIIa. GATE HOUSE HUNG WITH TILES. From a water-colour drawing by Sir Ernest George	68
b. GATE HOUSE RESTORED. Photographed by Bedford Lemere	68
c. SCHOOLS REBUILT, 1889. Photographed by Rev. C. F. Fison	68
XLIX. PLAN OF THE LADY CHAPEL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS IN SECULAR OCCUPATION AS DESCRIBED IN 1616. Compiled by F. H. Greenaway	77

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xix

PLATE	FACING PAGE
La. SOUTH SIDE OF LADY CHAPEL IN SECULAR OCCUPATION. From the Gardner Collection	78
b. STAIRCASE IN LADY CHAPEL DURING SECULAR OCCUPATION. From the Gardner Collection	78
LI. EAST END OF THE LADY CHAPEL	84
LII. WROUGHT IRON SCREEN, LADY CHAPEL, 1897	85
LIIIa. LADY CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST	86
b. THE CHARNEL OR CRYPT	86
LIV. NORTH-EAST BAY OF THE NAVE	106
LV. THE WEST PORCH. Photographed by the Rev. C. F. Fison	107
LVIa. WYNGAERDE'S MAP, <i>cir.</i> 1543	110
b. AGAS'S MAP, <i>cir.</i> 1564	110
LVII. WILKINSON'S PLAN, 1821. From Wilkinson's <i>Londina Illustrata</i>	111
LVIII. NORTH TRANSEPT AND PORCH	118
LIX. BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR, 1892. Formerly a burial-ground	119
LX. GROUND PLAN AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb	120
LXI. PLAN AT TRIFORIUM LEVEL, 1885. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb	120
LXII. NORTH ELEVATIONS AND SECTIONS AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb	120
LXIII. SOUTH ELEVATION AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb	120
LXIV. EXTERIOR OF APSE AND NORTH SIDE OF LADY CHAPEL	122
LXV. SOUTH CHAPEL, NOW A CHOIR VESTRY	126
LXVI. FRAGMENTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS	128
LXVII. THE SAME	129
LXVIII. PLAN OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY AT THE TIME OF THE SUPPRESSION (1539)	131
LXIX. EAST WALK OF CLOISTER, LOOKING NORTH. Photo. Stereoscopic Co.	132
LXXa. EAST WALK OF CLOISTER, 1804. From Storer and Greig's <i>Select Views</i>	133
b. EAST WALK OF CLOISTER. From a drawing by A. B. Bamford	133
LXXI. PLAN SHOWING REMAINS OF THE SACRISTY, PRIOR'S HOUSE, AND CHAPTER HOUSE: ALSO THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE ENTRANCE TO THE EAST CLOISTER WALK AS EXISTING IN 1912. From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb	134

PLATE	FACING PAGE
LXXII. GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND CLOISTER BY THOS. HARDWICK, 1791. From the original at the Society of Antiquaries	136
LXXIII. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF DORTER, &c. by the same. From the original at the Society of Antiquaries	136
LXXIVa. 'COACH AND HORSES' PUBLIC-HOUSE, 1844. From a drawing by F. Shepherd in the Gardner Collection	136
b. ROOM IN THE 'COACH AND HORSES'. From a drawing by J. W. Archer in <i>Vestiges of Old London</i>	136
LXXV. WEST END OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	146
LXXVIa. BARTHOLOMEW CHAPEL ON THE SITE OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE, LOOKING EAST, 1819. From the Gardner Collection	147
b. THE SAME LOOKING WEST, 1822. From Wilkinson's <i>Londina Illustrata</i>	147
LXXVIIa. THE DORTER AS A WAREHOUSE. From a drawing by G. J. M. Whichelo, 1803	150
b. THE UNDERCROFT OF THE DORTER. From the Gardner Collection	150
LXXVIII. LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX, ob. 1645	164
LXXIX. A CONJECTURAL PLAN OF THE MEETING HOUSE IN THE TRIFORIUM AND SACRISTY	168
LXXXa. OGILBY'S MAP, 1677	174
b. ROCQUE'S MAP, 1746	174
LXXXIa. GATEWAY BETWEEN MONASTIC CLOSE AND FAIR GROUND. From the Gardner Collection	182
b. MIDDLESEX PASSAGE, 1863. From the Gardner Collection	182
LXXXII. PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH EARLY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Compiled from 'The Plan of the Priory at the time of the Suppression', 'A Survey of the inheritance of Sir Henry Rich, 1616' (Record Office), Ogilby's and Rocque's maps, 1677, 1746	199
LXXXIIIa. SOUTH GATE OR BRITAIN GATE. From the Gardner Collection	210
b. CHURCH OR SMITHFIELD GATE, 1792. From print published by N. Smith, 1793	210
LXXXIVa. DUKE STREET, NOW LITTLE BRITAIN, 1807	211
b. CLOTH FAIR GATE, 1871. From the Gardner Collection	211
LXXXVa. No. 60 BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE AS REBUILT, 1879. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	214
b. Nos. 62-64 BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, SITE OF FRATER. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	214

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xxi

PLATE	FACING PAGE
LXXXVIa. BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING WEST, ALMSHOUSES ON THE LEFT. From the Gardner Collection . . .	215
b. BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, PORCHES, AND GATES, NOW REMOVED. From the Gardner Collection . . .	215
LXXXVIIa. FIGURES FORMERLY OUTSIDE THE 'DICK WHITTINGTON' PUBLIC-HOUSE. From the Gardner Collection . . .	234
b. THE 'DICK WHITTINGTON'. From a photograph by the Stereoscopic Co.	234
LXXXVIIIa. A JACOBAN HOUSE, 41 CLOTH FAIR. Photographed by W. F. Taylor.	235
b. WARWICK HOUSE, 22 CLOTH FAIR, PULLED DOWN, 1917. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	235
LXXXIXa. EASTERN END OF CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING EAST. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	238
b. WESTERN END OF CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING EAST. Photo. Stereoscopic Co.	238
XC. No. 2 BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR. From a photograph by Geo. Clinch	239
XCI. CLOTH FAIR GATEWAY, CHURCH PORCH, HOUSES BACKING ON TO GRAVEYARD. Photographed by Donald McLeish	242
XCIIa. BACKS OF CLOTH FAIR HOUSES. Photographed by Rev. C. F. Fison	243
b. GOOD FRIDAY SIXPENCES	243
XCIII. PORTRAITS OF SIR WALTER MILDMAI; HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND AND SIR ROGER MANWOOD	264
XCIV. MANWOOD'S LETTER. From the original in the Parish Safe	265
XCVa. WILLIAM HOGARTH'S SISTERS. From a drawing by W. Hogarth	286
b. ENTRY OF HOGARTH'S BAPTISM IN PARISH REGISTER	286
XCVI. PORTRAITS OF JOSEPH BOORD, AND RECTORS J. ABBISS, W. PANCKRIDGE, SIR BORRADAILE SAVORY, AND W. F. G. SANDWITH	374
XCVII. BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE AFTER THE ZEPPELIN RAID OF SEPTEMBER 1915. EAST AND SOUTH SIDES	442
XCVIII. RAHERE'S MONUMENT. Photographed by Rev. C. F. Fison	450
XCIXa. PERCIVAL AND AGNES SMALPACE, 1559, 1588. Photographed by W. F. Taylor	451
b. SIR WALTER MILDMAI. Photographed by the Stereoscopic Co.	451
C a. SIR ROBERT CHAMBERLAYNE, 1615	458
b. ELIZABETH FRESHWATER, 1617	458
CI a. JAMES RIVERS, 1641	462
b. JOHN WHITING, 1704	462
c. MARY WHITING, 1727	462
CII. VIEW OF APSE. As designed by Sir Aston Webb	534

LIST OF FIGURES IN TEXT

FIGURE	<i>Volume I</i>	PAGE
1. A COFFIN LID FROM THE SITE OF THE N. TRANSEPT		139
	<i>Volume II</i>	
2. VAULTING OF AMBULATORY AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW AND AT THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN IN THE TOWER		42
3. WHERE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WORKED IN THE LADY CHAPEL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT. From Wollaston, <i>The Religion of Nature delineated</i>		90
4. THE BELLS		113
5. NORTHERN ENTRANCE FROM CLOTH FAIR, 1865		128
6. IN THE MONASTIC PRECINCTS. A Sketch by Sir J. G. Jackson, Bart., in 1858		130
7. THE CLOISTER USED AS A STABLE, 1903. From <i>The City Press</i>		130
8. SIR JOHN DEANE, RECTOR 1544-1563		298
9. PLAN OF PARISH PROPERTY ON SOUTH SIDE		558

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

	<i>Volume I</i>	
1. THE FAMILY OF RAMES OR RENNES OR REYMES		354
2. THE DESCENT OF THE OWNERS OF LANDS IN TEWIN		360
	<i>Volume II</i>	
3. THE DESCENDANTS OF JOHN BURGoyNE		261
4. SHOWING THE INTERMARRIAGES OF THE LEADING FAMILIES OF THE PARISH DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES		263
5. THE DESCENDANTS OF SIR WALTER MILDMAY		265
6. SIR RICHARD RICH AND HIS DESCENDANTS. WITH ARMS		292
7. THE DESCENT OF RECTOR O. P. EDWARDES		352

RECORDS AND AUTHORITIES

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

IMPORTANT records of St. Bartholomew's Priory are unfortunately but few. No register, ledger book, or cartulary seems to have survived the suppression of the monastery. It is probable that any such book or books were sold by public auction for some paltry sum in accordance with the rule followed in realizing the effects of the other suppressed houses. There is usually an inventory of such sales to be found among the augmentation papers at the Record Office, but there is none in the case of St. Bartholomew's; there is, therefore, no record of what books existed. There must have been a book in which the charters, papal letters, and other important records were entered, as there was at the hospital, whose fine cartulary is fortunately still in the hands of the governors; but unless it is hidden away in some unexplored library, that of the priory must have fallen into as evil hands as did the cartulary¹ of another of London's Augustinian priories, St. Mary Overy (now St. Saviour's, Southwark). All that remains of that volume are four leaves recovered from the head of a child's drum made in Exeter.

The cartulary² and two registers³ of the Augustinian Abbey of Waltham survived and are now in the British Museum; and the cartulary of the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate is in the Glasgow Library.⁴ Failing a cartulary it is necessary to turn to the earliest records extant. First, to the Book of the Foundation, now in the British Museum, which gives a full account of the founder, of the founding, and of the founder's successor, Prior Thomas, down to about the year 1180; then to the cartulary of the hospital where there are transcripts of the papal letters of the twelfth century, episcopal ordinances, and other valuable records which concerned the priory as well as the hospital.

Preserved among the MSS. in the library of St. Paul's are original copies of the ordinances and other valuable matter. In the episcopal registers at St. Paul's are transcripts of ordinances, of injunctions, of citations to convocation and such-like.

Of great importance is the Rent Roll in the Bodleian Library, which gives very full particulars of all the possessions of the monastery.

¹ B.M., Add. 6040.

² Ib., Harl. 3739.

³ Ib., Harl. 391, 4809.

⁴ Dr. William Hunter's Library; there is a transcript in the Guildhall Library.

As this roll has never been published it is here printed in Appendix I.¹ The wills at Somerset House and elsewhere yield much authentic information.

In the Public Record Office are copies of the earliest Royal Charters. In the Patent Rolls are recorded the names and dates of election of most of the priors. The Close Rolls, Memoranda Rolls, and many other series of rolls in the Public Record Office, each yields its quota of history which would probably have been entered in the lost cartulary. Published MSS., such as the Chronicles and Memorials in the Rolls series and other chronicles, all give scraps of useful information. The calendars of Papal Registers now published have proved to be very valuable. The more important MS. records are described below, grouped according to the places where they are preserved (with the exception of the Book of the Foundation, which is placed first because of its importance).

THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION, the *Liber Fundacionis Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum*, is in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum (numbered Vespasian B. IX). It is in a fine condition in a modern binding; it measures 10¼ in. by 7½ in., and consists of 86 leaves. The text is in Latin with a translation in Middle English of about the time of Chaucer. The Latin version is a transcript from an earlier copy which no longer exists. The transcript was probably made at the same time as the English translation (pl. I), at the instance of Roger Walden when he was in retirement during the years 1400–1404. It is to his initiative we also attribute the erection of Rahere's monument and the great restoration of the church at that time, for Roger Walden and his brother John were then living within the monastic close.

The original Latin version was written, as we learn from the MS., by one of the canons of the monastery, and finished by him after the death of Prior Thomas (Rahere's successor), which occurred in 1174. As no mention is made of the next prior we assume the book was completed soon after that date.

The evidence as regards the date of the Latin and English versions has been fully set out by Sir Norman Moore in his introduction to the Middle English translation which he published for the benefit of the restoration fund in 1886.

The book is divided into two parts: Book I consists of twenty-nine chapters, eleven of which describe Rahere's conversion and his founding of the priory and hospital. These chapters have been printed *in extenso* in Latin in Caley and Ellis's edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

¹ App. I, p. 428.

H On Asinooche that the meritorij and notable
 oporagions of famous troode: and deuoute
 fathers yn god sholde be reuembred for instructioun
 of after tūners to thei: cor: solacioun and ences of
 deuocion this Abbreyat Tretesse shal compen
 diously expresse and dedare the wondrous and
 of celestial conceit thrauous fundacioun of oure
 hoely places callid the priory of seynt Barthol
 yn Smythfilds and of the hospital by olde tyme
 longynt to the same with other notable lites ex
 pidiens to be knowyn And most preaally the thi
 rouse and excellent myraclys wroughte with yn
 them by the intercessions suffrages and meritis
 of the forsaids benygne forthfull and blessed of god
 Aposthol Sanct Bartholomy yn to the laude of
 almyghthy god and agnacion of his infinite powere.

As first shal be fleschid wold was founder of oure hoely
 places And looth by name he was first prior of oth
 drom and by both longe tyme that is continued yn

Hys church yn the honoure of the same
 of most blessed Bartholomewes Apostole foundid
 Raxer of troode reuembraunce and therein
 to serue god after the recorde of the moost hol
 fader Austyn agreeant to thidre religiouse men and to them
 was plate. xxij. yere vsynge the office and dignite of a
 priore Not hauynge auynge of liberal sacre but that
 that is more enyucate than all auynge for he was richid
 yn purite of consaunce. Avenke god by deuocion Avenke
 his brethryn by humylite. Avenke his enemyes With a
 benygolence. And thus hym self he exceded them patiently
 sufferynge. And lose prouyd purite of soule by right maners
 With honeste probyte experte diligitence yn dymyne fuire.

The remaining eighteen chapters each recount some miraculous occurrence in connexion with the priory during Rahere's lifetime.

Book II commences with two prologues which give a further account of Rahere's life after conversion, and of his death; also an account of Rahere's successor, Prior Thomas, and of the latter's death. Then follow twenty-eight chapters, each recounting a miraculous event of some kind which had occurred since Rahere's time, and, being in the time of the composer of the book, are written at greater length than the others. It is evident that the book belonged to the priory, because on the title-page is written, in the same character as the book, *pertinenſ prioratui eiusdem in Westesmythfelde*. At the suppression it is probable that the book was sold by auction with the rest of the library and the furniture of the monastery. At the end of the book occurs, '*Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Otwell de London*', who may have been the original purchaser. Lower down is written 'Thomas Powell stacioner', and on a blank leaf, 83b, occurs, 'Mistress Otwell I bid you farewell for you do well and in bewtie beareth the Bell'. On the title-page is the signature of Sir Richard Saint George, who was Norroy King of Arms in 1603, and who died in 1635; and on the first page occurs the name of Thomas Cotton, who on the death of his father, Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, in 1631, obtained possession of his father's library. In 1702 this book, with the rest of Cotton's library, was transferred to the nation; but in 1731, whilst the collection was at Ashburnham House, the book was nearly lost in the fire which occurred there that year; after which it was, with the rest of the books, lodged in Westminster School, and moved finally to the British Museum in 1753.

It has been suggested that the book may have emanated from the imagination of Dr. Stone—a great legend writer who flourished about the year 1380—but there is too much circumstantial evidence throughout the book of the intimate acquaintance of the writer with the building and the monastery to permit of credence being given to the suggestion. The author of the book says that what he wrote was the testimony of those who had seen Rahere, had taken part in his work, and had conversed with him, and there is no evidence whatever to throw doubt upon this statement.

(An English translation of the Latin version has been made for use in this book by Mr. Humphrey H. King and Mr. William Barnard, as mentioned in the preface.)

THE RENT ROLL AT THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD (Middlesex Roll I), is the record next in importance to the Book of the Foundation. It is printed *in extenso* in Appendix I in the original Latin, and is quoted

from fully in the chapter on the Possessions¹ of the monastery. The first paragraph translated reads :

‘ In this roll are contained the areas of the lands and the services of all the tenants belonging to the priory of Saint Bartholomew, London. By Roger de Luda,² dated on the feast of Easter, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry,³ under Brother John of Kensington, then prior there.’

The possessions are entered under counties in the following order : Suffolk, Essex, Bucks, Bedford, Middlesex, Herts, and London. The roll consists of sixteen large and one small membrane. It is 38 ft. in length and 12 in. wide, and is in a good state of preservation. The first membrane is inscribed in a large clear hand, the others in a smaller and inferior style. The initials are in red and blue ; the paragraph marks and underlinings are in red. From the style of the handwriting the roll would seem to be a transcript made in the time of Henry VII from Roger de Luda’s Roll of 1306. W. H. Turner’s *Calendar of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian*, gives a full list of the places mentioned in the roll with the exception of Blythburg.

The CARTULARY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW’S HOSPITAL is still in the possession of the governors of the hospital. It is in its original binding, protected by a great leather flap which projects 10 in. beyond the cover. The book measures 15½ in. long, 10½ in. wide, and 6¾ in. thick, and contains 636 leaves of vellum.

John Stow, writing of the hospital in his survey, says :⁴

‘ Sir John Wakering, priest, master of this house in the year 1463, among other books, gave to their common library the fairest Bible that I have seen, written in large vellum by a brother of that house named John Coke, at the age of sixty eight years, when he had been priest forty-three years. Since the spoil of that library, I have seen this book in the custody of my worshipful friend Master Walter Cope.’

The cartulary was commenced in the year 1456. An entry on folio 83 in the year 1466, reads, ‘ *scriptum per ffratrem Iohannem Cok cum tremulenta manu in vesperi vite sue* ’. We therefore incline to the opinion that the ‘ fairest Bible ’ to which Stow refers may have been this magnificent cartulary,⁵ for the old man could hardly have had on hand at the same time the writing of what we know as a Bible and of this great volume.

This Walter Cope was knighted in the year 1603. His daughter and heiress, Isabel Cope, married Sir Henry Rich, afterwards created

¹ Later, p. 321.

⁴ Stow, 139.

² Louth.

³ 1306.

⁵ Sir Norman Moore does not take this view.

Earl of Holland, who was the owner of St. Bartholomew's. The volume would therefore have come into the possession of the Earl of Holland through Isabel Cope, and he or his descendants may have returned it to the hospital.

In the absence of a cartulary of the priory, this one of the hospital is very useful in elucidating the early history of both foundations and their mutual relations.

The principal entries in the volume which concern the priory are given below; many entries have reference to the hospital only, and these have already been fully dealt with by Sir Norman Moore in his great work. The entries in the volume do not follow in strict chronological order; John Cok was no stronger in chronological sequence than Jocelin of Brakelond and others in the Middle Ages, and he was very weak in the matter of regnal years.

It is interesting that the original deeds copied by Cok should have survived the suppression by Henry VIII, and that they should still be in the possession of the hospital; and that even the Bull of Pope Alexander III (*cir.* 1173) should have escaped the surrender of papal documents.¹ As there is no mention of the grant of privileges of Anastasius IV in 1153 nor of that by Adrian IV as referred to in the Book of the Foundation, it is probable that those deeds had reference to the priory only.

In the year 1905, Mr. J. A. Twemlow was good enough to have a careful search made in the Vatican archives for bulls concerning the priory or hospital by any of these three early popes, but without success. There were found among Carampe's *Rubricullae* (which are copies of brief analyses of letters which formerly served as Indices to the volumes of the Registers) a confirmation of privileges granted to the hospital by Lucius III and Alexander III, but further search showed that 'Alexander III' was a mistake for Alexander IV. The Lateran *Regesta* at the Vatican were not commenced until 1198.

The omissions in the cartulary are rather remarkable: The important ordinance of Bishop Richard de Ely, made in the year 1197 or 1198, is omitted, though one of the original copies is still at St. Paul's. There is no entry of the injunctions made for the hospital by Bishop Gilbert de Seagrave in 1316 and recited by Bishop Richard de Newport in 1318: nor of the confirmation of the restitution of Simon Douglas, Master of the hospital, by Bishop Stephen de Gravesend in 1322, though all three are entered in the episcopal registers at St. Paul's. The names of the masters presented by the priors are entered in the cartulary but rather inaccurately.

¹ For reproduction of the original Bull see N. Moore, *Hist. St. B. Hosp.* i. 150.

The principal items which concern the priory in the hospital cartulary are as follows :

A.D.

- 1133. The charter of King Henry I (f. 39).
- 1137. Rahere's grant of St. Sepulchre's church to Hagno (f. 46).¹
- 1147. Prior Thomas's charter appointing Adam the mercer as Master of the hospital and concerning its further management (f. 46).
- 1162-70. The charter of St. Thomas (Becket) of Canterbury whereby he takes the church and canons into his protection and confirms to them their site and other possessions (f. 39d).
- 1173-7. A bull of Pope Alexander III whereby he takes the hospital under his protection (f. 47).¹
- 1184 (*cir.*). A bull of Pope Lucius III whereby he grants to the hospital permission to admit brethren to the order if necessary without the consent of the canons, to move their chapel, and to have their cemetery consecrated (f. 47).
- 1185 (*cir.*). A bull of Pope Lucius III addressed to the Abbot of Boxley directing him to suspend the prior for not reporting an appeal against his authority to excommunicate (f. 48).
- 1192. A confirmation by Pope Celestinus of the bull of Pope Lucius and giving further orders as regards funerals (f. 49). There are other bulls from this Pope concerning the hospital dated 1191 (ff. 48d, 49).
- 1206. A grant by Richard the prior of a tenement to the hospital (f. 37d).
- 1210-12. The consent of the Bishop of London (William of St. Mary Church) to the citizens using part of the hospital site as a burial ground during the great interdict which lasted from 1208-14 (f. 52d).
- 1217. Confirmation by Pope Honorius of the bull of Lucius III (f. 50). (There are two other bulls from this pope in the years 1220 and 1225 (f. 50d).)
- 1224. The ordinance of Bishop Eustace de Fauconbridge to allay the controversy between the priory and the hospital.
- 1373. The ordinance of Bishop Simon of Sudbury with the same object (ff. 55, 56).
- 1412-13. Writs of prohibition to the Archbishop and to the sheriffs of London concerning a matter considered to be wrongly brought before the ecclesiastical courts. A repetition of the declaration of the prior and a writ from the king to distrain on the prior (ff. 56d, 57).
- 1419. An exemplification by Henry V of the charters of Henry I.
- 1420. A final ordinance by Bishop Richard Clifford to end the controversy between the priory and the hospital (f. 57d).
- 1425. A confirmation of the ordinances of Bishops Eustace, Simon and Richard Clifford by Pope Martin V (f. 58).
- 1432. An agreement between the priory and the hospital concerning the water supply from Canonbury (f. 84d).

¹ The original is in the possession of the Governors of the hospital.

A.D.

1433. Letters Patent concerning the same (f. 85).
 1439. An inspeximus by Henry VI of a charter of Richard II (ff. 81-3).
 1453. A recital by Pope Nicholas V of the confirmation of ordinances by Martin V (ff. 64-6), and recital by the same of the bulls of Popes Lucius III and Alexander IV (ff. 66 d-67 d).
 1123-1466. The names of masters of the hospital (32 names) (ff. 62, 63).

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

LORD HOLLAND'S CARTULARY: Tanner in his *Notitia Monastica* says that 'a cartulary of this priory was formerly in the possession of Dr. Rawlinson', A.D. 1690-1755. This was the Dr. Rawlinson who filled London House (partly in St. Bartholomew's parish) from ground floor to attic with his books. He left his manuscripts, some 5,700, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the other books were sold at three auctions, lasting 68 days, in the years 1756 and 1757; but it is certain that there is no original cartulary in the Bodleian Library now. There is, however, among the Additional MSS.¹ at the British Museum a MS. book labelled *Cartularium Prioratus S. Bartholomaei de Smithfeild*, which is not a monastic cartulary but one made for Lord Henry Holland in the seventeenth century, and may be the one Tanner refers to, though not now at the Bodleian. It is described on the title-page as 'A Collection of severall Letters Patentes Charters Grants Judgments Records Deeds and Evidences concerning The late dissolved Priory of Saint Bartholomew the Great, commonly called Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield in the suburbs of London Whereby The Boundaries and privileges of the same place and Parish and the title of Robert now Earle of Holland and his Ancestors thereunto doth appeare'. It has the book-plate of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and a note saying it was purchased at the Phillipps sale, lot 594, on March 23, 1895. Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick, the grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps, says that the book was bought of George Lackington, bookseller, between the years 1819 and 1830; and he thinks it is quite probable that this is the cartulary to which Tanner refers. There is still in the Rawlinson collection at the Bodleian (c. 182)² a book of 'Precedents collected by Edward Edkins' which contains transcripts of nine out of the seventeen deeds contained in Lord Holland's cartulary; but this cannot be the cartulary referred to.

In the year 1612 Robert Lord Rich granted the advowson of St. Bartholomew's and his property in the parish to his second son Sir Henry Rich by way of settlement on his marriage with Isabel Cope,

¹ Add. 34768.Cox, *Catalogue*, p. 83.

the heiress of Sir Walter Cope of Cope Castle (now Holland House), Kensington.

The Fine made on that occasion was, it is stated in the book, examined in the year 1663. The Earl of Holland died in 1675, but as he succeeded to the Earldom of Warwick in 1673, and nothing is said on the title-page of his then being Earl of Warwick, the book in the Museum was probably compiled between the years 1663 and 1673.

It is of vellum and contains 182 leaves. Up to folio 168 the writing is in one hand, but the remainder is in another. Folio 56 has been cut out; it evidently contained the latter portion of Henry VI's Letter Patent.¹ The documents transcribed in the book are as follows :

CONTENTS OF LORD HOLLAND'S CARTULARY

A <i>quo warranto</i> concerning the liberties of the prior.	14 Edw. II.
Protection for those coming to the Fair.	Pat. 38 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 1.
An indenture between the corporation and the prior concerning the Fair.	Pat. 32 Hy. VI.
A confirmation of privileges and liberties.	Pat. 2 Hy. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1.
The like.	Pat. 5 Ed. IV, pt. 3, m. 15d.
Bounds of the close and Rents paid by the tenants.	Partics. for grants no. 927.
Grant of close, advowson and fair to Rich.	Pat. 36 Hy. VIII, pt. 12, m. 1.
Grant of the church etc. by Rich to Mary.	Close 2, 3 P. & M.
A regrant by Elizabeth to Rich.	Pat. 2 Eliz., pt. 4, m. 17.
An agreement between Rich and the corporation concerning the water.	Pat. 3 Eliz.
An exemplification of a judgment concerning a discharge from fifteenths.	Pat. 4 Eliz.
An exemplification of enrolment of the charter 5 Hen. VII.	Pat. 25 Eliz.
An <i>inspeximus</i> concerning grant of houses for glebe.	Pat. 25 Eliz.
Part of charter of the city concerning the close being subject to the government of the city.	Pat. 6 Jas. I.
Conveyance from Robert Lord Rich to Sir Henry Rich on marriage with Isabel Cope.	Pat. 10 Jas. I
A Fine thereupon.	Pat. 10 Jas. I
Concerning 26/8 claimed by the King as given to an <i>obit</i> .	Excheq. Pleas, 10 Car. I.

¹ Pat. 2, Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1, and 2 Eliz., pt. 4, m. 17.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

In the ADDITIONAL MSS., besides Lord Holland's Cartulary alluded to above, there is a 'RETURN OF BENEFICES in the see of London in the year 1420' (No. 35,096), which gives the names of five stipendiary chaplains in the priory at that time, probably those of the parish priest and of four chantry priests. Other items among these MSS. are of only minor importance.

Among the COTTONIAN MSS. is a small volume (Vespasian D. I) ($7\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.) which is in effect the Minute Book of 'The General and Provincial Chapters of the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine in the Province of Canterbury, held in Various Places from the year 1325-1404'. But in the margin of one page is inserted the year (*cir.*) 1518,¹ and the entry evidently refers to Bolton, the prior at that time.

The ARUNDEL MSS. give the GRANT OF ARMS to Prior Bolton in the Year 1530 (No. 26).

In the ADDITIONAL CHARTERS is a conveyance (No. 38,861) with warranty against Richard Pultor, who was prior here from 1471 to 1480, and a bill indented (No. 1992) whereby Sir Edward North, Treasurer of the Augmentations, acknowledges receipt of part payment on account of the Manors of Holmes and Shenley, late possessions of the priory, and there is another acknowledgement of the balance in the year 1543.

In the EGERTON MSS. (No. 2849) is the Obituary Roll of Hedingham priory A.D. 1191, in item 20 of which the 'Title of the church of St. Bartholomew London' occurs. Another copy at Hedingham Castle is reported by the Historical MSS. Commission.

Among the HARLEIAN MSS., No. 60 has a list of the spiritualities and temporalities of the priory about the year 1291, but it is only a copy of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

No. 431, art. 108 is the Letter of John Prophete describing the funeral of Bishop Roger Walden at St. Paul's, with a eulogy upon him.

No. 3881, art. 15 is a lease for 60 years by Prior Reginald Collier, in the year 1463, of a house and ground in the parish of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf.

No. 2099, art. 19 and 20 give copies of the foundation of the Free Grammar School at Witton near Northwich by the first rector, Sir John Deane, and copies of the statutes of the same (1558).

The Harleian Charter, No. 83 A. 43, is the appointment of John and

¹ See later, p. 24.

Thomas Burgoyne as auditors of the accounts of the collectors of the rents of the convent, with a fine impression of the priory seal attached.

There are among the LANSDOWNE MSS. two letters of the year 1563 (No. 6, art. 55-6) from Bishop Grindal to Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary, asking that the lead of the roof of the church should be given to St. Paul's, and that the old frater of the convent should serve as the parish church in its place.

The SLOANE MS. No. 326 is a verbatim record of the speeches of Sir Walter Mildmay in Parliament and the Star Chamber, 1575-87.

The SLOANE MS. No. 856, f. 6d. is a record of the appointment of Thomas Roycroft to be printer to King Charles II in the year 1669. His memorial tablet is in the church.

There are two other books in the British Museum which probably formed part of the library of the monastery at the time of the suppression, for which reason they may be referred to here, though they throw no light on the history of the priory.

One of these, among the Royal MSS. (Cleopatra 10 E. IV), is a remarkably fine folio copy of the DECRETALS OF POPE GREGORY IX, that is to say, the first volume of Papal decrees compiled by the order of Pope Gregory IX about the year 1231; one of the three volumes of the decretals which formed the books of the Canon Law. It measures 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 11 in. On the right-hand top corner of the second blank folio at the beginning is written, '*Liber Domus Sancti Bartholomaei in Smythfelde*, No. 1059'. It is thought by some at the present time that the book belonged to the hospital because of the use of the word '*Domus*', but that word is constantly also applied to the priory. To give one instance out of many: in the Close Rolls, 5 Henry VI (1437), on the dorse of membrane 5, which has no reference to the hospital, there twice occurs the expression '*Domus et ecclesiae Sancti Bartholomei*'. Malcolm describes the book fully, and also attributes it to the library of the priory.

It is exceedingly well and richly illuminated, and there are on every page grotesque illustrations of fables and of the life and costume of the time. A portion of one page of the illustrations is given by Malcolm¹ and also by Henry Morley in his memoirs of Bartholomew Fair.²

The other MS. is a volume of sermons of Prior John Repingdon, prior of St. Bartholomew's from 1391 to 1404. It is numbered 400 among the Lansdowne MSS. and is fully described in a later chapter.³

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i. 282.

² p. 44.

³ p. 184.

MSS. AT OXFORD

In the Bodleian Library, in addition to the rent roll, there is among the CHARTER ROLLS, No. 75, a document showing that the prior, in the year 1362, was the collector of the tenths granted to the pope.

Among the TANNER MSS. both Tanner and Dugdale say there is a book of precedents marked B, 'Injunctions on the visitation of the priory by Walter Shirington, the custodian of the spiritualities whilst the episcopal see of London was vacant in 1439'. An exhaustive search through every MS. in the catalogue and through the original MSS. of Tanner's *Notitia* has failed to discover this volume. Many pages in the books of legal documents are quite illegible from having fallen into the water on their journey from Norwich to Oxford, and the injunctions may be on some of these pages. But as the Ordinance of Bishop Robert Fitzhugh (May 1, 1433), regulating the finances of the priory, was ordered to be carried out under the supervision of Walter Shirington; as the see of London was not vacant in 1439 but in 1436; as there is no mention of these Injunctions in the Episcopal Registers, and as an entry in the register of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's (W.D. 13, f. 156d and 157) dated February 14, 1435-6, states that Master David Pryce, a prebendary of St. Paul's, was the guardian of the spiritualities of the bishopric during the vacancy (which lasted from January 15 to October 28 in that year), the lawyer who made the book of precedents purchased by Tanner probably meant to refer to the ordinance of the bishop and not to the injunctions of Walter Shirington.

No. 78 (f. 16) in these MSS. is a verbatim report of the speech of Sir Walter Mildmay in Parliament against Mary Queen of Scots, November 3, 1586.

In the ASHMOLEAN MSS. at Oxford, Nos. 1479 (17) and 1483 (4) record the translation into Latin of the Book of Mercuries or Elixer Mercuriall in the priory of St. Bartholomew, 1443.

In the TWYNE MSS. in the Archives of Oxford (vol. ii, pp. 98 and 99) are two pages or portions of pages from a lost cartulary of the Augustinian Friars of Little Yarmouth containing five deeds or portions of deeds. The pages are rubbed and in places illegible, and are cut off at the foot¹; they concern a compensation to be paid by the friars to the vicars of St. Andrew's, Gorleston and St. Nicholas', Little Yarmouth for loss of tithes, &c.

¹ Description furnished by the Rev. H. E. Salter through Dr. R. L. Poole, Keeper of the Archives.

At CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, there is a MS. which contains canons of the Augustinian Order published in a chapter held in St. Bartholomew's; the book had apparently formerly belonged to Llanton Abbey. (See Cox, Cat. Codic. MSS. Oxon. 123 C.C.C. cliv. 403.)

MSS. AT ST. PAUL'S

The LIBRARY OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL is rich in manuscripts which have been well calendared by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte for the Royal Historical MSS. Commission. Those concerning St. Bartholomew's are, for the most part, original deeds with seals attached. The more important are :

1. A bond of Alan the prior and the brethren of the hospital to pay a certain sum yearly to the canons of St. Paul's. The date is somewhere between the years 1181 and 1191. Though Alan is described as prior in this deed, he really was only the master of the hospital (Box 71, No. 1798).
2. The Ordinance of Bishop Richard de Ely in the year 1197, when he endeavoured to settle the controversy between the priory and the hospital (Box 25, No. 643). This has been printed by Sir Norman Moore.
3. A commission from Pope Innocent III in the year 1215, to the Dean of St. Paul's and others, to inquire into the controversy between the prior and convent and persons in the diocese of Lincoln (Box 77, No. 2069).
4. A bond given by prior Peter le Duc about the year 1245 to give seizin for life to Alexander de Swereford, Treasurer of St. Paul's, of land at Tewin which he had given to the priory (Box 40, No. 1452).
5. The prior's acknowledgement in the year 1250 of the receipt of a Psalter and Gloss in 2 vols. and of the Epistles of St. Paul and of an altar and altar linen from Master Richard of Wendover, a prebend of St. Paul's, whom they receive into their fraternity (Box 70, No. 1759).
6. The will of Nicholas Hosbond founding a chantry, dated 1347 (Box 66, Wills, No. 32).
7. The ordinance of Simon of Sudbury made in 1373; a further attempt to settle matters in dispute between the prior and convent and the brethren of the hospital (Box 25, No. 644).
8. The ordinance of Bishop Robert Fitzhugh in 1433 for the better management of the finances of the priory under Walter Shirington (Box 25, No. 645).
9. The confirmation of the election of prior Reginald Collier in 1436 whilst the see was vacant (Reg. Dean and Chapter, W. D. 13, f. 156d. and 157).
10. An indenture dated March 1, 1553-4 relating to certain tenements described as 'lately belonging to Walden's chantry founded in

St. Paul's', showing that the chantry was at St. Paul's and not at St. Bartholomew's (Box 7a, No. 917).

There are many other deeds of less importance too numerous to refer to here.

THE EPISCOPAL REGISTERS OF THE DIOCESE OF LONDON are kept in St. Paul's Cathedral, but they can only be consulted at the office of the Registrar at the entrance to Dean's Court, whither they are brought by appointment. The earlier registers of Bishop Fulk Basset, 1244-59, and others are lost. That of Bishop Baldock, 1304, is the earliest now existing. Some subsequent registers are also wanting, as those of Bishop Bynteworth 1338-9, Bishop Stratford, 1340-54, Bishop Northburgh 1354-61, and of Bishop Courtenay 1375-81.

The principal entries which concern the Priory are :

- 1303. The injunctions of Archbishop Winchelsea for the better government of the priory (Baldock, 6).
 - 1306. The appointment of the subprior to be prior of St. Mary's Spital, Bishopsgate (Baldock, 6d).
 - 1308. The sending of a canon of St. Osyth's to the priory for penance (Baldock, 16d).
 - 1319. The institution to a moiety of the church of Danbury (Stephen de Gravesend, 41).
 - 1362. The appointment of the prior as collector of the clerical tenths (Sudbury, 88).
 - 1373. The Ordinance of Bishop Simon of Sudbury further to arrange the disputes between the priory and the hospital (Braybroke, 24).
 - 1382. The decree and confirmation of the election of William Gedeney as prior with the consent of the King. The names of 21 canons are given. The burial in the church of Thomas de Watford the previous prior is stated, and the first and only reference is made to the chapel of the infirmary (Braybroke, 264).
 - 1407. The first entry of citation of a prior to convocation (Walden, 33).
 - 1436. The first entry of ordinations held in the priory church (Gilbert, 131).
 - 1517. The exemption of Prior Bolton from paying two tenths to the crown owing to the expense of rebuilding the conventual church. (The conventual buildings rather than the church were rebuilt at that time.) (Fitzjames, 121.)
 - 1531. An award between the priory and St. Sepulchre's as to tithes and oblations (Stokesley, 49).
 - 1532. The decree of confirmation of the election of Prior Fuller is set forth in full (Stokesley, 65).
- The ordinance of Bishop Robert Fitzhugh for the priory in 1433, and the confirmation of Prior Reginald Collier in 1436 do not seem to be in the registers.

The institutions to the rectory after the suppression regularly occur in the registers, as do the leases of the Glebe houses.

There are many entries in these registers concerning the hospital which are not dealt with here.

As the registers are being published by the Canterbury and York Society there is no occasion for the author's transcripts to appear in the Appendix.

At the LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, among the *Cartae Miscellaneae*, vol. ii, no. 26, are the answers to questions by the Bishop of London in 1635 concerning the origin of the select vestry of the parish.

In the Archiepiscopal Registers are the wills of Roger Walden 1406 (Reg. Arundel 227d), of his brother John in 1417 (Chichele 310d), of Walter Shirington in 1448 and others, all bearing upon the history of the priory.

WILLS

The WILLS form a very valuable record for a history of this kind; from them are obtained the names of the chapels, altars, images, and lights in the conventual church; the dates of the building of the Lady Chapel, of the Walden Chapel, of St. Anne's chapel, the founding of chantries in the fourteenth century, the fact that Sir John Deane acted as rector during the occupation of the Blackfriars in Queen Mary's time, the names of residents within the monastic precincts before the suppression, and also the fact that there was a hostel there in 1349.

The earliest wills available are those of the Court of Husting, 1259 to 1668, of which there is an excellent calendar by Reginald Sharp printed for the Corporation of the City of London.

The next as to date are the Wills of the Commissary Court of London at Somerset House commencing in 1374: these have been searched to the year 1455.

The WILLS in the PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY are the most numerous, because in the Archbishop's court were registered the wills of all those dying in the province who had possessions in some other diocese than the one in which the testator died. Search has been made in these wills (which have been privately indexed) from the year 1424 down to 1768. Among these wills are those of the last prior, Abbot Fuller, in 1540, the first rector, Sir John Deane, and Sir Walter Mildmay.

OTHER MSS.

In the LIBRARY of the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES of London there is a charter of Prior John, No. 22 (1227-8), granting land and buildings in Milk Street to certain people named.

In the same library are the plans of the church made by Thomas Hardwick in 1791. They consist of a ground plan, a section of the church from east to west showing the arcading on the south side of the quire and the south side of the south aisle of the nave, and a section from north to south through the south transept, chapter-house and undercroft of the dorter. In the same place are the plans of the restoration of 1886 by Sir Aston Webb.

At the VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM are the plans of the restoration of 1864 by T. Hayter Lewis and William Slater; there is a duplicate set in the parish safe at St. Bartholomew's.

In the GUILDHALL there is a MS. calendar of deeds in the Court of Husting containing references to the prior in connexion with quit claims, &c., which came before the court. The first reference is in connexion with Prior Robert, 1258-9. In the GUILDHALL LIBRARY is the court book of the proceedings of the Court of Pie-powder from 1790 to the closing of the Fair in 1854. In the vaults of the record room of the Guildhall are the records of the Court of Aldermen and of the Court of Common Council, entered in the LETTER BOOKS (so called because each volume is marked with a letter of the alphabet). Letter Book A begins with the year 4 Edw. I (1275); there are 50 volumes in all; the last, ZZ, extends to nearly the close of the reign of James II (1688). At the end of the fifteenth century the proceedings of the Court of Aldermen were separated from those of the Court of Common Council. In Letter Book A it is recorded that the prior was one of those allowed to have a mill. In Letter Book H is recorded, in the year 1377, the arrangement between the Corporation and the prior about pickage¹ when Bartholomew Fair overflowed into Smithfield.

The proceedings of the Court of Aldermen are entered in the REPERTORIES which commence with the year 1495. In 1498 there was a dispute concerning the fair, when the Court advised the Drapers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies to take their stands in Smithfield instead of within the priory gates (by way of a 'boycott'). In 1519-24 licence was granted to the warden of the Blacksmiths' Company to search the fair for faulty goods. In 1606 it is recorded that the Court desired to purchase the dissolved priory; and in 1670 that it was anxious to stay the excessive building in the parish.

In the JOURNALS are entered the proceedings of the Court of Common Council from the year 1416. In them, among other things, is recorded, in 1761, the report of the City Lands Committee on the Bartholomew and Southwick Fairs.

¹ A payment for breaking up ground for booths in fairs.

The *LIBER ALBUS*¹ is a compilation from the Letter Books and other archives made in 1419, in the last mayoralty of 'Dick' Whittington. It contains an account of the Whit-Monday procession of the Mayor and Aldermen which started from St. Bartholomew's; it also records that in the year 1177 a murderer fled to St. Bartholomew's for sanctuary.

The *LIBER CUSTUMARUM* records that the church was called *Sanctus Bartholomeus Magnus* as early as 1303.

At the COLLEGE OF ARMS is a description of Rahere's tomb and the coats of arms. Also a collection of Venetian Arms, among which are those of St. Bartholomew's hospital under the name Renier.²

At SION COLLEGE LIBRARY are the 'Records of the Provincial Assembly Begunne by ordinance of Parliament May 3 in the Convocation house in PAULES, London, 1647' (MS.). Reference is made to Ralph Harrison, Rector, 1655-63, and to Anthony Burgess, Rector, 1663-1709.

At the PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE in Chancery Lane the records of St. Bartholomew's are very numerous and occur in:

ANCIENT DEEDS which refer to priors *cir.* 1174, 1232, and 1234, &c.
ANCIENT PETITIONS give two petitions from the prior to the king, 1295 and 1323.

ASSIZE ROLLS give pleas of privileges by the prior from 1194.

CARTAE ANTIQUAE of the Court of Chancery contain transcripts of Royal Charters, 1133, 1173, 1190, 1203, 1227, and 1253.

CHARTER ROLLS contain transcripts of Royal Charters, 1203, 1227, and 6 others.

CLERICAL SUBSIDY ROLLS give the names of Canons in 1379, &c.

CLOSE ROLLS (Chancery Royal Letters delivered 'closed') give numerous and varied references to the priory from 1273.

COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS, time of Henry VIII, references are contained in the following:

Ancient deeds: a list of houses subject to quit rent *cir.* 1383.

Computi Ministrorum: a valuation for the king, 1540.

Conventual Leases: those granted before the suppression.

Deeds of Surrender, among which occur that of St. Bartholomew's.

Duchy of Lancaster Rentals and Surveys: early particulars dated 1542 of the sale to Rich.

Miscellaneous Books: the deeds of appointments by Prior Fuller.

Particulars for grants include those for the grant of the priory to Rich in 1544.

Cardinal Pole's book of Pensions given to the canons.

Treasurers' accounts: purchases by Rector Deane at Basingwarke.

¹ Pub. in R. Ser.

² An ancient Venetian family.

CURIA REGIS ROLLS are among the earliest records, but they are not calendared nor indexed. They have records of the priors from 1201.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS record a suit to recover money from the prior, 1445.

EXCHEQUER OF PLEAS, Edward Henry Earl of Warwick versus William Frier for rent for three houses in Kelsey Row, &c.

HUNDRED ROLLS: A *quo warranto* inquisition concerning the prior's courts in the city.

INQUISITIONES AD QUOD DAMNUM contain inquiries as to whether the king's revenues would suffer by certain grants being made to the priory.

INQUISITIONES NONARUM show that the value of the 9th of goods and chattels of the priory in the time of Edward III was 40s. 10d.

INVENTORIES OF THE TREASURY record that a monk consenting to the robbery of the Treasury at Westminster in 1303 was committed to St. Bartholomew's.

ISSUE ROLLS: payments by the king on account of the priory.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLLS give the names of those paying the subsidy in 1543, 1564, and 1623.

LIBER INSTITUTIONUM gives the institutions of the rectors from 1660 to 1814.

LIBERATE ROLLS record two grants by Henry III of £20 each for the works of the church and 8 lasts of herrings (about 100,000) given to the canons.

MEMORANDA ROLLS record on the side of both the King's remembrancers and the Lord Treasurer's remembrancers matters to be kept in remembrance concerning the priory, such as releasing it from tallage in 1325, concerning revenues in time of voidance in 1363 and 1415, and releasing from paying subsidies in 1449, &c.

OBLATION ROLLS in 1204 record the giving of 20 marks to the king for the right to a debt the prior owed him, &c.

ORIGINALIA ROLLS of the Court of Exchequer record grants by the Crown where any rent is reserved, as in the king's grant to Rich.

PATENT ROLLS contain the king's licence to elect a prior, licences for alienation after an inquisition held, licences for founding chantries, promises for repayment of loans to the king, pardons for outlawry, quittance from paying corodies, letters of protection, &c.

FEET OF FINES, *Pedes Finium*, contain the agreements concerning the conveyance of properties of the monastery.

PARLIAMENTARY WRITS, and WRITS OF MILITARY SUMMONS, show two occasions when the prior had to raise men-at-arms in the time of Edward II.

PARTICULARS FOR GRANTS (see Court of Augmentations).

PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY, time Queen Elizabeth, record the law-suits concerning the Smithfield Gate-house and the glebe houses.

RENTALS AND SURVEYS. There is an exact survey of the inheritance in the parish of Henry Rich, and the profits of the Fair made in 1616.

REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER of the Public Records. In one of these is recorded the king's assent to the election of Prior Gilbert (the document is now missing).

STATE PAPERS. The calendars of these consist of Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII, ed. by J. S. Brewer (1509-41); Domestic 1547, 1660. Committee for the Advance of Money, 1642-56; Committee for compounding, &c., 1643-60. The records in these papers are very varied and very numerous.

THE WILL OF KING HENRY VII (see pl. IX, p. 224).

PUBLISHED MS. RECORDS

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS, ROLLS SERIES

No.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by John Capgrave, refers to the grant of Indulgences by the pope in 1409.
4. *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. i., ed. J. S. Brewer, records the gift of a quit rent by Prior Gilbert to the Grey Friars in 1261.
12. *Munimenta Gildhallae: Liber Albus; Liber Custumarum*, ed. H. T. Riley.
14. A collection of POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS (&c.) Edw. III-Hen. VIII: records the great earthquake of 1382.
28. *Chron. Monasterii S. Albani*. (1) Thos. Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana*: refers to Roger Walden and to the pope's Indulgences. (3) *Iohannis de Trokelowe et Henr. de Blanesford*, *Chron. et Annales*, 1392-1406; Roger Walden's death.
36. *Annales Monastici*. (I) *Ann. de Theokesberia*, 1066-1263: the quarrel between the Archbishop and the canons in the church; *Annales de Burton*, 1004-1263: the absolution of the prior excommunicated in consequence. (III) *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*: the election of G., canon of Osney as prior, 1213; Gerard substituted for Prior John, 1232.
57. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chron. Maiora*: the scene between the Archbishop and canons in the church, 1250 (there is a translation by J. A. Giles, 1893).
67. MATERIALS FOR THE HIST. OF THOS. BECKET. (III) Fitz-Stephen's description of the city of London (before 1179), a vivid picture of the Friday horse market and horseracing in Smithfield.
73. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF GERVASE OF CANTERBURY: a list of nine religious houses in Middlesex, of which St. Bartholomew's is one.
76. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I AND EDWARD II. *Annales Paulini*: an account of the risings of the barons

against the Despensers. Lord Hugh de Audley was lodged at the priory, and the great meeting of earls and barons took place in the priory hall.

82. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II, AND RICHARD I: IV refers to one *Johannis Raher*.
85. *Litterae Cantuarienses*. The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, record that Archbishop Arundel directed 'Dirige' and 'Mass of Requiem' for Roger Walden.
91. *Lestorie des Engles solum la translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar* mentions one *Whericus Rahere*.
92. CHRONICLE OF HENRY KNIGHTON, canon of Leicester, avers that Wat Tyler was drawn into St. Bartholomew's church.
95. *Flores Historiarum* (Matthew of Westminster). This and Matthew Paris alone give the correct date of the founding of the priory, 1123 (Fabyan and Hollinshed say 1102, Sprott 1112).

OTHER CHRONICLES AND DIARIES

The CHRONICLE OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND (time Richard I), ed. by Sir E. Clarke: a picture of monastic life in the twelfth century.

ENGLISH CHRONICLE from 1377-1461 (Camden Socy., No. 64) tells of Roger Walden.

The CHRONICLE OF WILLIAM GREGORY (Camden Socy., No. XVII N.S.): the acquittal of Roger Walden on the charge of treason, 1402.

A CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND during the reign of the Tudors, 1485-1559, by Chas. Wriothesley (Camden Socy., No. XI N.S.), records the suppression in 1539 and the resuscitation in 1556.

CHRONICLES OF FABYAN. Reprinted from Pynson's edn., 1516. Index by Henry Ellis. Burnings and jousts in Smithfield. Gives a wrong date for the founding of the church (3 Hen. I).

DIARY OF HENRY MACHYN, 1550-63 (Camden Socy., No. XLII N.S.), records funerals and other events during the Dominican occupation of the church.

HAYWARD'S ANNALS OF ELIZABETH (Camden Socy., No. 7). The author lived in Bartholomew Close.

DIARY OF WALTER YOUNG, ESQ. (Camden Socy., No. 41) refers to the Earl of Middlesex.

The JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY records his preaching in the church in 1739, 1747, and 1748, and in the (late) chapter-house in 1750. (The parish registers record his conducting weddings here in 1750.)

Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1706-90). He worked at Palmer's printing works in the Lady Chapel, 1725.

EPISCOPAL REGISTERS

The CANTERBURY AND YORK SOCY. *Diocesis London. Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend.* (In progress.) (See records at St. Paul's above.) *Diocesis Lincolnensis: Rotuli Hugonis de Welles* (1209-35), *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*. Both registers have records of the possessions of the priory in Mentmore, co. Bucks.

THE PAPAL REGISTERS

Calendars of entries relating to Great Britain and Ireland are published. The *Regesta* at the Vatican commence in 1198, and are continued to the end of the sixteenth century. They consist of more than 2,000 volumes. References to the priory in these calendars are as follows: In 1238 and onwards are mandates to the prior to act with others to carry out the directions of the pope in many and various matters. In 1250 is a letter annulling the sentence of excommunication of the prior, subprior, sacristan, cellarer, and precentor of the priory, incurred in connexion with the visitation of the Archbishop. In 1252 is the pope's final decision upholding the Archbishop's rights in the case. In 1345 and 1353 are letters concerning the reservation of churches on voidance for the pope or for some individual. In 1352 Letters of Indulgence to certain canons of the priory to choose confessors to give plenary absolution during the plague. Four letters occur between the years 1390 and 1394 conferring on certain of the canons the dignity of papal chaplain. In 1398 are instructions to the prior to examine a priest, and in 1400 to examine a clerk not in Holy Orders, for the office of Notary. In 1406 Dispensation was granted to the prior, in the event of his resignation, to hold a benefice with cure. In 1409 the grant of Indulgences is given in full. The Grant is to all who visit the church on certain days and give alms for the repairs of the buildings; it states the causes which have led to the buildings being in such a ruinous condition, and enumerates the works of restoration that had been carried out by the prior; and in 1424 is a mandate to the Bishop of London to absolve from excommunication a canon of the priory (who eventually became prior); and in 1426 a confirmation of the Bishop of London's action in assigning a larger portion of the revenue of the priory to St. Sepulchre's for an assistant chaplain.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

- 1st Report—MSS. in Kimbolton Castle, a compotus of Robert Glasyer, canon collector of rents in the Close.
- 4th Report—MSS. of J. R. Ormsby-Gore. Concerning the assent to the election of a prior in the absence of the king.
MSS. of Earl de la Warr. Transcript of Thomas Gundry's letter to the Earl of Middlesex which speaks of the poor of the parish as the commodity the parish had got by the Earl of Holland's building.
- 5th Report—MSS. of the Duke of Sutherland, at Trentham. Concerning the burial of Rachel Bromley in Sir Walter Mildmay's tomb and the Bede Roll of Prioress Lucy of Hedingham.
MSS. of the House of Lords. A man forcibly removed from the Liberty of St. Bartholomew's, 1643; a petitioner complains that one John Bickley accompanied by four soldiers repaired to his house, broke open his door, and carried him forth into the Liberty of the City.

- 7th Report—MSS. House of Lords. A certificate of those who made any stay in the parish after the time limited by proclamation.
- 8th Report—MSS. of the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. Reference to Prior John de Pekesden, collector of a grant to the king, and the founding of a chantry for Walter Shirington in the priory church or in St. Paul's.
- 9th Report—MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.
- 11th Report, Part I—MSS. of H. D. Skrine. Salvetti correspondence and his burial in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's.

VALUATIONS

- Testa de Nevill*, a book of knights' fees, Henry III and Edward I. It makes reference to some churches of Suffolk which were possessions of the priory.
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 1288-91 (for granting tenths to Edward I for the Holy War). Records the valuations of the temporalities and spiritualities of the priory.
- Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535 (made to ascertain the first fruits due to the king). Records the valuation of the priory and its possessions.

CHARTERS, DEEDS, ETC., PUBLISHED

- ABBOTSFORD CLUB, Account of the monastic treasures confiscated at the dissolution of the various houses in England, by Sir John Williams, Kt., late master and treasurer of the jewels. Gives a list of the plate of the priory.
- DUGDALE, Sir William, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, enlarged by John Caley, Sir Henry Ellis, and Rev. B. Bandinel, 1846, gives a list of the priors, though this is incomplete, and a brief history (which states that Rahere was supposed to have lived until 1213, though the Book of the Foundation, here given in Latin, shows that he died in 1143). The Miracles from the Book of the Foundation are not given. It gives the charter of privileges, 33 Hen. I (1133), the charter of 37 Hen. III (1253), reciting the possessions of the monastery, and a Brief exonerating the hospital from tenths and fifteenths and other burdens (26 Edw. III, 1351-3). The total valuation and the possessions of the monastery is given from *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535, and the names and valuations of the possessions from *Computi Ministrorum* in 1540-1.
- DUGDALE, Sir William, Summons to Parliaments from 49 Hen. III. Records the summons of the prior to Simon de Montfort's parliament (1264).
- HASTINGS, Lord, Ordinances of Chivalry, a MS. collection, published in *Archaeologia*, vol. lvii, 29, by Viscount Dillon. Gives a representation of a single combat in Smithfield with a view of the priory church (1441-2).
- PLACITA DE QUO WARRANTO, temp. Edw. I, II, III, published by the Record Commission. Shows an inquiry by what warrant the prior held his many privileges.

- RYMER, T., *Foedera*. Records the special exemption of the priory by Edward III when legislating against frauds in the drapery trade.
- STATUTES OF THE REALM, 1 Eliz., cap. xxiv, s. 16. Enacts that St. Bartholomew the Great shall remain for ever a parish church.
- TÄNNER, Thomas, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. 1737, has also been consulted.
- WILKINS, D., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*. Records the appointment of the prior in 1408 to a council on the Lollards; the signature of Prior Fuller to the 'six articles', 1539 (&c., &c.).

PRINTED BOOKS

HISTORIES, SURVEYS, BIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

- ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL. Concerning the Fair, &c.
- ALLEN, Thomas, *History and Antiquities of London*. Gives a description of the dissenters' school, 1828; of the domestic stair in the Lady Chapel; a plan copied from Wilkinson; and bosses copied from Malcolm. He copies Stow in a wrong date of the foundation; the Lady Chapel is called the prior's house; the top storey the infirmary; the south chapel the Lady Chapel; the sacristy is called the chapter-house; and the meeting-house when in the chapter-house is confused with that in the south triforium.
- ANTIQUARIAN ETCHING CLUB Publications, 1849-54. Etchings, &c., of bosses from the cloister.
- ARCHAEOLOGIA, published by the Society of Antiquaries, London. Contains in vol. xv, 401, a description of the seal of Prior Perrin; in vol. xix, 49, that of Rahere's seal; in vol. lvii, 29, the Ordinance of Chivalry referred to above; in vol. lix, 375, notes on the priory with a plan of the parish, by E. A. Webb (1905); and in vol. lxiv, 165, the plan of the church and recent excavations by the same (1913).
- ARCHER, John Wickham, *Vestiges of Old London*, 1851. Contains views of room in Coach and Horses over West Cloister Walk, of Smithfield Gate and of Rahere's tomb; also references to monastic buildings which are useful though the buildings are wrongly named.
- ARNOLD'S *Chronicle*, ed. by F. Douce. Gives the temporalities, 1519.
- BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, ed. Dr. Kippis, 1778-93. Concerning Dr. Francis Anthony.
- BLACKSTONE, Sir William, *Commentaries of the Laws of England*, 1844. Concerning the Court of Pie-powder.
- BRAYLEY, Edw. Wedlake, *Londiniana*, 1829. Concerning the Fair.
- BRITTON, J., and BRAYLEY, E. W., *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1815. A copy from Malcolm as regards the church, and from Wilson as regards the nonconformists in the triforium.
- CAMPBELL, John, Lord, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors . . .* 1845-1869. The life of Rich.
- CARTE, Thomas, *General History of England*, 1709, vol. ii. Concerning Walden's committal to the Tower.
- CARTER, J., *The Priory Surveyed*, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1809 (lxxix. 226). A careful and accurate survey. Carter was an architect and draftsman to the Society of Antiquaries.

- CHAMBERS, Robert, *The Book of Days*. Concerning the Fair and Lady Holland's mob.
- CLARE, Rev. J. B., Wenhaston, Suff., *Curious Parish Records*. Refers to St. Bartholomew's Chapel, Wenhaston.
- CLARK, Andrew, *The Foundation Deeds of Felsted School and Charities*, printed for private issue at the Oxford University Press, 1916.
- COOPER, Charles Henry, *Memoir of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby*, 1874. Payments made to Prior Bolton concerning the Lady Margaret's tomb.
- COX, J. C., *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 1913. Fourteenth to close of the seventeenth century.
- DELAMOTTE, W. A., *The Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew and Priory*, 1844, gleaned from the *Book of the Foundation*, Knight's London, and Malcolm. It has a view of the exterior of the south side of the church after the fire of 1830 (p. 13); of the interior; of the north side of Middlesex Passage, and of late twelfth-century capitals. (The dormitory is called the refectory.) All the views are interesting, but those by the author himself are very badly drawn.
- DOBSON, Austin, *Memoirs of William Hogarth*, 1907.
- DUGDALE, Sir William, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*; Continuation by Henry Ellis, 1818. Records the collation of one Rahere to the prebend of Chamberlain Wood, and the appointment by the pope of Roger Walden as Bishop of London.
- ECCLESIOLOGIST, THE, vol. 26. Records the finding of remains of the pulpitum.
- ECTON, John, *Liber Valorum et Decimarum*, 2nd ed., 1723. Tenths paid by St. Bartholomew's.
- ENTIC, J., *History and Survey of London*, 1766. Concerning the Fair.
- FINCHAM, Henry W., *An Historical Account of Canonbury Tower*; with a description of its recent restoration, by Major C. E. Dance, 1908.
- FISHER, Major Payne, *Catalogue of the tombs in the churches of the city of London*.
- FOSTER, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses*: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, published 1891-2. Notes on some of the rectors.
- FOX, John, *Acts and Monuments*, 9th ed., 1684. The Smithfield burnings.
- FRESHFIELD, Edwin, jun., *The Communion Plate of the Churches in the City of London*. Describes the plate of St. Bartholomew's, 1894.
- FROST, Thomas, *The Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*, 1874. Concerning Bartholomew Fair.
- FROUDE, J. A., *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, published 1862-70. Promotions of Rich in the will of Henry VIII.
- FRYER, Alfred C., *Three Pre-reformation Fonts in London*. Reprinted from the *Archaeological Journal*, 1914. A description and photograph of the font at St. Bartholomew the Great.

- FULLER, Thomas, *Worthies of England*, 1662. A few observations on Prior Fuller.
- GODWIN, Geo., and BRITTON, J., *Churches of London*, 1837. A view of the east end of the north aisle, and a record that the vaulting of the cloister was of chalk and rubble.
- HALSTED, Caroline A., *Life of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII*, 1839. Records that the epitaph on her tomb was composed by Erasmus.
- HAMPSON, R. T., *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, 1841. Concerning St. Bartholomew's and St. Bartholomew's Day.
- HATTON, Edward, *New View of London*, 1708. Describes the heraldry on all the tablets in the church.
- HENNESSEY, George, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*. A continuation of Newcourt. The date of the surrender is given as 1540 instead of 1539; Robert Hill, rector of St. Bartholomew Exchange, 1613, is included among the rectors of St. Bartholomew the Great.
- HENTZNER, Paul, *A journey into England in the year 1598*, printed 1757. A description of the Lord Mayor at the Fair.
- HERBERT, William, *The History of the twelve great Livery Companies*, 1836, records the attendance of the prior at the feasts of the Drapers' Company; the relations of the Merchant Taylors' and Drapers' Companies with Bartholomew Fair; and the finding by the Goldsmiths' Company of a maker of debased silver goblets within the precinct of the priory.
- HIBBERT, Francis Aidan, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries as illustrated by the suppression of the religious houses of Staffordshire*, 1910.
- HONE, William, *The Everyday Book*, 1826. A visit to Canonbury Tower and a long account of the Fair.
- HOOK, W. F., *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 1860-7. Includes the life of Roger Walden.
- HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, *Proceedings*, vol. vii. Concerning John and Maximilian Colt (Poictrin).
- KEMPE, A., *Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand*, 1825. Concerning the pension paid by the priory to St. Botolph's.
- KNIGHT, Charles, *London*, 1841. An honest history with good woodcuts; one of the south side of the church after the fire of 1830; one of the Founder's tomb; a view from the organ gallery; the undercroft of the dormer; the old poors' box, &c. He confuses the cloister of the church with that of the hospital; the Lady Chapel with the frater; the dormer with the hall; and the undercroft with the crypt.
- LE NEVE, John, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, corrected and continued by T. Duffus Hardy, 1854. Concerning Bishop Roger Walden and prebendary Raherius or Ragerius.
- LELAND's *Collectanea De Rebus Britannicis*, Hearne, 1770. Refers to charter 33 Hen. I. Gives a wrong date for the foundation; mentions the anchoress at the hospital.

- LEWIS, Samuel, A Topographical Dictionary of England, 1845. Concerning St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth.
- LEWIS, Samuel, jun., History of Islington, 1849. Includes Canonbury and several references to St. Bartholomew's.
- LEWIS, T. Hayter, and SLATER, William, Report of the State of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, April 1863.
- LEWIS, T. Hayter, A Paper on the Church read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, January 30, 1866, and published in the *Transactions* of the Society.
- LLOYD, David, *Memoires*, 1668. Concerning Dr. Westfield.
- LYSONS, David, The Environs of London, 2nd ed., 1810. Deals with Canonbury, Renters, Little Stanmore, and Canons. Very reliable, though the tithes of Chalton are said to have been held by the hospital instead of by the priory.
- MAITLAND, William, The History and Survey of London, 1756. As regards St. Bartholomew's very inaccurate.
- MALCOLM, James Peller, *Londinium Redivivum*, 1803. As regards St. Bartholomew's, original throughout. Books I and II of the Book of the Foundation, with one of the miracles, are given, also an illustration and table of contents from the illuminated MS. copy of the Decretals of Gregory IX, and a valuable print of the quire and of five bosses from the cloister. The Smithfield Gate is properly described as an entrance to the church; inscriptions on monuments no longer extant are given; also a view of the mediaeval pulpit; and a description of the remains of the monastic buildings.
- MILMAN, Henry Hart, Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral, 2nd ed., 1869. Concerning Bishop Roger Walden.
- MILMAN, Henry Hart, History of Latin Christianity, 4th ed., 1883. The lives of the popes.
- MOORE, Sir Norman, Bart., M.D., The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1918. The monastic charters and papal bulls still in the possession of the Governors are reproduced in facsimile with seals attached; light is thrown on some doubtful priory dates.
- MOORE, Norman, M.D., The Charter of King Henry the First to St. Bartholomew's Priory, 1133, edited with notes from the copy in the Record Office, on the occasion of the restoration of the south transept to the use of the church, March 14, 1891.
- MOORE, Norman, M.D., The Ordinance of Richard de Ely, Bishop of London as to St. Bartholomew's Priory in West Smithfield. Edited from the original document, 1886.
- MOORE, Norman, M.D., A Brief Relation of the Past and Present State of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1895. Deals briefly with the founder and the patron Saint.
- MOORE, Norman, M.D., The Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, its Foundation, Present Condition, and Funeral Monuments, 8th ed., 1915. (A guide book for visitors.)
- MORES, E. R., Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders,

- 1778 (only 8 copies printed, 3 are in the B.M.). Concerning the foundry of T. and J. James next the Lady Chapel.
- NEWCOURT, Richard, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1708. Newcourt was a notary public, and for twenty-six years held the office of principal registry of the diocese. Deals with the London Spiritualities of the priory; a wrong date for the foundation is given, otherwise very reliable.
- NEWTON, William, London in Olden Times, 1855. Inaccurate and not original.
- NICHOLS, John, Progresses, Processions, and Festivities of James I, 1828. Gives Queen Elizabeth's remark to Mildmay concerning Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
- 'NORMANUS', An illustrated account of St. Bartholomew's Priory Church, Smithfield, 56 engravings from original sketches; undated, *cir.* 1883 or earlier. Deals with the priory, hospital, Canonbury, and seals. Illustrations grotesquely drawn but the subjects are interesting, such as the exterior of the Lady Chapel as a fringe factory; the great staircase therein; Houses in Cloth Fair and Back Court; and the Bridges organ, 1731.
- NOTES AND QUERIES, on Bolton's fear of an inundation; on a Tyburn ticket; Bartholomew Fair, &c.
- OMAN, Charles, The Great Revolt of 1381, published 1906. Records Wat Tyler being struck down in front of St. Bartholomew's Church.
- PARKER, J. H., The Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. A lecture delivered in the church, July 13, 1863. The misconception about the dormitories is rectified; the undercroft explained; the ambulatory behind the altar illustrated; and a view given from the organ gallery before the restoration of 1864.
- PEARCE, E. H., Annals of Christ's Hospital, 1901. Records that the boys were accommodated at St. Bartholomew the Great Church after the Great Fire of 1666.
- PENNANT, Thomas, Some Account of London, 3rd ed., 1793. As to St. Bartholomew's, it should be ignored.
- PEPYS, Samuel, Diary, edited with additions by H. B. Wheatley, 1897. Recounts his visits to the bookshops in Duck Lane.
- RAPIN, Paul de Thoyras, History of England, 1784. Translated from the French and continued by N. Tindal. Concerning Sir Walter Mildmay's commission to treat with the Queen of Scots.
- REED, Talbot Baines, Letter Founders, 1887. Concerning Thomas and John James's letter foundry in the house adjoining the east end of the Lady Chapel.
- RILEY, Henry Thomas, Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, 1188-1274, published 1863. Concerning a tron set up by the prior.
- RILEY, Henry Thomas, Memorials of London and London Life from 1276-1419, published 1868. Payment to the prior to find canons to celebrate mass.
- rites of DURHAM, Surtees Society. Concerning the charnel house.
- Rock, Daniel, Church of Our Fathers, ed. 1905. Concerning the monastic habit, &c.

- SARGEAUNT, John, A History of Felsted School, 1889. A history of Sir Richard Rich and his descendants, with a genealogical table.
- SEYMOUR, Robert, Survey of London and Westminster, 1734. Names the streets and gives the numbers of the houses, but otherwise is a copy of Stow.
- SIMPSON, W. S., *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, 1873.
- SMITH, John Thomas, Antiquities of London and its Environs, 1791. A view of the Smithfield Gate.
- SMITH, John Thomas, Ancient Topography of London, 1815. View of the north-east corner of the ambulatory; a reference to Bridge's organ.
- SPELMAN, Sir Hen., *Glossarium Archæologicum*, 1664. The definitions of Anglo-Saxon terms in charters.
- STEVENS, J., History of the Ancient Abbeys, &c., being additional vols. to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1722. Concerning the Order and Prior Fuller.
- STEVENS, James, Ye Perfecte Historie offe ye Antiente Fraternitie offe ye Rahere Almoners, 1882. An account of a benevolent institution founded in the parish of the priory about the date of publication.
- STORER AND GRIEG, Select Views of London and its Environs, 1804. A view of the Smithfield Gate and of the east walk of the cloister, by J. Grieg; of the vaulted passage through the dorter, by J. Storer; of Rahere's monument, by F. Nash, &c.
- STOW, John, A Survey of London; written in 1598, revised by him in 1603. The statements made concerning the parish chapel and the bells and the monuments are invaluable. C. L. Kingsford's edition is most valuable.
- STRICKLAND, Agnes, Lives of the Queens of England, 1840. Concerning Dr. Bartlett, Sir Richard Rich, and Princess Mary.
- STRYPE, John, A Survey of London (&c.) written at first in the year 1598 by John Stow, 1720. Describes the later monuments; the founding is attributed to 1102 instead of to 1123; and the founding of the fair to Henry II instead of Henry I.
- STRYPE, John, Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1694. Concerning the character of Sir Richard Rich.
- STRYPE, John, The History of the Life of Edmund Grindal, the first Bishop of London and the second Archbishop of York and Canterbury, successively, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1710. Concerning the proposed removal of the lead from the church of St. Bartholomew for St. Paul's.
- THOMPSON, A. Hamilton, English Monasteries, 1913. Much precise and concise information.
- THORPE, B., *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, 1865. Concerning indictions.
- THORPE, Mary and Charlotte, London Church Staves, 1895. Gives an engraving of the staff or verge at St. Bartholomew's.
- TOMLINSON, E. M., A History of the Minorities, London, 1907. A

- parish which enjoyed even greater privileges than the parish of St. Bartholomew's.
- TURNER, William Henry, Calendar of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library. Enumerates Middlesex Roll I, the rental already referred to above, and the places mentioned therein.
- TYERMAN, Rev. Luke, Life of John Wesley, 1870-1. The Bishop of London's reply to a complaint that Wesley was frequently invited to preach at St. Bartholomew's.
- UNWIN, G. T., The Gilds and Companies of London, 1908. The abandonment of search by the city companies.
- URLIN, R. Denny, The Churchman's Life of Wesley. Concerning rector Bateman's invitation to him to preach at St. Bartholomew's.
- VETUSTA MONUMENTA, vol. ii, published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, 1784. A good history of the priory though the dates are incorrect; plates xxxvi and xxxvii delineate the Founder's Tomb, the seals and architectural details; vol. vii, pt. iv, 1906, contains the obituary roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster (1532), and of Lucy, prioress of Hedingham (1230).
- VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY OF LONDON, 1909. An excellent article on the priory is from original documents, but no account is given of the Dominican occupation of the priory. There was not an Alan prior in 1181, nor a Simon Wynchecombe prior in 1392, as here stated. Prior John (de Kensington)'s dates were 1295-1316, not 1306-23; John (de Pekesden)'s dates were 1316-50, not 1338-50; and there was a Prior Roger about 1174 not mentioned. The tablet in the porch of the church is correct, but has not been followed.
- WALFORD, Cornelius, Fairs Past and Present, 1883. A history of Bartholomew Fair arranged chronologically.
- WALCOTT, Mackenzie E. C., St. Bartholomew's Priory Church. Reprint from the *Churchman's Companion* of June 1864. The monastic buildings are correctly named.
- WAY, Albert, Notices of Ancient Ornaments (in a book at the Society of Antiquaries labelled City Plate and Maces), and concerning portable altars.
- WEBB, E. A., Views of the Church by Freeman Dovaston with conjectural plan. History and descriptive notes by E. A. Webb, 14th ed., 1921.
- WEBB, Sidney and Beatrice, English Local Government. The origin and conduct of the select vestry of St. Bartholomew the Great.
- WEEVER, John, Ancient Funeral Monuments, 1631. A description of a memorial tablet of Prior Bolton; a statement that Roger Walden was buried in the church, and his epitaph, but no authority is given.
- WELCH, Charles, Modern History of the City of London, 1896. Records fires in the Close, &c.
- WESLEY, JOHN, THE JOURNAL OF, published 1903, Standard edition. His preaching at St. Bartholomew's.
- WHARTON, Henry, *Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus*, 1695. Roger Walden's arms with reference to Lambeth MS. 555.

- WHARTON, Henry, *Anglia Sacra, sive collectio historiarum de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliae*, 1691. Gives the arms of Roger Walden from Lambeth MS. 555.
- WHEATLEY, Henry B., *London Past and Present*, 1891. States that Sir Walter Mildmay had his house in Paul's Wharf in 1570.
- WHITE, Alfred, A paper on the priory read at the church, 1859 (of no moment).
- WILKINSON, Robert, *Londina Illustrata*, 1819. (The section 'The Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew the Great', 1821, missing in some copies.) It contains an abridged translation of the grant to Rich; the words of the proclamation of the fair; particulars of the boundary dispute with St. Botolph's; an engraving of the fourteenth century seal; an original plan of the priory (though the Lady Chapel, Sacristy, and Chapter-house are wrongly named). There are good views of the interior of the church looking east, and of the interior of the chapter-house when used as a meeting-house, both by T. H. Shepherd; and of the south transept in ruins by Nash.
- WILSON, Walter, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting-Houses in London*, 1808. Concerning the meeting-house in the south triforium and sacristy.
- WITTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL, The original statutes of the founder, A.D. 1558, and the schemes and rules of the Endowed Schools Commission for its future management, 1874 and 1895. Printed by order of the governors, Northwich, 1899. (A pamphlet, edited by John Weston.)
- WOOD, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses*, History of all the Writers and Bishops . . . of Oxford. Also *Fasti Oxonienses*, 1500-1695, published 1721.
- WORLEY, George, *The Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield*, 1908. (For the Bell series.) Reliable and copiously illustrated, but the plan is not the latest.
- WOTTON, Sir Henry, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*; or a collection of Lives, &c., 1651. Gives the verse on the death of Sir Albert Morton's wife: 'He first deceased', &c.
- WYLIE, J. H., *History of England under Henry IV*, 1884-96, has an excellent account of Roger Walden in vol. iii.

POSSESSIONS

- ARMSTRONG, B. J., *Account of Little Stanmore*, 1861. Deals with Whitchurch (Canons) and Handel's connexion there.
- CHAUNCEY, Sir Henry, *Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700. Deals with Tewin.
- COPINGER, W. A., *Materials for the history of the County of Suffolk* (no date), vol. v. Concerning Little Yarmouth, Gorleston, and Lowestoft churches.
- CUSSANS, J. E., *History of Hertfordshire*, 1870-81. Deals with Wall Hall, Elstree, Homes, and Tewin.

- LIPSCOMBE, George, History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham, 1847. Deals with the church of Mentmore.
- LYSONS, Daniel (see above). Deals with Canonbury, Renters, Little Stanmore, and Canons.
- MORANT, Philip, History of Essex, 1763. Deals with New Hall, Langley, Theydon Bois, Danbury, Bradfield, and Shortgrove, but it omits to mention that Bradfield church belonged to St. Bartholomew's until 1239.
- MUILMAN, Peter, History of Essex, 1770-72. In part copied from Morant.
- NELSON, John, The History of Islington, 1829. Deals with Canonbury.
- NICHOLS, John, History and Antiquities of Canonbury House, Islington, 1826, very reliable. The deed of surrender is also given *in extenso*.
- PALMER, Charles John, The Perustration of Great Yarmouth with Gorleston and South Town, 1875. Throws light on the question of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, and the friary at Gorleston.
- PINKS, William J., The History of Clerkenwell, 1880. Concerning the water supply of the priory in 1433; records the discovery of early glazed tiles in Cloth Fair.
- REDSTONE, V. B. (Ed. by), Memorials of Old Suffolk, 1908; extracts from the *Liber Consuetudinarius* of the abbey of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds.
- ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire (1910, concerning Tewin; and in Essex, vol. i, 1916).
- SALMON, Nathaniel, The History of Hertfordshire, 1728. Deals with Tewin and Amwell.
- SUCKLING, Alfred, History and Antiquities of Suffolk, 1846. Deals with Gorleston and Lowestoft.
- VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY OF ESSEX. The first volume deals with Bradfield.
- WRIGHT, Thomas, History of Essex, 1842. Reference to the church of Danbury.

ARCHITECTURE

- BLOXAM, Mathew Holbeche, The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1882.
- BOND, Francis, Gothic Architecture in England, 1905.
- BOND, Francis, Westminster Abbey, 1909.
- PARKER, John Henry, A B C of Gothic Architecture, 1885.
- PARKER, John Henry, A concise Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture.
- SCOTT, George Gilbert, An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture, 1881.
- WEST, George Herbert, Gothic Architecture in England and France, 1911.

THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER

- CLARK, John Willis, The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire, 1897. (From the Harl. MS. 3601, known as the Barnwell Cartulary.)
- DUGDALE, Sir William (see above), vol. vi, gives the canons of the order.
- GASQUET, Abbot, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, 1913.
- HEALES, Major Alfred, The Records of Merton Priory, 1898.
- HEALES, Major Alfred, The History of Tanridge Priory, 1885.

TOPOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS

- CRACE, Frederick, A catalogue of maps, plans, and views of London, Westminster, and Southwark. Ed. by John Gregory Crace (his son), 1878, now in the B.M. It contains copies of many maps, plans, and drawings of Cloth Fair houses, including one of the Coach and Horses before demolition in 1851.
- GARDNER, John Edmund, A collection of London topography was in the possession of the late Sir Edward Coates, by whose permission several views of St. Bartholomew's are reproduced in this book. A catalogue was made and published by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge for public auction in 1910, but it was sold privately beforehand to the recent owner.
- LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, Reproductions of Maps and Plans of London.

MAPS

- AGAS, Ralph, *Civitas Londinum*, A map of London of uncertain date, probably between 1570 and 1605. St. Bartholomew's is well shown: the nave destroyed; a bell tower on the north side of the quire; 'le cheyne' in front of the west end of the nave; a water conduit in the Close; the Fair ground unbuilt upon and the priory garden existing. St. Paul's is shown without its spire, which was burnt in 1561. The original of this map is in the Guildhall (pl. LVI b, Vol. II, p. 110).
- ANTHONIE VAN DEN WYNGAERDE, View of London *circa* 1550. A pen drawing with considerable detail. A large bell tower is shown on the north side westward of the quire. It has been reproduced by the Typographic Etching Company from the original drawing in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian Library, also for Mediaeval London by the late Dr. William Benham and Mr. Charles Welch, 1901 (pl. LVI a, Vol. II, p. 110). The reproduction in Maps of Old London published by A. and C. Black, 1908, is a copy much altered by N. Whittock in 1849.
- FAIRTHORNE AND NEWCOURT, City of London, 1658. St. Bartholomew's is shown as in Norden's map, though larger. The house over the monastic gate into the close is clearly shown.
- HOEFNAGEL, *Londinum Feracissimi Angliae Regni Metropolis*. A map of London of uncertain date. St. Paul's is shown with a spire. It is taken from BRAUN AND HOGENBURG'S *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572. It may be earlier than the Agas map, which

is almost identical with it as regards St. Bartholomew's except that Hoefnagel does not show 'le cheyne'.

- HOLLAR, View of London, 1647. St. Bartholomew's is hidden by St. Paul's; it is reproduced by the London Topographical Society.
- NORDEN, John, Map of London, 1593. It is on a very small scale. It shows the Fair ground crowded with small houses.
- OGILBY, John, and MORGAN, William, Survey of London, 1677. A large and accurate ground-plan map. Useful in tracing the monastic buildings and streets (pl. LXXX, Vol. II, p. 174).
- ROCQUE, John, Survey of London, 1741-5. An accurate map of the parish. Streets and courts are named as Flying Horse and Parker's yards (pl. LXXX, Vol. II, p. 174).

PLANS

- HARDWICK, Thomas (architect), Plan of the priory in 1791, also sections north to south, now belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. Interesting and useful, but the arcading on the south wall was conjectural only and not correct (pls. LXXII, LXXIII, Vol. II, pp. 134, 136).
- LEWIS, Hayter, and SLATER, William, Twenty-three plans and elevations, &c., of the restoration of 1864, presented to the rector and churchwardens by Mr. Frederick H. Reed, who also presented a duplicate set to the South Kensington Museum.
- WEBB, Sir Aston, Plans, elevations, and sections, being an accurate survey of the church drawn to scale before the restoration was commenced in 1885-6 (pls. LX to LXIII, Vol. II, p. 120).
- Other plans made for this book are plans of the church in 1913 (Vol. II, pp. 3, 7); plan of monastic buildings as in 1616 (Vol. II, p. 77); plan of the priory at the time of the suppression (Vol. II, p. 131); plan of prior's house, chapter house, &c. (Vol. II, p. 134); conjectural plan of the meeting house (Vol. II, p. 168); and plan of the church and parish early in the seventeenth century (Vol. II, p. 199).

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

- BOND, John J., Handy Book of Rules and Tables for verifying dates with the Christian era, 4th ed., 1889, &c.
- BURN, Richard, The Ecclesiastical Law, 8th ed., 1824.
- COX, J. Charles, How to write the History of a Parish, 5th ed., 1909.
- DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Also the index and epitome by Sir Sidney Lee, 1903.
- JACOB, Giles, A new Law Dictionary, 6th ed., 1750.
- MARTIN, Charles Trice, The Record Interpreter. A collection of abbreviations, Latin words, and names used in English Historical Manuscripts and Records, 1892.
- METCALFE, Walter C., Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor made between the fourth year of King Henry VI and the restoration of King Charles II . . . 1885.
- MORGAN, Augustus de, The Book of Almanacks, 2nd ed. 1871.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, Printed Books in the Library of, 1887, and Supplement, 1899. A useful catalogue.
 VINCENT, Benjamin, Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, 20th ed., 1892.
 WHEATLEY, Henry B., How to make an Index, 1902.
 WRIGHT, Andrew, Court-Hand Restored, or the Student's Assistant in reading Old Deeds, Charters, Records, &c., 3rd ed., 1879.

CONTRACTIONS USED

App.	Appendix.
<i>Ann. Mon.</i>	<i>Annales Monastici.</i>
Acts of P.C.	Acts of Privy Council.
<i>Arch. Cant.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana.</i>
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office.
Add. MSS.	Additional MSS.
Belf. cup.	Belfry cupboard.
Bodl. Rent.	Bodleian Rental.
Bk. Found.	Book of the Foundation.
B.M.	British Museum.
Cal. S. P. Dom.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
Cal. Pap. Reg.	Calendar of Papal Registers.
Cal. Let. Bk.	Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London.
Cant. & York Soc.	Canterbury and York Society.
<i>Cart. Antiq.</i>	<i>Cartae Antiquae</i> (Brit. Museum).
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings.
Chap.	Chapter.
Cat.	Catalogue.
<i>cir.</i>	<i>circum</i> (about).
Cler. Sub. R.	Clerical Subsidy Rolls.
Close.	Close Rolls.
Cott.	Cottonian.
C.C.L.	Commissary Court of London.
Corp.	Corporation.
C.C.C. Oxon.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
Chron.	Chronicle.
Cur. Reg. R.	Curia Regis Rolls.
Ct. Hust. R.	Court of Husting Rolls.
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
D. & C.	Dean and Chapter.
Dugd. Mon. Ang.	Dugdale's <i>Monasticon Anglicanum.</i>
Edw.	Edward.
Exch. L.T.R.	Lord Treasurer's side of the Exchequer Rolls.
Exch. K.R.	The King's side of the Exchequer Rolls.
Hen.	Henry.
Hist. MSS. Com.	Royal Commission on Historical MSS.
Holland Cart.	Lord Holland's Cartulary.
Hosp. Cart.	The Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
Hun. R.	Hundred Rolls.

Inq. p.m.	<i>Inquisitiones post mortem.</i>
Inq. a.q.d.	<i>Inquisitiones ad quod damnum.</i>
Lay Sub. R.	Lay Subsidy Rolls.
L. & P. For. & Dom.	Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic.
M. & B.	Master and Brethren.
Malc. <i>Lond. Red.</i>	Malcolm's <i>Londinium Redivivum</i> .
Mem. R.	Memoranda Rolls.
m.	Membrane.
Mem.	Memorials.
Moore, <i>St. B. Hosp.</i>	Sir Norman Moore, <i>History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.</i>
Misc. Bks.	Miscellaneous Books, Augmentation Office.
Newcourt's <i>Rep.</i>	Newcourt's <i>Repertorium</i> .
<i>N. & Q.</i>	<i>Notes and Queries.</i>
Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls.
Par. safe	Parish safe.
Pat.	Patent Rolls.
p.	Page.
Pt.	Part.
Pl.	Plate.
Par. Reg.	Parish Registers.
<i>Plac. de Quo.</i>	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto.</i>
Pap. Reg.	Papal Registers.
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
P. & C.	Prior and Convent.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Reg. Par. Doct.	Register of Parish Documents.
R. & S.	Rentals and Survey P.R.O.
Reg. Lond.	Episcopal Registers at St. Paul's.
Rec.	Records.
Rest. M.B.	Restoration Minute Book.
Rich.	Richard.
R.	Roll.
R. Ser.	Roll Series.
S.T.B.	Sanctae Theologiae Baccalarius (= B.D.).
S.T.D.	Sanctae Theologiae Doctor (= D.D.).
S.T.P.	Sanctae Theologiae Professor (= D.D.).
<i>Tax. Eccles.</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica.</i>
<i>Valor Eccles.</i>	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus.</i>
V.M.B.	Vestry Minute Book.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
<i>Vet. Mon.</i>	<i>Vetusta Monumenta</i> , Soc. Antiquaries.

A MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE ABBEYS,
PRIORIES, FRIARIES, AND PRINCIPAL COLLEGIATE
CHURCHES IN LONDON

LIST OF HOUSES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

	Date. A.D.		No. on the Map
	604.	The Collegiate Church of St. Paul	8
<i>cir.</i>	700.	The Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand	7
<i>cir.</i>	1000.	The Benedictine Nunnery at Clerkenwell	1
	1106.	The Augustinian Priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark	28
	1108.	The Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate	12
	1123.	The Augustinian Priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield	4
	1123.	The Augustinian Hospital of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield	5
<i>cir.</i>	1130.	The Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell	2
	1160.	The Benedictine Nunnery of St. Helen, Bishopsgate	16
	1185.	The House of the Knights Templars or the New Temple	27
	1185.	The Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon, Cheapside	10
	1197.	The Priory of St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate, for poor brethren of the Augustinian Order	15
	1221.	The Convent of Black, Preaching or Dominican Friars	25
	1224.	The Convent of Franciscans, Grey Friars or Friars Minors	6
	1231.	St. Anthony's Hospital by Threadneedle Street	13
	1241.	The Convent of Carmelites or White Friars	26
	1247.	The Hospital or Priory of St. Mary Bethlehem	14
	1253.	The House and Church of Austin Friars	12
	1258.	The House of the Friars de Pœnitentia or of the Sac	11
	1293.	The Franciscan Abbey of St. Clare or house of the Nuns Minoresses	19
	1298.	The Convent or House of Crossed or Crutched Friars	21
	1329.	The Hospital or Priory of St. Mary the Virgin called Elsing Spital	9
	1349.	The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces	20
	1362.	The Carthusian Monastery of the Charterhouse	3
	1369.	The Hospital of the Parish of Barking Church [now All Hallows, Barking]	22
	1380.	The College of St. Michael, Crooked Lane	23
	1424.	The Whittington Hospital of St. Michael de Pater Noster	24
	1430.	The Hospital of the Papey, near the Church of St. Augustine on the Wall	18

INTRODUCTORY

I

THE MONASTERY

THE priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, was, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, one of the most important monasteries in the City of London. After its suppression, in 1539, the monastic quire was made the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great, the parish priest of the monastery being made the first rector of the parish church.

The monastic church and also the hospital of St. Bartholomew were founded in the year 1123; the monastic church for canons regular of the order of St. Augustine was governed by a prior; the hospital for the relief of the sick poor was served by a master who followed the same rule.

The founder, Rahere, had been a frequenter of the court of King Henry I, where he was an obsequious courtier, but whether he was in holy orders is not quite established. He, however, underwent conversion, possibly after the king lost his son in the White Ship whilst crossing the channel in the year 1120. He then gave up his frivolous life and went on pilgrimage to Rome. Whilst there he fell ill and vowed that if he were allowed to recover he would 'erect a hospital for the restoration of poor men'. On his way home he had a vision of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, who told him he was to come to London and found a church in Smithfield. In accordance with this command he founded the church, and in accordance with his vow he founded the hospital.

The priory of St. Bartholomew's was only one of many monasteries within and without the City of London, but it was one of the oldest, one of the wealthiest, and the most important of them (pl. II). It was by no means among the oldest of the ecclesiastical foundations of the city, for the cathedral of St. Paul dates from about the year 610; St. Martin's le Grand from about 700 (although the collegiate church was not founded until 1056). St. Peter's, Cornhill, probably the oldest parish church in London, tradition says was founded some time in the second century; St. Gregory by St. Paul's some time in the ninth; St. Alban's, Wood Street, in the tenth; St. Mary de Arcubus, or Bow Church, in the eleventh; St. Mildred's, Poultry, is also very

early. St. John's Chapel in the White Tower was probably commenced in 1078.

When St. Bartholomew's was founded, in 1123, there were already existing the Benedictine nunnery, Clerkenwell, founded in the year 1100; the hospital of St. Giles's in the Fields, supposed to have been founded in the year 1101, and the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, founded by Queen Matilda in 1108. After the date of St. Bartholomew's there were the house of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; the Benedictine nunnery of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, which some say was founded in the year 1160; the Knights Templars, or the New Temple, founded in 1185; the hospital of St. Thomas (the Martyr) of Acon, in Cheapside, founded about the same time; the priory of St. Mary, Spital, without Bishopsgate (a hospital for poor brethren of the Augustinian order), founded in 1197; St. Mary's Bethlehem Hospital, founded in 1247; and the abbey of St. Clare (or the house of the Nuns Minoresses), near Aldgate, founded in 1293. The hospital called Elsing Spital, near Cripplegate, dates from 1329; the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary Graces (the site of which is now occupied by the Mint) from 1349; the Carthusian monastery of the Charterhouse from 1362; and there were also others of minor importance.

The Friaries all date from the thirteenth century. Thus the Dominicans or Black Friars date from 1221; the Franciscans or Grey Friars from 1224; the Carmelites or White Friars from 1241; the Austin Friars from 1253; the Friars of the Penitencia, or of the Sac, from 1258, and the Crossed or Crutched Friars from 1298.

Fitz Stephen, writing about the year 1174, said there were in his time thirteen large conventual churches in London, but he does not mention them by name. Dugdale does not mention more than nine.

On the west side of the city, outside the wall, the large monastic houses were almost contiguous. Commencing with the Benedictine nunnery of Clerkenwell, there followed: the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; the Charterhouse; St. Bartholomew's Priory; St. Bartholomew's Hospital; the Grey Friars; and the Black Friars, with the White Friars a little farther west.

In relative wealth, as compared with other monasteries in London, St. Bartholomew's, at the time of the suppression, came second, with a net income of £693. The Knights of St. John were first, with an income of £2,385. The income of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, may have been as large as St. Bartholomew's, but the figures are not known, as it was separately suppressed before the others. The Charterhouse came next with £642; then St. Mary's, Spital, with £504. The incomes

of the nunnery of St. Helen's, of St. Katharine's by the Tower, and of St. Bartholomew's Hospital were but little over £300; the Black Friars £104; the White Friars £62; the Crutched Friars £52.

Some idea of the relative sizes of these religious houses is gained by comparing the number of persons in each assessed for the clerical subsidy.¹ Thus in the time of Richard II, in the year 1379, thirty were so assessed at St. Martin's le Grand; twenty-seven at the Nuns Minoreesses; twenty-five at Holy Trinity, Aldgate; twenty-three at St. Bartholomew's, and nine at the hospital. Twenty-two were assessed at the nunnery, Clerkenwell; twenty-one at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; nineteen at St. Mary's, Bishopsgate, and fourteen at the Charterhouse. As regards the amount of assessment, however, St. Bartholomew's and Holy Trinity head the list with an assessment of 500 marks² each.

Although the income of St. Bartholomew's and others of the monasteries may seem to be large, especially when we remember that in comparing the purchasing power of money now with that at the time of suppression we must multiply by $4\frac{1}{2}$,³ which would make the income of St. Bartholomew's equal to over £3,100 of our money, pre-war, it must be borne in mind that the expenses were great, for, in addition to the cost of the maintenance of the fabric of the church and of the monastic buildings, the maintenance of the services, the feeding and clothing of the brethren, the maintenance of the servants, and the large amount expended on hospitality to all comers and the feeding of the poor, there were the heavy subsidies to be provided for the king, besides other calls from the state. So onerous indeed were these outgoings in the case of St. Bartholomew's that in the year 1433,⁴ as we shall see, special steps had to be taken to avoid bankruptcy. In the case of St. Bartholomew's, at any rate, there is no evidence of extravagance or of high living, so often charged against the monasteries in general; such charges are well answered by the facts, patent to all, that the monasteries were the great cultivators of learning and of the arts, and the great educators of the people. They were the centres of religious zeal, the chief almoners of the nation, and types of hospitality. It is to the monasteries we are indebted for the preservation of the Bible, the writings of the early Christians, and all classical learning and literature.⁵

Apart from their religious life they took their part in service to the realm, to the church, and to the papacy; and it may be of

¹ Cler. Subs. 42-4a.

² See also below, p. 170.

³ Professor Ashley, estimate, *Ch. Times*, Apr. 16, 1909, and still more now.

⁴ Below, p. 204.

⁵ Heale, *Tanridge Priory*, 88.

interest to show from the records the part that St. Bartholomew's took in such affairs.

SERVICE TO THE REALM.

When Simon de Montfort, after capturing King Henry III and his son Edward at the battle of Lewes, in 1264, summoned the famous parliament of 1265, he included, among the bishops, abbots, and priors, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, then John Bacun.¹

When the king, as the head of the realm, went to war, in addition to the subsidy granted by Parliament, a subsidy, usually of a tenth, was also granted by the clergy. The following records will serve to show how frequently the Prior of St. Bartholomew's was one of the collectors of that subsidy, and to what extent he was harassed and hustled in carrying out his work ; also they show how he was otherwise called upon to aid the king by loans, both in money and in kind.

In January 1308 King Edward II,² before embarking from Dover to Boulogne to meet Isabella of France, his young bride of thirteen, borrowed from the Prior of St. Bartholomew's a good cart and horse to carry the vessels and the equipment of his household to Dover. On the same occasion the Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, the Master of the Temple, and the Abbot of Westminster had to find three carts each ; other priors had to find two each, and others only one.

In the year 1310 the same king requested a loan of victuals from the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, among others, for his Scotch expedition (though he did not proceed to the battle of Bannockburn until four years later).

The prior, as lord of the manors of Great and Little Stanmore, was under obligation to the king to raise men-at-arms in the event of civil strife. Thus in the year 1321³ the barons, headed by the Earl of Lancaster, rose against the king's (Edward II) new favourites the Despensers, and marched to London under the Earl of Hereford. The citizens would not allow them within the walls of the city, as they did not wish to take sides ; so, while the Earl of Hereford lodged with the Earl of Lancaster at his palace in Holborn, Lord Roger Mortimer at St. John's, Clerkenwell, Lord Roger d'Amari at the New Temple, Lord Hugh Audley lodged at St. Bartholomew's. The next day the earls, barons, and magnates held a great assembly at the priory of St. Bartholomew, the result of which was that, although the citizens declined to help the barons, the king, under the influence of the Earl of Lancaster, had to banish the Despensers. But the next year the king took up arms against the earl, his cousin, whom he

¹ Close, 49 Hen. III, m. 11 d., 24 Dec. Also Rymer, *Fœd.* i, 449.

² Cal. Close, 1 Edw. II.

³ *Annales Paulini*, i, 294. R. Ser.

beheaded, and the Earl of Hereford was slain. This was civil strife, so a parliamentary writ¹ was issued in February 1322 to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and others to raise as many men-at-arms and foot-soldiers as they could, to march against the adherents of Lancaster and to muster at Coventry on the first Sunday in Lent.

In 1328, the year after King Edward III came to the throne, the merchants of the Society of Bardi of Florence had advanced, as the king says, 'a great sum of money for his urgent affairs,' and, as the exchequer was then closed, it being in August, he ordered the collectors of the tenth granted by the clergy, of whom the Prior of St. Bartholomew's was one, 'to pay at once £200 on account without delay or excuse'.²

In the year 1329, during the minority of King Edward III, and whilst the regents were allowing the Queen-mother Isabella and Mortimer to rule, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, as collector of the clerical subsidy³ of a tenth, had to pay £300 out of the subsidy to Queen Isabella, though it was probably required for defraying the cost of the Scotch war.

During the Hundred Years' War with France the records of the calls upon the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for financial aid are very numerous. Thus, at its commencement in the year 1337, when King Edward declared war on Philip, the king urgently required large sums of money both for the war and to secure alliances. He therefore called upon the Prior of St. Bartholomew's to have £550 of the tenth granted by the clergy ready at a short notice, otherwise the prior was to be punished as disobedient.⁴ This was on the 10th of January; on the 23rd of April following the king ordered the prior, together with sixteen other abbots and priors, collectors, to have the money ready before Ascension Day (May 29) and paid over to three merchants of the Society of the Bardi⁵—who had no doubt made him an advance on the strength of the vote of the subsidy. Again, on the 28th of June following, the king ordered the prior to have the money collected by the 21st of July, 'under pain of punishment for disobedience.'⁶ On the day appointed the prior appeared before the Dean of York,⁷ the treasurer, but he was only able to pay part, for the reason given that the Abbot of Waltham and the heads of eight other important monasteries had not yet paid, in spite of the prior's endeavour to levy by ecclesiastical censure. The king

¹ Parl. Writs, Div. III, p. 1437.

³ Cal. Close, 2 Edw. III, Jan. 10.

⁵ Ib., 11 Edw. III, Apr. 23.

⁷ Ib., 11 Edw. III, July 30.

² Cal. Close, 2 Edw. III, Aug. 20.

⁴ Ib., 11 Edw. III, Mar. 20.

⁶ Ib., 11 Edw. III, July 24.

therefore ordered the sheriff to go in person to the defaulting abbots and priors and to levy on their goods, and also ordered that the defaulters should appear before the council to answer for the contempt and injury done.

In 1339 the prior, as collector of the triennial tenth granted by the clergy, and of the wool granted by the prelates, was ordered to receive money from those abbots or priors who, having no wool, wished to pay money instead. They had besought the king to allow them to do this, as the merchants who had wool refused to sell at the fixed price, but asked more.¹

In December of the same year the prior was again ordered to pay money under a threat of severe punishment and distraint, because William de la Pole had advanced money for the war and was prepared to advance more.²

In August of the following year (1340), the prior, as collector for the London diocese, was again ordered to pay arrears due to Pole, otherwise 'the king would stretch forth his hand to him and to his house with the utmost rigour and would cause the money to be levied of his manors, lands, possessions, goods, and chattels'.³ At the same time the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, among others, had been commissioned to collect 20,000 sacks of wool, granted by parliament to enable the king to conclude a treaty with the Flemings against France. The king himself, in January 1341, wrote complaining that the prior and his fellows had not shown sufficient energy in collecting the wool, whereby the king is put to straits and the country endangered. He and his fellows were therefore empowered to arrest and imprison those who showed a reluctance to pay; the Sheriff of Middlesex being instructed to help them by all the means in his power.⁴

In November of 1340 a promise by the king is recorded in the patent rolls to hold the prior harmless in respect of £222 2s. 1d. taken out of the prior's hands by the king's command from money collected by him from procurations of cardinals.⁵

So hard pressed indeed was the king for money for the war that, in November of 1342, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's had been commanded by the king, then in France, to bring before the council at the Tower of London, a chest which had been delivered to the prior and sealed by James Gerard and Daniel de Burgham. The

¹ Cal. Close, 12 Edw. III, Jan. 16.

² Ib., 13 Edw. III, Dec. 16.

³ Ib., 14 Edw. III, Aug. 14.

⁴ Cart. Antiq., Mus. Brit.; L. F. Campbell, *Charters*, xiv, 28.

⁵ Cal. Pat., 14 Edw. III.

chest was there opened in the presence of Queen Philippa, the chancellor, and the treasurer, apparently with the idea that it might contain treasure available for the war. Whether it did or no we are not told, but it was delivered again by the command of the queen to James Gerard the owner, the king promising, by his letters patent, to hold the prior harmless.¹

In 1346, the year when Edward the Black Prince won the battle of Crécy, a commission was issued to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and to other priors, to see that all aliens who were beneficed in the realm, but were not resident in their benefices, came to the king's aid with the value of their benefices for that year, and that other aliens so beneficed and resident helped by way of loan.²

In 1347 the king borrowed money from 141 abbots and priors for the war in France, in sums varying from 9 marks from the Abbot of Dorchester, to £60 from the Abbot of Glastonbury, the amount borrowed from the Prior of St. Bartholomew's being £5, which was to be repaid by All Saints' Day 1349.³

This borrowing by the king for the Hundred Years' War was continued for some time, for in July of 1370 there was paid to the prior £13 6s. 8d. in discharge of 20 marks lent by the prior to the king in the previous March.⁴ And in 1386 the king borrowed £20 from the prior on account of the subsidy granted by the clergy for his war against the Scots, who were then being helped by the French; of this subsidy also the Prior of St. Bartholomew's was one of the collectors.⁵

No doubt the calls upon the monasteries during the Hundred Years' War were exceptionally heavy, but the above quotations will serve to indicate that in times of stress the monasteries took their part in the service of the country. The only recompenses made to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew's that we have found, in return for their labour for the state, were, firstly that at the commencement of the war in 1337 the king gave licence to them to acquire in mortmain land and rents not held in chief, to the yearly value of £20,⁶ thus saving them the great expense of applying for licence for each property they acquired (a licence which the rector and churchwardens of the present day would be glad to possess, because, even in reclaiming land that formed part of the original church itself, they are compelled again to obtain licence in mortmain at a heavy charge).

¹ Cal. Pat., 16 Edw. III.

³ Cal. Pat. 342, 21 Edw. III.

⁵ Cal. Pat., 10 Rich. II.

² Cal. Fine R. 463, 20 Edw. III, Apr. 1.

⁴ Issue R., p. 190.

⁶ Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. III; also below, p. 159

Secondly, in the year 1440 the prior, who was still acting as a collector of the clerical subsidy (as appears from the clerical subsidy rolls of the years 1414¹ and 1426),² was exempted both from paying and from collecting the subsidy.³ But it would appear that this exemption was granted, not so much as a recompense for services rendered, as by reason of the poverty of the house, brought about partly by the many exactions made upon its funds, partly by the reduction of rents in London, which had not recovered from the effects of the Black Death, and partly no doubt by the cost of the great alterations made to the fabric about the year 1405. St. Bartholomew's was not, like many of the monasteries, liable to the payment of corodies (that is, an allowance of money, meat, drink, and clothing due to the king from a religious house of which he was founder) though attempts were made by Kings Edward II and Edward III to impose them.⁴

The yearly payment of £20 to King Henry VIII in the year 1533 recorded in the receipt of William Body, which says 'of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for my master's half year's fee ended at the Annunciation of our Lady £10',⁵ was probably then payable for the first time under the first act of Annates of the year 1532, by which Prior Fuller would have had to pay his first year's income of his ecclesiastical benefices to the king instead of to the pope.

There is an instance in the fourteenth century of the priory being used as a place of safe custody for a monk accused of robbing the king. The king's treasury was under the Chapter-house at Westminster Abbey, and there Edward I stored the regalia and a large amount of money⁶ for the conquest of Scotland after Wallace's victory at Stirling. This strong room was broken into in the year 1303 and (though subsequently recovered) an immense amount of treasure was carried off. We learn from the inventory of the exchequer of that time that a monk, Henry of Wantenge, one of the thieves, was taken in the act and committed to the Priory of St. Bartholomew to remain there until further notice.⁷

There is an instance recorded in the Close Rolls in 1384⁸ showing that the church was expected to find a place of safe custody for public records, for in 1384 the Keeper of the Rolls 'complains to the justices of the Common Bench of four writs being so much damaged and rotten that they could not be read, and he said that

¹ Cler. Sub., 2 Hen. V, $\frac{42}{89^a}$.

³ Pat., 19 Hen. V, pt. 1, m. 15.

⁵ Cal. State Pap. 1533, No. 841.

⁷ Cal. Invent. Exch. P.R.O. i, 293.

² Ib., 4 Hen. VI, $\frac{42}{131^a}$.

⁴ See below, p. 150.

⁶ Bond, *Westm. Abbey*, 74.

⁸ Cal. Close, 8 Rich. II, Mar. 4.

the Prior of St. Bartholomew's Smithfield of the foundation of former kings ought to appoint a place in his church sufficient for safe keeping of all writs and memoranda returned in the said bench' on the ground that the king was seised of the place in the time of the then prior in right of the Crown as founders. The Keeper of the Rolls said that 'the mischief was done to the writs by rain which because of the disrepair of the said church roof, this term suddenly fell by night through a door of the church upon a chest wherein they were put, and the water entered the chest through the keyholes and joints thereof and fell upon the writs' and so he claimed to be excused.

Besides the service of the priory to the king the religious houses in many ways rendered service to the general public in their daily lives :

Inquests were held in the priory of St. Bartholomew, as in the year 1278, when it is recorded that the body of a man who was so severely beaten in a quarrel at Bartholomew Fair that he died a week later was taken to the hostel of St. Bartholomew for the inquest.¹

The right of sanctuary could be claimed at St. Bartholomew's from the first, for we read in the Book of the Foundation 'who would not be astonished that a remarkable building of piety should there be built to be a safe sanctuary to those who fled thereto, where of old was the common place of the condemned and the punishment of the wretched had been inflicted'.² Sanctuary was claimed here in the year 1177 by Honorius le Rumongour, who had slain Roger de Vilers with a knife;³ and by John Toker in the year 1503, to avoid paying his surety to an escheator.⁴

The doors of the monastery were always open to the traveller. Were he rich or poor he could claim board and lodging for a night free of charge, just as now travellers over the Great St. Bernard pass in Switzerland can claim the same from the Augustinian hospice there. The Pope testified to the hospitality of St. Bartholomew's in the year 1409, when he wrote that 'the monastery being in a very famous place of the realm, very many resort thither from the realm and from divers other regions to its grave burden'.⁵

People were also accustomed to consider the monastery as neutral ground in which payments of importance could be made; as in the year 1269, when Stephen de Fuleburn, treasurer of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, received in the conventual church of

¹ Cal. Letter Book B, Guildhall, 278

² Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. x.

³ Riley, *Liber Albus*, cap. xxxii, 88.

⁴ Selden Soc., xii, 9. Court of Requests.

⁵ Cal. Papal Reg. vi, 151.

St. Bartholomew, from Sir John de Grey, for the use of Sir Roger de Leyburn, 500 marks for part of John's ransom for his lands.¹ In the year 1344 a lease of the Manor of Thragelthorpe was granted to the rectors of Bekyngham and Colyngham, Lincoln, on the condition that the rent should be 'payable in the Priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smythefield'.² Also, in the year 1364, the cancelling of a rent was granted on condition that the 80 marks recompense was paid in the priory church.³

The prior would sometimes act as attorney for a man whilst he was out of the country. For instance, in the year 1394, Robert de Faryngton nominated Robert, Abbot of Roche, and John, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, London, his attorneys for one year whilst in Ireland on the king's service.⁴ Or the prior would act as executor to a will, as in the year 1329, when Master Richard de Gloucestre appointed the priors for the time being of Holy Trinity, London, and of St. Bartholomew's to be executors of the portion of his will relating to St. Paul's church and the hospital of the Blessed Virgin without Bishopsgate.⁵ In the year 1340 Prior Pekesden of St. Bartholomew's, Brother Richard de Ivyngzho, his co-canon, and John de Bradewell, chaplain, were all three executors of the will of Thomas Bacoun of Newton, Suffolk. (There was some dispute and the executors sued a '*scire facias*' upon a recognizance against one William Pernill.⁶) In the year 1282 Elias de Wycombe left his house in Aldersgate to be sold under the supervision of his brother Sir Richard de Wycombe, who was a canon of St. Bartholomew's.⁷

At other times the prior would consent to hold some important document between parties which was only to be given up in certain eventualities; as in the year 1350, when a general acquittance, granted by Sir Walter de Manny, the founder of the Charterhouse, to a John Malwayn, citizen of London, was delivered to the prior on the understanding that, if Sir Walter de Manny impleaded John Malwayn by virtue of a recognizance for four pounds made in Sir Walter's favour, then the acquittance was to be delivered to the said John, but if John be not impleaded then the acquittance was to remain in the custody of the prior.⁸

The religious houses rendered very important service to the state by reason of their schools. The most important of these schools in

¹ Hist. MSS. Com.; Middleton MSS. 72.

² Cal. Pat., 18 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 15.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 18 Rich. II.

⁶ Year Book, P.R.O., 14 Edw. III, 318.

⁸ Anc. Deeds, P.R.O. I.B. 198, July 8, 24 Edw. III, French.

³ Cal. Close, 87, 38 Edw. III, m. 5 d.

⁵ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 342.

⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 58.

London was that of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, dating probably from the year 1176. The oldest was that of St. Peter's, Westminster, which was certainly existing in the time of the Conqueror. Stow says that there were also schools in other religious houses in London, among which was that of St. Bartholomew's, as is shown later on.¹ Stow tells us that in his time the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days and the disputing of their scholars logically, had long since been discontinued, but the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar was continued even to his time (1525-1605); he says: 'for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where, upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down.'²

SERVICE TO THE CHURCH.

The monasteries took their part in the government of and deliberations of the church of the realm, the regulars and the seculars working together; and the records show that St. Bartholomew's took its share. Thus we find that the Prior of St. Bartholomew's was frequently summoned to convocation; as in 1407,³ when 'Bro. John, prior of the priory', together with the Dean of St. Paul's, the Archdeacon of London, the Abbot of St. Mary Graces, the priors of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and of St. Mary's, Spital, the masters of St. Thomas of Acon, of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, of the college of St. Lawrence Pountney, and many others, were included in the mandates of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the convocation to be held at St. Frideswide's, Oxford.

The next year, 1408,⁴ those cited by the Archbishop included the Bishops of London, of Winchester, of Exeter, of Lincoln, and of Salisbury; also the Abbots of St. Albans, of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, of Peterborough, and of Bury St. Edmunds, John the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and others. This was an important meeting summoned to consider the best means of dealing with Lollardism.

In the year 1437,⁵ 'Reginald, Prior of the priory of St. Bartholomew', was cited, together with fifteen bishops, eleven abbots, and twenty other priors to meet at St. Paul's on the 1st of May. In 1439⁶

¹ See Vol. II, chap. ii, N. Triforium.

² Stow, 28.

³ Reg. London, Walden, 33 (Bishop Clifford) printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 306.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 306 et seq.

⁵ Reg. London, Gilbert, 79.

⁶ Ib., Gilbert, 86.

'Prior John' was cited, but, as Reginald Collier was prior from 1436 to 1471, the scribe must have entered John in the episcopal register in error. In 1509¹ and in 1529² Prior William Bolton was cited.

The General Chapter of the order was occasionally held at St. Bartholomew's, as we show later, and, in addition, there is a record³ that in the year 1458 the monastery was used by the Anglo-Premonstratensians, which was an allied order, for a general chapter of all their abbots, for the reason mentioned in the citation, viz. 'that the advice they will need to seek in temporals as well as in spirituals would be harder to obtain in a more remote spot'.

The priory church was constantly used, and occasionally the church of the hospital also, for ordinations. From the registers at St. Paul's it appears that the ordinations were always held on a Saturday (*die Sabbati*), and at any rate from the middle of the fifteenth to that of the sixteenth century they were held almost annually. They occur in the months of February, as in the year 1490; in March, as in 1442; in April, as in 1446; in May, as in 1448; in June, as in 1438; in September, as in 1443; and in December, as in 1436: but Easter, Michaelmas, and Christmas were the more usual times. They were conducted by various bishops by letters dimissory from the Bishop of London. In those times, as now in the Roman church, the first step to clericulture in a monastery was the conferring of the tonsure. Then the four minor orders conferred by the bishop: the *ostiarius*, *janitor* or doorkeeper;⁴ the *lector* or reader; the *exorcist*, who read the formula of exorcism and laid his hands on the possessed person (a power now reserved to priests only and then only by permission of the bishop); and the *acolytus*, who bore the candle when the gospel was read. Later the aspirant was admitted to the three higher orders of *subdiaconus* or subdeacon, who bears the vessel to the deacon; *diaconus* or deacon, who ministers to the celebrant; and *presbyter* or priest who celebrates.

To quote a few instances of ordinations here: on Saturday, the 22nd of December, 1436,⁵ there were ordained by the Bishop of Ely 17 acolytes, 20 subdeacons, 15 deacons, and 10 priests; among the subdeacons was John Fuller, a canon of the priory. On Saturday, the 10th of May, 1448,⁶ there were ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester 10 acolytes, 10 subdeacons, 15 deacons, and 17 priests; three of

¹ Reg. London, Fitz-James, 10.

² Ib., Tunstall, 165 d-166.

³ *Collectanea Anglo-Prem.* i, 131, No. 178.

⁴ The head verger of St. Paul's is still the *Ostiarius* in the Lower House of Convocation.

⁵ Reg. London, Gilbert, 131.

⁶ Ib., Gilbert, 161.

the priests were canons of St. Bartholomew's. On December 17, 1479,¹ at an ordination held at the hospital, the list commences with 5 exorcists, and on the 16th of September, 1498,² with one Benedict (presumably one on whom the tonsure was conferred). In the year 1506³ there were as many as 35 deacons and 38 priests ordained in 'the conventual church of St. Bartholomew in Smythfeld', but the average was 8 to 9 acolytes, 18 subdeacons, 15 deacons, and 15 priests. In the year 1497, when there was an ordination on Sunday, December 17, at the hospital, another was held at the priory only six days later, viz. on Saturday, December 23.

When persecutions for heresy were in vogue, in the time of Henry VIII, we have a record of the priory church being put to a very different use. Thus, in the year 1529, John Tewkesbury was examined before the Bishop of London and others concerning the book 'Wicked Mammon' which he had sold and, when he had abjured his opinions, 'he was enjoined as penance to carry a faggot at St. Paul's on the Sunday following; to wear faggots embroidered on his sleeve; and on Whitsun eve enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield and there abide and not come out unless he were released by the Bishop of London.' He, however, soon returned to his previous opinions, and, being apprehended again two years later, was burnt in Smithfield in December 1531.⁴

SERVICE TO THE SEE OF ROME.

The abbots and priors of this country were called upon to render many services to the holy see of Rome, demands for their services reaching them in the form of a mandate. The Calendar of the Papal Registers now in process of publication illustrates the nature of the relationship of St. Bartholomew's with the papal see. Thus, in the year 1231, Pope Gregory IX, apparently to settle a dispute, issued a mandate to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and to the Dean of St. Mary le Bow, to proceed in a cause touching tithes in the diocese of Canterbury.⁵

In 1238 the same pope, to safeguard the interests of the prioress and convent of the Benedictine monastery of Haliwell in Shoreditch, issued a mandate to the Priors of St. Saviour's, Winchester, of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, not to suffer the prioress and convent to be molested in regard to a grant made to them by St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.⁶

¹ Reg. London, Hill.

² Ib., Hill.

³ Ib., Hill.

⁴ Fox, A. and M. (ed. 1684), ii, 242.

⁵ Cal. Pap. Reg. i, 125.

⁶ Ib. i, 167.

The annulling of a sentence of excommunication was in the hands of the pope; so, in October 1250, we find Innocent IV addressing a letter to the prior, subprior, sacristan, cellarer, and precentors of St. Bartholomew's, annulling their excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ The excommunication had taken place after the affray with Archbishop Boniface earlier in the year, in connexion with which the Bishop of London, the Dean and five canons of St. Paul's, had had to go to the court of Rome (then in Lyons).²

In 1286 Pope Honorius V issued a mandate to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and to a canon of St. Paul's, in connexion with an appeal concerning first fruits which had been heard by the Abbot of Westminster.³

Again, in the year 1328, Pope John XXII addressed a mandate to the Abbot of Westminster and to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, to induct and defend the master of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, of Acon, in the diocese of Limassol, into possession of the hospital of St. Thomas, London, opposition having been made by the late master, who was deprived for simony and dilapidation.⁴

Sometimes the pope would call upon the prior and others to protect the English possessions of some foreign bishop; as in the year 1340, when Pope Benedict XII issued a mandate to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and to the priors of St. Bartholomew's, London, and of Lenton (Notts.) to protect Anibaldus,⁵ Bishop of Tusculum, in his benefices and possessions. A system of general reservations of livings in England on their voidance, by mandate of the pope, was invented by Pope John XXII (1316-1334) so that he might appoint thereto his own nominees. This invasion of the kingdom was resisted by the king and resulted in the making, by Edward III, in 1351⁶ and 1353, and by Richard II in 1392,⁷ of statutes of provisors, the last of which—known as the statute of *praemunire*—prohibited the pope from appointing aliens and others to benefices before they were vacant. There are several cases in the 'Regesta' where mandates were issued to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's in connexion with such reservation. Thus, in the year 1345, Pope Clement VI issued a mandate to Robert atte Chirche of Gunthorp with a concurrent mandate to the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and the Archdeacon of Norwich, for the reservation of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, London, on its voidance by William Russell, being professed in the order of Mount Carmel.⁸

Cal. Pap. Reg. i, 264.

Cal. Pap. Reg. i, 489.

27 Edw. III, cap. 1.

² *Ann. Mon.* i, 141 (*Ann. Tewksb.*).

³ *Ib.* ii, 273.

⁷ 16 Rich. II, cap. 5.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 549.

⁸ Cal. Pap. Reg. iii, 185.

In the following year (1346) the same pope issued a mandate to Robert de Eglesfeld, with a concurrent mandate to the Bishop of Norwich, and the Priors of St. Bartholomew's, London, and of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, for the reservation of a benefice in the gift of the Bishop of Winchester.¹

In the following year, again (1347), the same pope issued a mandate to the Bishop of Llandaff and the priors of Holy Trinity and St. Bartholomew's, London, to give to Simon, called 'Clerk', the vicarage of Hermondesworth in the diocese of London. (It is, however, probable that this mandate was not carried out, because the church of Harmondsworth, which had been given to the abbey of St. Audoen in Normandy, was seized by Edward III, by reason of his wars with France, and he, in 1345, presented Simon de Barlinge,² who remained until 1348, when the king gave him licence to exchange with Richard de Wake.)

In 1349 Pope Clement VI again issued a mandate, with a concurrent one to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and others, for the reservation of a benefice to John Northeley of Pagula.³

This Pope Clement had begun his pontificate by a promise to grant benefices to all poor clerks who should come to Avignon and claim them within two months of his coronation. As many as 100,000 are said to have come, and the 'Regesta' at Rome of his first year consist in consequence of twelve volumes.⁴ The statute of 'provisors' caused these mandates to cease, although there is a record that, even as late as the year 1402, Pope Boniface IX issued a mandate to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's to reserve to the Rector of St. Clement's, London, a benefice in the gift of the Abbot of Westminster, with licence to hold it concurrently with St. Clement's for five years.⁵

Letters 'conservatory', that is to say, letters appointing conservators of privileges which had been granted, were issued by the popes to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and others, and instances occur in the years 1348⁶ and 1357 of such letters being so issued by Pope Clement VI. Among the Bodleian Charters is a record that under such letters conservatory the conservators issued, in the year 1352, a commission to the Dean of Malling, commanding him to cite the Vicar of Tudley to appear before the Prior of St. Bartholomew's concerning the usurpation of ecclesiastical rights in the administration of the sacraments and the unjust taking away of offerings in the church of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, England.⁷

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. iii, 221.

² Cal. Pat., 19 Edw. III, pt. 2.

³ Cal. Pap. Reg. iii, 282.

⁴ Ib. iii, preface.

⁵ Ib. v, 464.

⁶ Ib. iii, 275.

⁷ Bodl. Chart. and Rolls. Kent H. 4, Tunbridge priory, No. 8, m. 3d.

The Prior of St. Bartholomew's would sometimes be called upon to act as an examining chaplain, as in 1349, when he had to examine John Crochy for the office of notary conferred on him by the pope.¹ In the year 1398² a priest, and in the year 1400³ a clerk, were also to be examined by the prior.

During the papacy of Boniface IX there are four instances of the pope conferring the dignity of papal chaplain, with the usual privileges, on canons of St. Bartholomew's; such instances being those of Philip Sihalden in 1390,⁴ of John Tebbe in 1392,⁵ of William Gedeney (who had been prior and resigned in January 1391) in 1393;⁶ and of John Yong in 1394.⁷

The Black Death, which really lasted from 1345 to 1362, together with the difficulty of going to Rome for absolution owing to the war with France, led to a large demand for plenary remissions at the hour of death. The pope therefore granted such remission to whole dioceses at once as the plague spread.⁸ There is a record in the papal registers that in the year 1352,⁹ and in the year 1354,¹⁰ indulgences were granted respectively to John de Carleton and John de Keston, both canons of St. Bartholomew's, 'to choose confessors who should give them, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death, with the usual safeguards.'

In the year 1355 a mandate was issued to the prior and others to perform a further service, this time for Pope Innocent VII; they were to cause the ordinances touching apostates to be observed in regard to a priest of the hospital named Richard Orewell, who had left his order but desired to be reconciled to it; on which occasion the priest himself was the bearer of the mandate.¹¹

In the year 1402 a Cistercian monk named Ranulph Biber—or Bikere—of St. Mary Graces by the Tower, had violently cast Abbot William of St. Mary's out of the dormitory, had refused him entrance, had laid violent hands on him, and had applied to his own uses many of the goods of the monastery, and, to avoid correction, had apostatized and had appealed to the secular ecclesiastical judge. The Abbot of Beaulieu, the father abbot of St. Mary's, hearing of this on his visitation, pronounced sentence against the monk, who was, in consequence, imprisoned. Thereupon he became penitent, was ready to undergo penance and desired to return to St. Mary's and obey his superiors; he had fears, however, lest they should enjoin too rigorous a penance

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. iii, 324.

⁴ Ib. iv, 278.

⁷ Ib. iv, 288

¹⁰ Ib. iii, 533.

² Ib. v, 113.

⁵ Ib. iv, 282.

⁸ Ib. iii, p. vi.

¹¹ Ib. iii, 574.

³ Ib. v, 191.

⁶ Ib. iv, 287.

⁹ Ib. iii, 442

and punishment. Thereupon the pope issued a mandate to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's to absolve him upon satisfaction and penance; to rehabilitate and dispense him on account of irregularity; to deliver him from prison, and to restore him to his monastery.¹ On hearing of these letters of absolution and rehabilitation, Abbot William of St. Mary's petitioned the pope in Rome, saying that Ranulph the monk had voluntarily renounced these letters and asking for the sentence of the father abbot to be confirmed, which was done by a mandate of the pope to the Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, 'the said revocation and letters notwithstanding.'²

An indulgence would often be granted to the secular clergy to enjoy the fruits of their benefices for a period of five to seven years whilst studying letters at a university; such an indulgence was granted in the year 1395 to William Fyscher, the Rector of Clayton, in the Chichester diocese, for seven years.³

A similar indulgence for ten years was granted in the year 1401 to John Parker, Rector of Snaves in the Canterbury diocese, though in this case there was the alternative of being in the service of an ecclesiastical prelate or of residing in the Roman court.⁴ Though we have no record of the grant of such an indulgence to any one at St. Bartholomew's, a concurrent mandate was issued to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's (with others) in both the above cases.

There are other instances of concurrent mandates, and there are examples of services being required from St. Bartholomew's; but sufficient has been said to show the large amount of service demanded from the prior of this and other monasteries.

We may conclude this account of services rendered to the pope by mentioning that a corresponding service was rendered by the pope to the monastery by a grant of indulgences to the prior and convent to assist them in raising money to defray the heavy cost of the great restoration which took place about the year 1405. The account of it is well given in the calendar of the papal registers under the year 1409.⁵

The relations of the monasteries with the Corporation of the City of London were not always of the happiest nature, and this was so with St. Bartholomew's. The fact of the Fair belonging to the priory and not being under the control of the City was distasteful to a corporation jealous of privileges handed down, as some say, from the time of the Romans. The disputes were all in connexion

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. v, 517, June 2, 1402.

² Ib. v, 602 (16 Kal. Jan. 1403).

³ Ib. iv, 526.

⁴ Ib. v, 422.

⁵ See later, p. 197.

with Bartholomew Fair;¹ but they did not prevent the prior from accepting the hospitality of the great city companies, which it was customary to extend to the abbots and priors of the monasteries. For the records of the Drapers' Company—a company which was intimately associated with the priory, owing to the large cloth market held at the Fair—show that the priors of St. Bartholomew's, of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, of St. Mary Overy, and of other houses were yearly visitors at their banquets. Thus at the election feast of the year 1519 it is recorded that Prior Bolton was present, together with other priors and the Bishop of Carlisle.²

Whilst the corporation in the sixteenth century did not favour monks, as is shown by Sir Richard Gresham's letter to the king in 1538,³ they strongly favoured the great monastic hospitals, to which fact is due the survival of St. Bartholomew's, of St. Thomas's, and other hospitals to this day.

St. Bartholomew's was one of the starting-points of the great processions which the mayor and aldermen, arrayed in their suits, held annually at Whitsuntide. Thus, whilst on Whit-Monday they met at St. Peter's, Cornhill, whence they passed through 'Chepe' to St. Paul's, ascended to the altar and made their offering, on Whit-Tuesday they used to meet at St. Bartholomew's, whence they went through Newgate to St. Paul's;⁴ and on the Wednesday they met at St. Thomas of Acon.

¹ See later, p. 304.

³ See later, p. 250.

² Herbert, *Liv. Comps.* i, 466.

⁴ Riley, *Liber Albus*, 26.

INTRODUCTORY

II

THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S was a monastery of the order of the canons regular of St. Augustine, or Austin Canons, sometimes called the Black Canons, from the black cope and hood that formed the habit. They are not to be confused either with the Austin Friars or with the Black Friars who were Dominicans, and wore a black cloak and hood. The order takes its name from St. Augustine, who was made Bishop of Hippo in the year 395.¹ He lived with his clergy under the same roof in a form of brotherhood, observing a common rule or canon of life (from *κανών*, rule, regular).² At the end of the eleventh century there was a division; some of the clergy dispensed with the greater part of the common rule, lived in a separate dwelling, and had a separate stipend allotted to them, called a prebend. These were called 'canons secular', from *saeculum* (the world), because they conversed in the world; in fact, were very similar to the canons of our cathedrals to-day. Others of the clergy continued to observe the rule, to live together under one roof, with a common dormitory and refectory, and to observe the statutes of their order: these were called 'canons regular'. They were a less strict section of the religious than the monks, but were, as a matter of course, bound by the rules of obedience, poverty, chastity, and observance of the seven canonical hours, and the ecclesiastical fasts. They could not undertake the cure of souls without dispensation, as the secular canons could do, but they were, in individual cases, allowed to serve the parishes impropriated to their houses, which was not allowed to monks.

Thus in 1137, as shown later,³ Rahere granted the church of St. Sepulchre to Hagno the clerk, a brother of the order, for life. In 1398 the pope granted licence that three vicarages belonging to St. Stephen's, Launceston, might be served by Augustinian canons.⁴ In 1443 the Archbishop of Canterbury gave licence to Thomas Thorn-

¹ Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, ii, 80.

² Burn, *Eccles. Law*, ii, 519, ed. 1824.

³ Below, p. 77.

⁴ Cal. Pap. Reg. v, 156.

ton, professed to the order—but who had been in trouble at St. Bartholomew's—to serve a cure in the diocese of Canterbury until he might be restored to his house of St. Bartholomew.¹ At Rochester (Staffs.) the senior canon next after the prior often held the vicarage.²

The order included women as well as men, but there were only about six nunneries in England. One was the Abbey of Lacock, Wilts.; others were at Belton, Leicester (known as the Grace Dieu Priory), Burnham (Bucks.), &c.

The canons who occur in our records with the title *Dominus* were priests in holy orders. The *Clerici* were professed canons but not yet priests, and these would include the major orders as the diaconate, the subdiaconate, and those who had received the tonsure. There were also *Novices*, on probation as learners, though in the year 1532 four men who took part in the election of Prior Fuller are described as 'Novices in Holy Orders professed for life'.³ In the Cistercian houses and in some of the Augustinian there were lay brothers called *Conversi*, who were laymen inasmuch as they never proceeded to the higher orders, but who had taken precisely the same vows as the other canons.⁴ These were chosen as men instructed in some craft useful to the monastery.

A list of those in the priory of St. Bartholomew who were assessed for the clerical subsidy in the year 1379 included the prior, fifteen canons, with the title '*Dominus*', three *Clerici* (of whom one was John Meryfeld, or Mirfield, the great physician), then two *Clerici Ecclesie* (one of whom would have been the clerk of the priory church and the other of the parish church within the monastic church), and the clerk of the refectory or frater, who would have been simply a clerk in office. No lay-brothers under the name *Conversi* are mentioned in our records, though 'canons not being priests' occur.

Thus in the year 1499 John Longe, a priest,⁵ bequeathed to 'any channon (*sic*) there beyng a priest and helpinge at the said masse (of *Requiem*) and *dirige* xii^d, and to every chanon there not beyng a priest viij^d.' Alice Bysshop, also in 1458,⁶ bequeathed to each canon outside the order of priesthood 6*d*. and to each clerk 4*d*. The novices are mentioned in the will of Thomas Peerson⁷ in 1485, where there was a bequest 'to every novyse iiij^d beside ther dewte to say placebo and dirige for' him. Outside the house, benefactors were admitted to the benefits of the order as confraters: Richard de Wendover, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had in the year 1250

¹ Lambeth Lib. Reg. Stafford, 10.

² Reg. London, Stokesley, 65.

³ App. I, p. 538.

⁴ Hibbert, *Mon.* 11.

⁵ Willis Clark, *Observ.* lv.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 536.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 537.

given to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's a psalter in two volumes, the epistles of St. Paul, an altar-slab, and an altar-cloth, was received as a brother by the convent and admitted into all the benefits of their house and his name was to be inscribed on their roll.¹ William Martyn, in his will, in the year 1531, referred to his 'patent of brotherhood of the chapel of the monastery',² and in 1539 Richard Bellamy bequeathed to the canons 13s. 4d. because he was 'a brother with them of their chapter seal'.³ Confraters could be men or women, kings or queens. Thus, in the General Chapter held at Leicester in the year 1513, King Henry VIII, Queen Katharine, the Princess Mary, Cardinal Wolsey, the ex-queen of France, and her husband, the Duke of Suffolk, were all enrolled as associates of the order as confraters.⁴ (Robert Flete, a 'confrater' of the hospital, was ordained a subdeacon in the year 1446.)

The first house of the order founded in England was, according to the bull of Pope Paschal II, that of St. Botolph and St. Julian, Colchester, founded about the year 1105; though Walsingham (Norfolk), Ikesworth (Suffolk), and Worksop (Notts.) are by some considered to be earlier. Dunmow Parva, Essex, and St. Mary Overy—now St. Saviour's, Southwark—were both founded in the year 1106; Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in 1108; the two last by Queen Matilda, who had herself been educated in the nunneries of Romsey and Wilton. Llanthony (Monmouth) was also founded about 1108; Leeds (Kent) in 1110; St. James's (Northampton) and Barnwell (Cambridge) in 1112; and Hexham (Northumberland) in the following year. Merton Priory (Surrey) and Cirencester Abbey (Gloucester)—the latter one of the wealthiest, with a mitred abbot—were both founded in 1117; St. Osyth's (Essex) in 1118, and Bolton Abbey (Yorkshire) in 1120. Plympton (Devon) and Kirkham and Nostell (Yorkshire) were founded in 1121; the abbey at Kenilworth about 1122, and St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in 1123. There were in all about thirty more or less important houses founded before that of St. Bartholomew's, in comparison with which, at the time of the suppression, Cirencester had a net income of £1,050, Merton £957, Plympton £912, Waltham £900, St. Osyth's £677, St. Mary Overy £624, and Kenilworth £538; as against £693 of St. Bartholomew's. Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was surrendered in 1532; its value, therefore, does not appear, but Stow said 'it was rich in land and ornaments and passed all the priories in London and shire of Middlesex'.

¹ St. Paul's Lib. MSS., Box 70, No. 1759.

² App. I, p. 540.

³ *Ib.*, p. 541.

⁴ Heale, *Tanridge Priory*, 90.

At the time of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's, the Augustinian order had become popular, and by the close of the first half of the century a further fifty houses were founded; while in the second half of the same century another fifty houses of more or less importance followed, including Nutley (Bucks.), 1162; Keynsham Abbey (Somerset), 1167; and Repton (Derby), 1172. Waltham Holy Cross, the second mitred abbey, was occupied by Austin canons in 1177. In the thirteenth century there were about fifty-six new foundations, the most important being that of Ashridge (Bucks.), in the year 1283. In the fourteenth century there were not more than fifteen new houses.

The great nunnery of Syon (Isleworth) was an Augustinian house as reformed by St. Bridget of Sweden. It was founded in 1414 and had a net income of £1,731. It was the only house of Brigittines in England.

In Carey and Ellis's edition of Dugdale are enumerated, all told, some 203 houses of the Augustinian order, and in addition 356 hospitals (including that of St. Bartholomew) for the relief of poor and impotent persons, all of which, he says, followed the rule of St. Augustine. Their distribution over the country is well shown in Gasquet's *English Monastic Life* by a map printed in the appendix. Four of these houses are now cathedrals;—Carlisle was so raised in the twelfth century, Bristol and Oxford in the sixteenth, and Southwark in the nineteenth century.

There were also varieties of Augustinian canons, such as those who followed St. Austin's rule according to the regulations of St. Nicholas of Arroasia, those who followed the order of St. Victor, and those of the institution of St. Mary of Merton, all of whom were represented by a few houses in England. There were also the Premonstratensians, who lived according to the rule of St. Austin as reformed—about the year 1120—by St. Norbert at Premontr  in Picardy; they were, from their habit, called the White Canons and had about thirty-five houses in England. The Sempringham or Gilbertine canons were instituted by St. Gilbert at Sempringham in Lincolnshire, in the year 1148; he composed his rule out of those of St. Austin and St. Benedict. And lastly there were the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre, or canons of the Holy Cross, which order fell into decay after the loss of Jerusalem in the year 1188. All the above orders are at the present time merged in the order of St. Augustine of the Lateran.

The Augustinian order was governed by a general chapter of the province which met from time to time as occasion arose, or every four

years. It was held at different houses of the order : thus in the year 1231 it was held at St. Bartholomew's, when certain canons were published in chapter.¹ In the year 1328 it was held at Huntingdon, when one of the nine *diffinitores* (that is, one of those in whose hands was the chief authority of the whole chapter) was the Prior of St. Bartholomew's.² In the year 1331 it was held in the church of the parish of Cheshunt 'for good cause in the octave of Holy Trinity',³ and the following extracts from the minutes of this chapter will serve to illustrate the nature of the business generally transacted at these chapters.

It was ordained that a common contribution should be made of one penny in every pound of the assessment of temporal and spiritual possessions for the expenses of a suit against the Abbot of Waltham, a manifest rebel and disobedient ; the money to be raised by the visitors (duly appointed) by the feast of All Saints, or fifteen days after, to be paid to the Lord Prior of St. Bartholomew's, London (at that time John de Pekesden). It was also ordained that the levy of a farthing, granted in a previous chapter held at Huntingdon in 1328, should be raised by the visitors and delivered to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's. Next it was ordained that the prelates (priors) of the order in the province of Canterbury be circumspect in the reception of members to the order, so that they do not receive men lacking in letters, or unsuitable by reason of age or any other personal condition.

In the year 1339 the constitutions of the order were revised by Pope Benedict XII. The first chapter of which we have found a record after that date is that of the year 1343,⁴ which record, translated from the Latin, commences : 'A provincial chapter of the canons regular of the order of St. Augustine in the provinces of Canterbury and York, which are reckoned one province for the purpose of holding such chapter, held at St. James' without Norwich, under the presidency of the prior of Kirkham in the diocese of York, who was constituted and elected by the convent of the whole chapter aforesaid in place of the prior of Gisburne in the same diocese. The statutes written below were ordained and determined (one of the three determinators of the province of Canterbury being the prior of St. Bartholomew's) :

'First that the manner and place of the general chapter to be held in future be according to the statute promulgated at Norwich in the year 1325.

'Next that in every monastery of the order enquiry be made

¹ C.C.C. Lib. Oxon. MS. cliv, 403.

² Cott. MSS., Vesp. D, 1, 44.

³ *Ib.*, D, 1, 44 d.

⁴ *Ib.* A. M., Vesp. D, 1, 47 d.

by the prelates twice in the year concerning conspirators, informers and slanderers of the prelates and brethren . . . and if any such be found, which heaven forbid . . . let them be confined to close custody, like a sick sheep, lest they infect the whole flock, on a diet suitable for such, and estimated according to the judgment of the prelates until they shew clear tokens of satisfaction and amendment.'

Visitors were appointed from members of the order to conduct visitations of the various houses; so it was next 'ordained that, if any such were sick or otherwise prevented, a suitable person from the same convent, or another prelate from another convent, might be substituted, as set out in the chapter held at Dunstable'.

Next, they determined that the prelates should 'secure that the statutes, both old and new, promulgated by the lord the pope, be observed'; and that the contumacy of the prelates who were absent be duly punished in the next chapter according to the tenor of the said statutes.

Prior Bolton, of St. Bartholomew's, in the year 1518,¹ was punished under these statutes by a fine of the sum, large at that time, of £10. He had been appointed a visitor with the Prior of Aylesbury. These two failed to make the visitations, but the Prior of St. Bartholomew's appeared by proxy at the general chapter and was consequently excused on the plea that he was absent on the king's business (being master of works to the king), but, because he had not performed the duty of his visitation, either personally or by deputy, he was fined as above.² At a General Chapter held at Northampton in the fifteenth century a subsidy was voted to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for his labour and expenses at the Council of Pisa.³

All the monasteries of the order were, in addition to the visitation of the prelates of their own order, subject to regular visitations by the bishops of the diocese (usually every three years), to inquire both as to their temporal and spiritual condition. Some monasteries were exempt from this episcopal visitation, as was Waltham Abbey, but this was a disadvantage to the house rather than otherwise. In the year 1250, Boniface, the archbishop of the province, claimed the right of visitation of St. Bartholomew's (and other houses) in place of the bishop, which resulted in a violent scene in the church, described later on.⁴ An appeal to Rome apparently confirmed the archbishop's claim, because in 1303 Archbishop Winchelsey visited St. Bartholomew's as metropolitan.

This is the only instance we have found recorded where it was

¹ Below, p. 226.

² Cott. MSS., Vesp. D, 1, f. 68.

³ See later, p. 197.

⁴ Below, p. 121.

necessary to issue injunctions (for the injunctions said to have been issued by Walter Sherington during a vacancy of the see of London cannot be traced, as already shown¹), and the archbishop's injunction related merely to such matters as the disposal of goods without licence; the giving of garments to the brethren instead of money for their purchase; keeping better silence; the gates to be closed at proper times to prevent seculars disturbing the services, and so on.² From foundation to suppression there is no instance recorded of immorality in the priory.

In all cases there was an ultimate appeal to the pope. Such an appeal was made in connexion with the sentence of excommunication resulting from the disturbance at Archbishop Boniface's visitation, but it is shown later, when describing the disputes between the priory and the hospital, that the episcopal ordinance overruled the pope's injunction. As soon as Cardinal Wolsey had extorted the power of visitation from the pope, he issued, on 19 March, 1519, ordinances and statutes to be observed by every monastery of the order of the canons regular of St. Augustine.³ Gasquet observes⁴ that 'the ordinances thus enacted are valuable evidence as to the state of the great Augustinian order at that time in England. They point to a severity of discipline and a mortified mode of life altogether incompatible with that general laxity since attributed to them in common with the other great bodies of regular clergy.' Had Wolsey and the king continued this policy of reformation instead of that of annihilation it might have been better for England.

The Augustinian canons regular, like the monks, were governed by a rule common to all the houses of the order. The daily life was governed by another set of regulations due to custom only, known as 'observances' or 'customs', in accordance with the rule, which were of nearly equal value with the rule itself.⁵ The late J. Willis Clark, in the year 1897, published the *Consuetudinarium, or 'the Observances in use at the Augustinian priory of Barnwell', Cambridgeshire*. (It forms the eighth book of the Barnwell Cartulary, MSS. Harl. 3601.) The customs were probably the same at St. Bartholomew's as at Barnwell, though, as there is no record, we cannot say so with any degree of certainty. In the same volume⁶ he has also published both the first and the second 'rules' themselves. From this work much of what follows is gleaned, and the reader is referred

¹ Below, p. 204.

² See below, p. 143, where the injunction is given in full.

³ Wilkins, Concil. MS. Cott. Vesp. F. ix, f. 22 et seq.

⁴ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the English Monasteries*, 15.

⁵ Willis Clark, *Observances*, xxxi.

to it for further information on the subject : all we can do here is to quote the opening sentence of the first 'rule'.

'Before all things, dearest brethren, let God be loved, then your neighbour; for these be the commandments that are chiefly given to us. These, therefore, are the precepts that we lay upon you, who are established in monasteries, for your observance. In the first place, inasmuch as you are assembled together in one place, that you be of one mind in the house; and let there be to you one mind and one heart in God. And call not anything your own, but let all things be common to you. And let there be distributed to each of you, by him that is set over you, food and raiment; not equally to all, because you are not all of equal value, but rather to each of you as each shall have need.'¹

The dress of the canons was a black cassock lined with fur (as were the garments of the laity), known as a *pellicium* or pelisse; over this was worn a *super pellicium* or surplice, or sometimes a white rochet with tight sleeves and a girdle. Over the breast was a fur almuze or amess for warmth, which varied in different centuries.² At first it was worn over the head³ or thrown back over the shoulders and brought over the chest, where at one time it ended in fur tails. Early in the fifteenth century it was continued below the knees by two stole-like strips with rounded ends, as seen on the effigy of Rahere in the church (pl. IV, p. 72).⁴ The outer garment was a black cope with its hood hanging over the shoulders, lined with fur in the winter; a four-sided cap, or biretta, was also worn.

The food was spare, only two meals a day, dinner and supper, being mentioned in the Barnwell observances. That at dinner consisted of fish, meat, and vegetables. The drink was home-brewed beer, which was taken both at dinner and supper, and also at collation before going to bed. As this was the drink also served to the many guests entertained by the monasteries, it is not surprising that the consumption was large. Especially would this apply to a large monastery in a place like London.⁵

The loaves at St. Bartholomew's were small, only weighing 17 ounces, as against 30 ounces at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and 52 ounces for the large loaves and 26 ounces for the small ones at St. Paul's.⁶ The canons at St. Paul's received two large and two small loaves a day; we do not know what was the allowance at St. Bartholomew's.

¹ Willis Clark, *Observances*, xxxi. 3.

² *Ib.* lxxv.

³ *Ib.* lxxviii, figure of a canon, Christ Church, Oxford.

⁴ See p. 71 for description of Rahere's habit.

⁵ For a large bill for beer, see below, p. 215.

⁶ Simpson, *Reg. St. Pauli*, 176.

The canons kept the seven canonical hours. The great service of Mattins or Nocturns was at midnight, and consisted of psalms and lessons immediately followed by Lauds. This service of versicle, chapter, hymn, *Benedictus*, and prayer was sometimes preceded by the *Te Deum*. This was so at St. Bartholomew's, as thus chronicled in the Book of the Foundation: 'upon a day when by custom the canons of St. Bartholomew's, before the dawn, mattins being ended, began to sing *Te Deum laudamus* and a peal of bells was rung, a poor man imprisoned close by heard the sound of the bells and of the hymns.' Prime was held at daybreak, or six in the morning, or later on a fast day of one meal. This service, followed by morning mass and confession, was then followed by chapter, when the martyrology for the day and a portion of the 'rule' were read. Any temporal business affecting the whole convent, such as the execution of a deed (of which we have many records here) was also then transacted.

Terce was sung at the third hour of the day, about 9 o'clock. It followed immediately after chapter, and was succeeded by high mass.

After high mass came sext, at about noon, and then dinner, before which no food had been taken. In summer the canons then went to the dorter for repose until three o'clock.

None was at three, after which there was some relaxation or exercise and some drink in the frater and work.

Vespers, or evensong, similar to lauds, but with the *Magnificat*, were said at about 5 o'clock. On the eve of a festival this was the first evensong of the feast; that on the day itself was called, as now, the second evensong, at which the altar was incensed during the singing of the *Magnificat*. An illustration of this, which is referred to later,¹ occurs in the Book of the Foundation, when, in the year 1148, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 'the canons were chanting the second vespers' and 'when they came to the hymn of Mary, the most Blessed Mother of God, at the incensing of the altars', a girl—deaf, dumb, and blind—was miraculously cured.

After evensong the canons remained in the cloister until supper-time, though on fast days there was no supper. Collation was held in the chapter-house, when a canon of the church was read; after which the brethren either went to the frater, where beer was served, or went straight to the church for compline, which was said at about eight o'clock, and then to bed at nine.

Compline is twice referred to in the Book of the Foundation, in both cases in connexion with miraculous cures. In one case it was 'on a certain day after compline' that 'the bridle of the tongue'

¹ Below, p. 67.

of a dumb youth 'was loosed'.¹ In another, in the year 1159, a woman was carried in a litter to the church and 'on the vigil of the festival of the most blessed apostle Bartholomew, about the hour of compline, she began to recover her long-lost strength'.²

Although the Austin canons were not bound to manual labour like the monks, their day was fully occupied by prayer, study, education, charity, great hospitality, and other good works. Dr. Cox, in his *English Monasteries*, quotes the report of the commissioners for dissolving the Austin priory of Ulverscroft, which says that the canons were engaged in 'embrothering (illuminating) or writing books in a very fair hand; making their own garments, carving, painting, and grafting; the house keeping such hospitality that except by singular good provision it would not be maintained; and the relief of the poor inhabitants'.

The vows of the order were only allowed to be undertaken after a man had had a year's probation, and after minute inquiries as to character, position, and health had been made. But a man having, at his own desire, and with the consent of the convent, taken the vows, then the law of the land compelled the fulfilment of them. Thus, King Edward III, in the year 1364, issued a mandate³ to cause Richard de Hexton, canon, and John Kayso, lay-brother, of the house of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, professed to the said order, who were then vagabonds in secular habit as rebels to their prior, as he had signified, to be arrested and delivered to him to be chastised according to the discipline of the order.

Blood-letting, or bleeding, which was also common outside the monasteries, was performed on each brother at least seven times a year. It took place in the infirmary, where the patient remained for three days. As conversation was allowed, and the food more generous than at other times, it was looked forward to as a relaxation from the usual monastic life.

The canons had their servants in each department of the house, who did the more menial duties; they also had horses on which to ride when they went outside the monastery—a necessity in the condition of the streets at that time. There is confirmation of this in an amusing account, in the Book of the Foundation, of how the prior rode from West Smithfield to Old Jewry to recover his lost antiphoner (referred to again later).⁴

When the prior of a monastery died, it was customary to enter the name on a roll, which was sent round to the other monasteries

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxi.

² Cal. Pat., 37 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 14 d.

³ Ib. II, cap. xxii.

⁴ Below, p. 68.

requesting their prayers for the soul of their late prelate ; hence this obituary roll was also called the bede roll. The oldest English roll extant is that on the death of Lucy, the prioress and foundress of the priory of Hedingham,¹ which dates from about the year 1230. No less than 120 churches acceded to the request for their prayers, the church of St. Bartholomew, London, being the twenty-third on the list. Each answered, 'May the soul of Lady Lucy, prioress of Hedingham, and the souls of all the faithful departed by the mercy of God rest in peace. We concede to her the benefits of our church. We pray for you ; pray for us.'

The death day of a founder was kept, like that of the saints, as a festival or feast. At St. Bartholomew's that of Rahere (September 20) was kept as 'a new solemnity', and the writer of the Book of the Foundation says that 'the day of his nativity into heaven being known, it was celebrated on earth with great mirth and dancing'.²

Processions³ were held on Sundays before terce, when the blessing of the water and the aspersions took place. Processions were also held on Candlemas, Palm Sunday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, the Assumption, and on the day of the patronal festival. The procession went round the cloister, returning to the church by the western cloister door, and so into the nave in double column, where a station was made before the rood ; then passing through the two doors of the rood screen, the columns joined and entered the quire through the pulpitum or quire screen. On the feast of the Purification, the procession went first into the Lady Chapel. On All Souls' Day and other great festivals, the procession went round the cemetery. The processional path round the cemetery at St. Bartholomew's is mentioned in the will of Walter Whytefeld, in the year 1451,⁴ and referred to later.⁵ The attendance of the brethren of the hospital at the processions on festivals was one of the causes of disagreement between the priory and the hospital, and was only finally settled in the year 1373, when their attendance was entirely excused.

The canons were allowed to go outside the precincts of the monastery to collect alms or victuals for the poor and such-like purposes. This was so at St. Bartholomew's from the first, for the aged Alfune, we are told, was accustomed to so collect.⁶

Some canons were master builders, Prior Bolton, in the sixteenth

¹ Egerton MSS., Mus. Brit. 2849, No. 23, Obit. roll, Hedingham Priory ; also Ryl. MSS., report 5, p. 321 ; L. Majendie MSS. ; also *Vet. Mon.* vii, pt. iv, p. 3, and Plates XV, XVI.

² Book of Found., Lib. II, cap. lxxvi.

³ App. I, p. 527.

⁴ App. I, p. 533.

⁵ Vol. II, chap. v, Crypt ; also App. I, p. 526.

⁶ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxii and xxiii.

century, being an example. Some studied medicine, as John Mirfield in the fifteenth century. Sometimes a canon would be sent to the university, with a student's pension, that he might acquire additional knowledge and impart it to the others.

The officials of an Augustinian monastery were, in the case of a priory, as follows :

The prior, or prelate, was the head of the house, and his decision in all matters was final. He had his separate 'lodgings' (as his house was generally called), his own chapel, his own kitchen and servants, and his own horses. In the earlier days it was his duty to take his meals in the frater and to sleep in the dormitory. It was his duty to say mass on certain days and to preside at chapter. His seat in the cloister was next to the door of the church. He was chosen either from members of the convent or, if none such was suitable, then from some other convent of the same order ; and this was the arrangement prescribed in the king's charter for St. Bartholomew's. On the death of the prior, the sub-prior and other members of the convent went to the king to report the vacancy and to ask licence to elect a successor, which being granted the convent proceeded to election. The result of the election was notified to the king and, when his assent was granted, the king notified the bishop. The convent then, by one or more of the canons, appeared before the bishop and presented a decree of the election of the new prior and asked for confirmation. On that being granted, and the prior-elect having done fealty to the king, the king issued a mandate to the escheator (who, in the case of London, was the lord mayor) to restore the temporalities which had been, in the usual way, in the escheator's hands since the death of the late prior. St. Bartholomew's, however, claimed that, as the charter of 1133 freed them from every earthly subjection and service, so the convent could retain control of the temporalities during an interregnum, and it will be seen later that the canons successfully pleaded this exemption in the years 1297, 1363, and 1414.

The licence to elect, the assent to the election, the notification to the bishop, and the mandate for the restoration of the temporalities are as a rule entered on the Patent Rolls ; but in some early cases the enrolment was unfortunately omitted. The actual election of the prior was carried out by one of three methods. First, *per viam scrutinii* ; that is, by the votes of the individuals of the convent. Secondly, *per compromissum*, when the election was entrusted to a small committee or was delegated to one eminent person ; and thirdly, *per viam Spiritus Sancti*, or by acclamation of the common wish of the whole body by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The

second process seems to have been in general vogue, at any rate in the later years, whereby the appointment was practically in the hands of the king or his chancellor. This, as will be seen,¹ was the case at the election and installation of the last prior, Robert Fuller, in the year 1532 (though in 1510 they proceeded to elect by inspiration of the Holy Spirit).² The election of the master of the hospital followed the same method.³ In the year 1525 Cardinal Wolsey was delegated to elect a new master. The election, confirmation, and subsequent installation were set with many legal formalities, all of which, in the case of Robert Fuller, and the masters of the hospital above referred to, are fully set out in the bishop's registers at St. Paul's.⁴

The sub-prior of the monastery was appointed by the prior, whose place he took when the latter was absent. He slept in the dorter, and supervised the brethren. He appears many times in the records of St. Bartholomew's.

The other officials were generally called 'obedientiaries'. The *armarius*, or precentor, had charge of the choir and of the service books; he was also the librarian. He is referred to, together with the sub-prior, sacristan, and cellarer of St. Bartholomew's, in the year 1250, as having been excommunicated in connexion with the disturbance that arose at the visitation of Archbishop Boniface in that year. It was the precentor of St. Bartholomew's, London, who, in the year 1254, acting as the sub-delegate and conservator of the privileges of the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem in England, bade the abbot and convent of St. Dogmael, Pembrokeshire, to restore within eight days brother Richard de Kerren, apostate, and the goods which he had wrongly carried off with him.⁵

The *Succentor* had similar duties to those of the precentor, but it was necessary for him to have skill in singing.

The *Sacrista*, or sacrist, had the care of the fabric of the church; also of the altars, the reliquaries, the plate, candles, linen, vestments, &c. He is referred to in the will of Robert de Watford, in the year 1368, who, having willed to be buried in 'the churchyard of the priory of St. Bartholomew de Smethefeld', bequeathed a taper of ten pounds to be given yearly to St. Paul's church, to stand before the crucifix: it was the sacristan of St. Bartholomew's who was to cause the taper to be brought and to have the unconsumed remains of the same.

¹ Below, p. 238.

² *Ib.*, Tunstall, f. 80.

³ Reg. London, FitzJames, Installations, f. 15.

⁴ *Ib.*, Stokesley, 65; see below, p. 238.

⁵ Cat. of MSS. in Library, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1913, p. 7.

At St. Bartholomew's the sacrist had separate receipts allotted to his office, consisting of rents from houses in London (£14 9s. 8½d.); the offerings that came during the year to the altar of Hippolitus (£4); every fourth penny coming to the high altar during the year (£1 16s. 8d.); stallage at the feast of St. Bartholomew (6s. 8d.); grazing of the two cemeteries (4s.), and fruit growing in the garden and in the cemeteries (4s.); the total of which, in the year 1306, was thus £21 1s. 0½d.¹

The *cellerarius*, or cellarer, was the right hand of the prior in temporal matters, and did the work of a senior bursar of a college, joined to that of a steward. With the prior he managed the estates of the monastery, visiting the manors under his care. He also, at St. Bartholomew's, had a separate income for his office, which, at the time of the rental (1306), consisted of rents from London parishes (£32 0s. 2d.); oblations at the high altar on St. Bartholomew's Day (£12); tolls at 'the Fair' (20s.); fruit from the garden in the close (13s. 4d.); rent from St. Mary's Blyboro' (£2 16s. 8d.); rent of glebe at Theydon Bois (13s. 4d.); rent from Bobbingworth (8s.); and half the advowson of the church at Danbury (20s.), and other rents £45 4s., amounting in all to £190 4s. 6d.² The friends of William Fynche, the cellarer, in the year 1527, offered Wolsey £300 for his college at Oxford (Christ Church), for his favour towards Fynche's preferment to the priorship. But without avail, as he was not made prior at Bolton's death in 1532.

The *refectorarius*, or fraterer, was responsible for getting the food on the table in a proper manner. The only record we have concerning him at St. Bartholomew's is that William, the clerk of the frater (*clericus de refectorio*), was assessed for the clerical subsidy at 4d. in the year 1379.³ The only income allotted to him was the sum of 11s. 10d. from rents in the parish of St. Bennet, Woodwharf.⁴

The *coquinarius*, or kitchener, presided over the kitchen, and had under him a cook and caterer. At St. Bartholomew's his separate allotted income in the year 1306 consisted of rents in London (£55 10s. 3½d. net); from the garden of the morehawe (20s.); from the soil of the large garden within the close (6s. 8d.), and 1 lb. of cummin.⁵

The *camerarius*, or chamberlain, had, with lay officials under him, to do with the clothes of the canons. At Barnwell he provided a laundress, but at St. Bartholomew's we have a record of Prior Fuller appointing by deed a man and his wife as launders of the monastery.⁶

¹ Rent. Bodl. gives the total as £20 11s. 0½d.; see also p. 371.

³ Cler. Sub. Roll 42-4 a.

⁴ See p. 374.

² See p. 369.

⁵ See p. 371.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Books, No. 93; f. 184 b.

Here the chamberlain also had for the use of his office a separate income of £12 which was derived from St. Sepulchre's church.¹

The *hospitarius*, or guest master, had charge of the guests, and, although we have failed to find a record of this officer at St. Bartholomew's, he must have held a very responsible office considering the large number of guests that flocked to the monastery.²

The *infirmarius*, or master of the infirmary, had charge of the old and infirm, also of the sick: he had an infirmary cook under him. At St. Bartholomew's he was allotted rents from tenements in eight parishes in London, amounting to £3 15s. 2d., and in addition fruit of the garden value 2s., less socage to be paid 2d.³

The *elemosinarius* or almoner distributed the alms of the monastery, and in some houses had charge of the school, but this officer does not occur in the records of St. Bartholomew's.

The duties of the *bailius* or bailiff were considerable, as he had to deal with the tenants on the different estates and see that the farms were properly cultivated. The rental of the year 1306 mentions that the bailiff of St. Bartholomew's took the revenue from the Suffolk estates, at that time amounting to £40 2s. 1d.: also that from Little Stanmore Manor, amounting to £10 7s. 4d. His accounts were verified by the auditors.

The *auditor* was appointed by the prior. An instance of such an appointment at St. Bartholomew's is in a deed among the Harleian Charters⁴ of the year 1533, wherein prior Fuller appoints John Burgoyne, gentleman, and Thomas Burgoyne his son, both living in the close, as auditors of the accounts of all receivers and collectors of the possessions of the monastery within the city and suburbs of London, at an annual payment of 40s., and 20s. for a clerk.⁵

A *steward* of the manors was also appointed by the prior. Prior Bolton, in the year 1522, granted one Geoffrey Chambers the office of steward of all the manors of the priory, and an annuity of £4 out of the manor of Canonbury, which the Court of Augmentations consented to pay with all arrears in the year 1542.⁶

There was the office of *clerk* of the church of the priory as well as that of the *parish clerk*, for, as will be seen,⁷ prior Fuller, in the year 1536, granted to Stephen Fyndley the office called 'the clerk of the church of the said monastery and the office of the parish clerk of the church or chapel of All Saints which is within the said church of St. Bartholomew, which offices he had exercised before the time of the

¹ See below, p. 374.

² See *ib.*, p. 198.

³ See *ib.*, p. 373.

⁴ Harl. Chart. A. 43, Mus. Brit.

⁵ See also below, p. 246.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Books, No. 101.

⁷ See below, p. 245; also Vol. II, chap. iii, N. Transept.

grant'. The Court of Augmentations in consequence granted him £3 10s. *od.* and arrears for life.¹ In the Clerical Subsidy Roll of the year 1379,² in a list of those assessed for the subsidy occur Nicholas and Thomas *clerici ecclesiae* (clerks of the church); one we assume was the clerk of the priory church, the other the clerk of the parish church. The clerk had the ringing of the bells, at any rate when the Blackfriars were in occupation, because John Garatt in his will, dated 1556, bequeathed 1s. to the clerk of the church for his ringing.³

There was a *portarius* or janitor, who had charge of the great gate of the monastery and slept there. He was a layman, and his duty was to note those who went in and came out, admitting visitors and notifying the guest master of their arrival. At St. Bartholomew's there are instances of the janitor being a man of means, for there is a very early grant by William, son of Theobald, to Martin, son of Geoffrey de Cornhell, of all the land that Warin the porter of St. Bartholomew's held of him in the parish of Yseldun (Islington), paying 6s. 4½*d.* yearly.⁴ And in the year 1336, as we shall see,⁵ Stephen de Clopton, janitor of the priory, bequeathed 'to the prior his shops in the parish of St. Mary de Aldermannebury for the maintenance of the work of the chapel of St. Mary newly constructed'.⁶ And in the year 1393 John Wrichte, janitor of the priory, who willed to be buried before the high altar, bequeathed to the church for a vestment for the celebration of masses money owed him by the prior, also 26s. 8*d.* for the making of a dorsal for the high altar, a penny each to a thousand poor persons, and a chalice of silver gilt for the service of the altar of St. Katharine, besides many bequests to secular chaplains to pray for his soul.⁷

There were, in addition, chantry priests saying masses within the church for the repose of souls, and of these there were apparently five in the year 1420,⁸ when a return of benefices in the see of London was made. They are named and described as chaplains enjoying stipends in the priory church.

The Rev. Canon Gilbert Higgins, C.R.L., told the writer that Augustinian canons without any distinctive label, as at St. Bartholomew's, are extinct in England. The canons regular of the Lateran to whom they became affiliated now occupy their place. Their dress is a white cassock with a plain linen rochet, over which is worn in winter a black cope or cappa, very like the Dominicans, and in summer and on feast days a surplice or cotta.

¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Books, vol. 97, f. 99, 10 Feb., 32 Hen. VIII.

² Cler. Sub. R., 42/4^a.

³ Cat. Anc. Deeds, R.O. II, A, 2382.

⁴ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 427.

⁵ Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 35096.

⁶ App. I, p. 544.

⁷ App. I, p. 529.

⁸ App. I, p. 531.

INTRODUCTORY

III

THE PRIORS OF THE MONASTERY

AUGUSTINIAN PRIORS

RAHERE	1123	-	1143
THOMAS	1144	-	1174
ROGER	<i>cir.</i> 1176	<i>cir.</i>	1181
<i>(hiatus in records)</i>			
RICHARD	here 1201	here	1206
<i>(hiatus in records)</i>			
G. OF OSNEY	1213	-	1213
<i>(hiatus in records)</i>			
JOHN (BLUND)	here 1226	-	1232
GERARD	1232	here	1241
PETER LE DUC	here 1242	-	1255
ROBERT DE NOVO LOCO	1255	-	1261
GILBERT DE WELEDON	1261	-	1263
JOHN BACUN	1264	-?	1268
HUGH	here 1269	-	1295
JOHN DE KENSINGTON	1295	-	1316
JOHN DE PEKESDEN	1316	-	1350
EDMUND DE BROUGHYNG	1350	-	1355
JOHN DE CARLETON	1355	-	1361
THOMAS DE WATFORD	1361	-	1382
WILLIAM GEDENEY	1382	-	1391
JOHN EYTON <i>alias</i> REPYNGDON	1391	-	1404
JOHN WATFORD	1404	-	1414
WILLIAM COVENTRY	1414	-	1436
REGINALD COLLIER	1436	-	1471
RICHARD PULTER	1471	-	1480
ROBERT TOLLERTON	1480	-	1484
WILLIAM GUY	1484	-	1505
WILLIAM BOLTON	1505	-	1532
ROBERT FULLER, Abbot of Waltham	1532	-	1539
Suppressed, 31 Henry VIII, October 25			1539
Resuscitated, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, Easter			1556

DOMINICAN PRIOR

WILLIAM PERRIN, B.D.	1556	-	1558
Again suppressed, 1 Elizabeth July 13			1559

THE RECTORS OF THE PARISH CHURCH

JOHN DEANE	{ Parish Priest	1539	—	1544
	{ Rector	1544	—	1563
RALPH WATSON		1565	—	1569
ROBERT BINKS		1570	—	1579
JAMES STANCLIFFE, M.A.		1580	—	1581
JOHN PRATT, B.A.		1582	—	1586
DAVID DEE, M.A.		1587	—	1605
THOMAS WESTFIELD, D.D., Bishop of Bristol .		1605	—	1644
JOHN GARRETT, M.A.		1644	<i>cir.</i>	1655
RANDOLPH HARRISON, D.D.	here	1655	—	1663
ANTHONY BURGESS, M.A.		1663	—	1709
JOHN POUNTNEY, M.A.		1709	—	1717
THOMAS SPATEMAN, M.A.		1719	—	1738
RICHARD THOMAS BATEMAN		1738	—	1761
JOHN MOORE, M.A.		1761	—	1768
OWEN PERROT EDWARDES, M.A.		1768	—	1814
JOHN RICHARDS ROBERTS, B.D.		1814	—	1819
JOHN ABBISS, M.A.		1819	—	1883
WILLIAM PANCKRIDGE, M.A.		1884	—	1887
BORRADAILE SAVORY, Baronet, M.A.		1887	—	1906
WILLIAM FITZGERALD GAMBIER SANDWICH, M.A.		1907	—	

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER

THAT Rahere was the founder of the Priory of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, there can be no doubt. The Book of the Foundation, already referred to and here quoted at length, proves it. King John, in his charter of the year 1204,¹ speaks of 'Rahere the first prior of the aforesaid church who founded it'; and King Henry III in his charter of the year 1227 repeats the statement.

Various legends exist as to Rahere having been the king's jester and a great musician, but we have no documentary evidence whatever of these statements. His name is not even mentioned by any of the contemporary historians, such as Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury.

A Raherius or Ragerius is mentioned by Dugdale,² Le Neve,³ and Newcourt,⁴ as holding the prebend of Chamberlain Wood at St. Paul's, and it is a fair assumption that this is the same man as our founder, because to Ralph Gundrum, the prebendary mentioned immediately before him in the list by these authors, is assigned the dates 1104 and 1115; and the holder immediately following Raherius, Geoffrey 'Constabularius', though no date of his appointment is given, was witness to a grant in the year 1145. As Rahere died A.D. 1143, the chronology is in favour of the assumption that he held the prebend from about 1115 to 1143. Unfortunately none of the above authors give their authority for saying that the prebend was held by 'Raherius', though for Ralph Gundrum and Geoffrey 'Constabularius' they refer to the register of the Dean and Chapter. If this Raherius is our Rahere, and if he held the prebend before his 'conversion', which must have taken place about the year 1120, then he would have been brought up as a clerk in holy orders, which is what we should be led to suppose by his subsequent life. His biographer in the Book of the Foundation is silent on the point, but the fact of his frequenting the gay court of Henry I is no argument against the supposition that he was a cleric, though a gay one.⁵

¹ Charter, 5 John, 1204, printed by T. Duffus Hardy, 115.

² Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, 240.

³ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 374.

⁴ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 133.

⁵ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. ii.

His biographer in the *Book of the Foundation*¹ gives us the following account of the life he led before his conversion :

‘ This man, sprung of humble lineage, when he reached the flower of youth began to haunt the household of nobles and the palaces of princes. “ Sewing pillows upon all elbows,”² he drew to friendship with himself those whom he had soothed with jokes and flatterings. And, not content with this, he approached the king’s palace with some frequency and resorted to the tumults of that tumultuous court, and with jocular flattery desired to attract to himself with ease the hearts of many. There he made it his business all day long to attend spectacles, banquets, jests and the rest of the trifles of the court ; and, with shameless face, betaking himself to the suite, now of the king, now of the nobles, he assiduously employed a complaisance that should please them and obtained with greater ease anything that it pleased him to seek. By these means he was well known to, intimate with, and a comrade of the king and of the great men of the court.’

Sir Norman Moore tells us that the name ‘ Rahere ’ is probably Frankish ; that it certainly occurs in early French charters in France, and that the word ‘ Rayer ’, used in the middle English translation in the *Book of the Foundation*, is not so correct as Rahere, because the Latin of Rayer would be Raierus and the founder describes himself as Raherus in his own charter of 1137 (pl. VI b, p. 78), and the same word is also employed in the royal charters ; for this reason the Latin word Raherus is translated Rahere in the new translation here used. The name appears variously spelt in the twelfth century : thus we have Johannes Raher in the ‘ *Chronicles of the reign of King Stephen* ’³ and Thomas Raiher in the *Charter Rolls*.⁴ The name Rayer of Holcombe still occurs in Burke’s *Landed Gentry*.

We cannot agree, as suggested by W. Chappell,⁵ that the UUluricus (or Ulric) Rahere in the Peterborough MS. of *Hereward the Wake* is our founder. That outlaw plundered Peterborough in 1070 and on his return was joined by four doughty followers, of whom Ulric Rahere was one. Rahere was a nickname and meant, says the MS., the ‘ *Heron id est Ardea* ’. The nickname was acquired when some Normans, who were taking four brothers to the gallows at Wrokesham Bridge, mocked this Ulric, calling him a heron, whereupon he seems to have killed several of the executioners and liberated their prisoners. Our founder, whether a cleric or not, was certainly a courtier from his youth and we cannot conceive him to have been a wild Anglo-

¹ *Book of Found.*, Lib. I, cap. ii.

² Ezek. xiii. 18 (revised version).

³ *Rolls Series*, No. 82, p. 334.

⁴ Printed, p. 63 a.

⁵ See Parker, *Lecture*, 1863, p. 17, and Walcott, *St. Barth. Church*, 1864.

Saxon outlaw. The dates also are against this theory, for the event at Peterborough must have happened in 1070 or 1071, which would have made our founder between 90 and 100 years of age at the time of his death in 1143; but his biographer makes no mention of extreme old age, as he does of Rahere's successor Thomas.

Rahere is described by Stow and others as the king's minstrel or jester, for which there is no other authority than the above passage from the Book of the Foundation; but it has been pointed out that minstrels were also reciters of poems, story-tellers, and sometimes jugglers and buffoons, as well as performers on musical instruments,¹ so that Stow may not be far wide of the truth. Rahere's renown as a minstrel had, long before Stow's time, grown to a fabulous extent, as is shown by the following passage from Thomas of Reading:²

'At that time there lived in London a musician of great reputation named Reior who kept his servants in such costly garments that they might seem to come before any prince. Their coats were all of one color, and it is said that afterwards the nobilities of the land, noting it for seemly sight, used in like manner to keep their men all in one livery. This Reior was the most skilfullest musician that lived at that time, whose wealth was very great, so that all the instruments whereon his servants plaid, were richly garnished with studs of silver, and some were gold. The bowes belonging to their violins were all likewise of pure silver. He was also for his wisdom called to great office in the city, who also builded at his own cost the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield. His servants being the best consorts in the city were by Tom Done appointed to play before the young princes.'

Rahere's chronicler, in the Book of the Foundation,³ thus speaks of his conversion:

'This kind of life he had chosen at first and thus he had spent his youth. But God, who beholds and pities all men, who cast out seven devils from Mary Magdalene, who gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to a fisherman, mercifully converted this man also from the error of his ways and added to him when converted many gifts of virtue: "since God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong".'⁴

What was the immediate cause of Rahere's conversion we shall never know, as his biographer is silent on the point. It may have been the example of the Queen Matilda, who was herself always intent on good works. She had been educated at the abbeys of Wilton and Romsey, and in the year 1108 had founded the Augustinian

¹ Delamotte, *Hosp. St. Barth.*, 38; Stow, 140.

² Thom, *Early Prose Romances*, i, 16.

³ Above, p. 386.

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 27.

monastery of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Her husband spent long intervals, several years at a time, in Normandy, when the queen managed the affairs of the court. 'Yet lowliness in thee tempered thy great majesty,' says Henry of Huntingdon. She died in the year 1118.

The example of Rahere's good bishop Richard de Belmeis or Beauvais¹ may have influenced our founder, for he had founded the Augustinian Abbey of St. Osyth in Essex in the year 1120.

But Sir Norman Moore suggests that the conversion may have more likely been due to the great catastrophe of the wreck of the White Ship, the *Blanche Nef*, which occurred on the 25th November, 1120. In that great disaster the heir to the throne was drowned, in company with a brother, a half-brother and sister, and the flower of the young nobility. The king had only sailed a few hours in advance of the fated ship, but when the news was told him, three days later, he fell in a swoon and so remained for several hours. Such an event was well calculated to cause our founder to take a more serious view of life.

Newton² relates a story, which he says was once current, to the effect that when Rahere was on the Continent a great friend of his died and at his funeral the dead man was caused to rise and tell Rahere of the inexpressible torments he was suffering in purgatory for not having performed sufficient works of benevolence. Rahere was so affected that he resolved to devote his future life and means to benevolence. This story seems too good to be true!

But for whatever cause, repentance did come to Rahere, and his biographer relates how:³

'This man, therefore, by God's grace in time repenting of his faults and proposing to halve his days that he might obtain full, plenary and perfect pardon of all his sins, determined to go to the holy Roman court, desiring in so laborious a journey to do fruits meet for repentance. And in no way with slothful spirit putting off for time and years this frame of mind inspired from heaven, but constantly carrying out the good work conceived with pious longing, he set off upon his journey and, God directing his steps, arrived safely whither he purposed.'

Previous to Rahere's visit there had been trouble in the church at Rome. In the year 1117 Henry V of Germany marched into the city and Paschal, the pope, retired. In 1118 Paschal died and his

¹ So called in the inscription on his monument at St. Osyth's. Newcourt, *Rep.* ii, 455.

² *London in Olden Times*, p. 83.

³ *Book of Found.*, Lib. I, cap. iii.

successor Gelasius II had also to fly from Rome when Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, was set up as anti-pope by Henry V under the name of Gregory VIII. Gelasius died in France in January 1119. A Frenchman, Guido, a distant relation of Henry V, succeeded as Calixtus II; he made a progress through France and when at Gisors on 20th November, 1119, he gave an interview to our King Henry. After that interview and after his long sojourn in France, Henry returned to England a few hours in advance of the White Ship, as already described, and the pope entered Rome and the anti-pope was suppressed. Thus, if Rahere started his pilgrimage after the loss of the heir to the throne, he would have found Rome once more at peace. The historian continues :¹

‘ And there at the places of the martyrdoms of the most blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, deploring his misdeeds and recalling to memory the sins and ignorances of his youth, he prayed that remission of them should be granted him by the Lord, promising that he would do nothing of like nature in the future, but having renounced these would devoutly obey His will; those two brilliant luminaries of heaven, two men of mercy, he set as mediators between himself and the governor of the whole earth, that he would avoid his past follies and pay assiduous attention to his promises.’

The place of the martyrdom of St. Peter, now occupied by the church of *S. Pietro in Montorio*, is on the slope of the Janiculum in Rome; the place of the martyrdom of St. Paul in the Campania is now occupied by the church of *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane*. It is nearly three miles south from the *Porta S. Paolo* and is renowned for being a malarious spot; we may therefore reasonably assume that the illness contracted by Rahere, as described in the following passage, was the malaria, known as Roman fever. His biographer writes :²

‘ In the meantime, while he sojourned there, he began to be vexed with a grievous sickness and, his pains gradually increasing, he was brought to extremity. And he, fearing that he had not yet given satisfaction to God for his misdeeds, and wondering whether therefore to avenge his crimes the final hour of his death was upon him among outlandish people, poured out his heart like water in the sight of God and all breaking out into tears he vowed a vow that if, having obtained health, it should be allowed him to return to his own country he would erect a hospital for the restoration of poor men and, as far as he could, would administer to the necessities of the poor gathered together in that place. And not long

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. iii.

² *Ib.*, Lib. I, cap. iii.

after the benign and merciful Lord who saw the tears of Hezekiah,¹ who rewarded the importunity of the woman of Canaan² with the benefit of his pity, mercifully looked upon him also as he wept and approved his vow by granting him the health that he desired. And he gaining strength after his weakness, and having become whole, prepared to return to his own, ready to perform the vow he had made.³

On his way home he had a vision which the writer, continuing, thus describes :⁴

‘ Whilst he was accomplishing his journey, on a certain night he saw a vision, full at once of terror and sweetness. For, when after sweats by day he was refreshing his limbs with rest, it seemed to him that he was borne on high by a certain beast having four feet and two wings and that he was set by it in a very high place. And when from such a height he bent down the glance of his eyes to the depths, he discovered a horrible pit to be beneath him, the terrible vision of which struck the beholder with both fear and horror at once, for its depth baffled all human view. He, therefore, conscious in himself of his sins, thinking that he would forthwith fall into so vast a precipice, as it seemed to him, shuddered, and began to give forth lusty cries from his mouth. And, as he was thus fearful and crying aloud with fear, one was beside him, bearing royal majesty in his countenance, of wonderful beauty and imperial authority, and with his look fixed upon him spake good words—words of consolation, bringing a good message, as if he spoke in these words⁵—“ Oh ! man,” says he, “ what and how much allegiance would you pay to him who should help you in such a mortal crisis,” and when he replied thereto that he would most diligently repay whatever heart, whatever strength were his for the thanking of his deliverer, he continued—“ I am Bartholomew, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who have come to help thee in thy straits and to unlock for thee the secrets of the heavenly mystery ; for thou shalt know that I, by the will and command of all the High Trinity, and with the common favour and counsel of the court of heaven, have chosen a spot in a suburb of London at Smedfeld where in my name thou shalt found a church, and there shall be the house of God, the tabernacle of the Lamb, the temple of the Holy Ghost. This spiritual house the Almighty Lord shall inhabit, sanctify, glorify and preserve unspotted for ever and ever. And his eyes shall be open⁶ and his ears directed toward that house night and day that he who asketh may receive,⁷ he who seeketh may find, and he who knocketh may enter. For every one who, being converted and penitent, shall pray in this place, shall be heard in heaven, or seeking with a perfect heart help from any

¹ Isa. xxxviii. 5.

³ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. iii.

⁵ *quasi in hec verba loqueretur.*

⁶ 1 Kings viii. 29 ; 2 Chron. vi. 20, 40.

² Mark vii. 25.

⁴ Ib., Lib. I, cap. iv.

⁷ Matt. vii. 7.

tribulation without doubt shall obtain it; to those who knock with pious longing at the door of the spouse attendant angels shall open the gates of heaven, receiving and offering to God the prayers and vows of a faithful people. Therefore let thy hands be strengthened, and having faith in the Lord act manfully. Nor doubt at all with anxious mind concerning the expenses of this building; merely apply diligence, mine it shall be to provide the costs necessary for directing and completing the fabric of this work and to proclaim the place itself acceptable to God and myself with very manifest signs and tokens, and to protect thee incessantly beneath the shadow of my wings. Of this work know that thou art the minister and I the master. Do thou employ diligent service; I will perform the office of master and patron." At these words the vision disappeared.'

As to why the vision should have been in the form of St. Bartholomew nothing is said by the chronicler, so we can only conjecture. Now before this time the bones (or the supposed bones) of St. Bartholomew had been brought from Beneventum to Rome and placed in the ancient porphyry sarcophagus which forms the present high altar of the church of S. Bartolommeo. This church is on the Isola Tiberina, a small island which lies between the Ponte Garibaldi and the Ponte Emilio. Close by, on the right bank of the river, is Trastevere, reaching up the side of the Janiculum to the church of S. Pietro in Montorio: it was the portion of the city which in ancient times and in the middle ages was the Jewish quarter and where St. Paul was lodged. Rahere, as a pilgrim, would also have been lodged there and it would be reasonable to assume that he visited more than once so interesting an object as the shrine of the apostle in his immediate neighbourhood. As this church of S. Bartolommeo, founded by Otho III about the year 1000, succeeded a temple of Aesculapius, the god of medicine, on the same spot, it would be interesting if it could be proved that there was this connexion between St. Bartholomew's on the Tiber and St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield.

A German historian,¹ on the authority of Leo of Ostia, asserts that the bones of the apostle are not in the church at all, as the body of St. Paulinus de Nola was by a pious fraud given to the emperor Otho in place of that of St. Bartholomew. The church authorities claim to have both bodies, the one in the high altar and the other in the north chapel altar; and there is some corroboration of this in the fact that both St. Paulinus and St. Bartholomew are depicted

¹ Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 4 Ed. i, 716, and Giesebrecht, *Baltische Studien*, XI, i, 12-13. I am indebted to Karl Baedeker of Leipzig for these references.

in the great well head which stands on the chancel steps and which is evidently coeval with the church itself.

The narrator then tells us¹ that when Rahere awoke he was in much perplexity whether to take the vision as an ordinary illusion, such as comes in dreams, or as a heavenly oracle, of which he felt he was not worthy; but he eventually decided in favour of the latter and to perform the command of the apostle. The writer then gives instances from scripture where dreams were heaven-sent messages, and also expounds his view of the meaning of the vision.² He then continues: ³

'Therefore, the remainder of his journey being accomplished, he came to London, and was received with much joy by his acquaintances and friends. With whom and with some barons⁴ of London in intimate converse about these things which were revolving in his mind, he narrated what things were done concerning him by the way, and took counsel as to what would be meet to be done thereon. And from them he received the answer that nothing of what he desired could be effected by him without consulting the king; especially because the place divinely shewn to him was contained within the king's market, on which it was lawful neither for the princes themselves nor for the wardens of their own authority to encroach to any extent whatever, much less to allot it to a religious purpose of this kind.'

We thus see that the site chosen for the priory was the king's market. In Roman times Smithfield is known to have been the site of one of the extensive cemeteries outside the walls of London. This is corroborated by the fact that in the year 1877 two stone Roman sarcophagi were found⁵ on the site of the present library of the hospital.

The Anglo-Saxons gave the place the descriptive name of Smœd-field (Smeð), signifying the Smooth field. It would have been seized by the Conqueror as part of the ancient demesne of Edward the Confessor. There are frequent references in the charters to the king's 'demesne chapel',⁶ his 'demesne canons', his 'demesne possessions'⁷ when referring to the priory.

FitzStephen,⁸ writing about the year 1174, describes the weekly

¹ Book of the Found., Lib. I, cap. v.

² *Ib.*, Lib. I, cap. vi.

³ *Ib.*, Lib. I, cap. vii.

⁴ At this time the aldermen and chief citizens were thus styled, and the obverse of the common seal of the City, c. 1225, still in use, has the legend *sigillum baronum Londoniarum*; see also Riley, *Memorials*, 37.

⁵ *Archaeological Journal*, xxxiv, 197.

⁶ *Cart. Antiq. L.*, No. 6.

⁷ *Ib. L.*, No. 8. See *Cal. Pat.*, Hen. V., ii, 239.

⁸ *Rolls Series*, No. 67, p. 36 of transl.

horse market held there on Fridays and gives a very graphic description of the horse racing held at the same time. Shakespeare refers to it as a horse market,¹ when a page tells Falstaff that Bardolph has 'gone into Smithfield to buy your worship a horse'. And the vestry minute books of 1774 tell us that the horse market was still being held and on Fridays. That Smithfield was in a very bad condition in the twelfth century and later is evident by the fact that Pope Celestinus III, in the year 1191,² made the condition of it a reason for claiming for the hospital a cemetery separate from that of the priory, for, says he, 'the labour of conducting funerals is very great through the muddy streets and horse market.' Also, in the year 1320, in reply to the complaint of the brethren of the hospital and of the community living round Smithfield, the mayor and sheriffs were ordered to see that no wells or ditches were dug therein to the annoyance of passengers and inhabitants without the king's licence.³

Before continuing the writer's narrative, it will be well to mention here the traditions he refers to in the next chapter regarding the site, where he says : ⁴

'By the relation of our elders we find this place divinely shewn as a place of prayer . . . to the glorious King Edward the Confessor . . . when, as the book of his deeds says, he was conspicuous as a religious . . . and being illumined by the Holy Spirit he looked with the eyes of his mind upon things remote as being present and future things as existing. On a certain night, while his eyes were taking sleep, but his heart awake to God, he was forewarned of this place by a divine oracle given to him that God had chosen to place His Name there and to shew it renowned and venerable to Christian people. Whereupon this most holy king, rising in the morning, came to the place which God had shewn him, and to those standing by explained the vision made to him at night, and foretold that that place should be great before God and all people.'

Again he writes : ⁵

'It was said also that three men from Greece, sprung of noble lineage, having gone forth from their country and kindred and having entered for the Lord's sake upon the labour of a holy pilgrimage, when with devout souls they had often besought the protection of saints in many places in the world as they travelled round . . . coming to London approached this place and there, prostrate on the ground, worshipped God, and in the face of those who were present and who were regarding them as simple and ignorant folk, began to prophesy wonderful things of this place,

¹ *Henry IV*, pt. II, sc. 4.

² *Parl. Roll* i, 371 a, 14 *Edw. II*.

³ *Book of Found.*, Lib. I, cap. viii.

⁴ *Hosp. Cart.*, f. 49.

⁵ *Ib.*, Lib. I, cap. ix.

saying—"Wonder not ye that we here worship God where the Supreme Creator of all things will build a temple most pleasing to Himself, and its fame shall reach from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof".¹

Returning to the account of how the site was obtained, the writer says :²

'And, using the counsel of his friends, he betook himself to the king at an opportune time, and in the presence of Bishop Richard, whom he had won over to himself as a supporter, he effectually explained his business and humbly besought to be allowed to bring his purpose to performance. Forthwith He, in whose hand he was, inclined the king's heart to his desire, for prayers could not be ineffective whose author was the apostle and whose hearer was God. So that saying was pleasing in the eyes of the king and, considering the man's wish to be very good, and as he was of a prudent heart and mind, he bestowed his royal favour upon his petitioner and graciously gave him authority to carry out his proposals.'

It is difficult to suggest a date for this audience granted by the king, for in the spring of 1121 he went to the Continent again to bring over his newly betrothed bride, Adelia of Louvaine. He was married in January 1122, and a few weeks after he had to leave home again to suppress the outbreak of the Welsh, and in April 1123 he sailed for Normandy to quell the revolt of the baronage. But it is interesting to see the ready access to the king possible in those days, and also to see the presence of the bishop, whose consent to the founding of the church was a necessity.

The writer then expressly states that Rahere obtained from the king the title of the possession he desired—*a regia maiestate titulum optatae possessionis nactus*.³

In what form the title was given we do not know : it may have been by deed of feoffment (deed of grant) and livery of seisin (delivery of possession) or by livery of seisin without a deed. If the former method, we should have expected to find, if not a copy, at any rate a reference to it or a confirmation of it in subsequent charters ; instead of which, although many refer to the grant none refers to a deed of grant. Thus, some time before the year 1170, Thomas of Canterbury, in his charter, states that 'Henry I granted the site in *frankalmoign* and by his charter confirmed it'; Henry II, in his charter of 1173, says that his grandfather 'granted in right of his crown the place in Smethefeld'; Richard I in his charter of 1190 confirms 'the gift of

¹ Psalm l. 1.

² Book of the Found., Lib. I, cap. vii.

³ Ib., Lib. I, cap. vii.

King Henry, our great grandsire, the place of Smethefeld in which their church was founded and the hospital house of the same church'; and in his charter of 1253 Henry III says that Henry I 'gave the place in Smethefelde'. Henry I, in his own charter of 1133, moreover, confirmed to the church all the lands pertaining to it, but he does not confirm any previous deed of grant. He does, however, later on make provision for any grant made other than by deed, for briefly he says: 'whatsoever shall be remembered to have been justly granted by writing or by testimony of good men¹ let no person presume to take.'

For these reasons we incline to the opinion that the feoffment was not by deed and livery of seisin, but by livery of seisin only, and this in spite of the fact that feoffments by deed were already being made in the reign of the first Henry. 'Feoffment by livery of seisin' only was made by the feoffer to the feoffee (the grantor to the grantee) in person, in presence of witnesses, the feoffer taking a clod of earth or a twig of a tree, or something on the land to be conveyed, and handing it to the feoffee, using, usually, a form of words of conveyance. That the king really was the grantor of the land both for the priory and for the hospital, is, as the biographer states, abundantly proved by the above charters. He writes: ²

'And he, having obtained of the king's majesty the title of the possession he desired, and omitting no care or diligence, very gladly began to carry out his double work of piety: one for the vow which he had made; the other as had been appointed him by precept. When, therefore, matters succeeded prosperously and all things that were necessary flowed to his hand, according to the apostle's word, he forthwith began to build the church with suitable stone blocks in courses and the hospital house a little further removed from the church.'

The above makes it quite clear that the priory and the hospital were commenced at one and the same time.

He goes on: ³

'Now the church was founded, as we have received of our elders, in the month of March, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in memory of the most blessed apostle Bartholomew, in the one thousand one hundred and twenty-third year from the Incarnation of the same Lord our Saviour, while the most holy Pope Calixtus the Second⁴ ruled the holy see of Rome; William, Archbishop of

¹ i.e., By livery of seisin, which was in the presence of witnesses.

² Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. vii.

³ Ib., Lib. I, cap. vii.

⁴ Calixtus II was pope 1119-1124.

Canterbury,¹ presided over the Church of England; and Richard² was bishop of London, who of due right hallowed that place on the east side of the said field, and dedicated with episcopal authority what was at that time quite a small cemetery (*breve tunc admodum cimiterium*) in the reign of the younger son of William Nothi (the Bastard)³ first king of the English in the north, Henry the first, in the thirtieth and about a third year of his reign,⁴ to the praise and glory of the Most High and Undivided Trinity, to Whom be blessing and thanksgiving, honour and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.'

This passage, important as regards dates, is unfortunately obscure towards the end.

After a founder had made his application to the bishop of the diocese, the bishop set up a cross and set out the ground where the church was to be built, and then the founder might proceed with the building: when finished the bishop was to consecrate it, before which the sacraments were not to be administered therein.⁵ This setting up of the cross around which the building was to rise was the ceremony of founding, and still is so in the Roman church, where the cross is afterwards kept as a memorial of the occasion.

The Emperor Justinian, in his form for this ceremony of founding, prescribed that 'none shall presume to erect a church until the bishop of the diocese hath been first acquainted therewith, and shall come and lift up his hands to heaven, and consecrate the place to God by prayer and erect the symbol of our salvation, the venerable and truly precious rood',⁶ so that the words 'who of due right hallowed that place on the east side of the said field and dedicated with episcopal authority' describes the ceremony as having been carried out in the correct form. The next four words, *breve tunc admodum cimiterium*, present some difficulty, but the obvious meaning is that a portion of the site was consecrated as a small cemetery.

The date of the founding is given very precisely as in the month of March *milesimo centesimo vigesimo tertio*—so clearly that one wonders why of all the chroniclers only Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster should give the date correctly, and why J. H. Parker in his lecture in 1863 should have suggested that 1123 was the date of completion and not of the founding of the church.

The dates of Pope Calixtus, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and

¹ William de Corbuil, 4 Feb. 1123–1136.

² Richard de Beauvais, 1108–1127–8.

³ William I.

⁴ Henry Beauclerc, 5 Aug. 1100, 1 Dec. 1135.

⁵ Burn, *Eccles. Law*, i, 322, 'Church'.

⁶ Burn, *Eccles. Law*, i, 325, 'Church'.

of the Bishop of London all agree with the above date, but the way the regnal year of the king is stated: *Regnante . . . Henrico primo Anno XXX et circiter tertium regni eius* is impossible and shows the text to be corrupt. The 'thirtieth and about a third' of King Henry's reign would be December 1129, with which the other dates would not agree. The most plausible explanation is that the scribe when making the transcript in the fourteenth century wrote XXX instead of XX and *certiter* (or *tirtiter*) *tertium* in an effort to extend an original *tertio*: errors of this nature (termed dittography) occur in all transcripts, and this is a fourteenth-century transcript of a twelfth-century original. The year would then read the 23rd of Henry I, which was 1123, the date given for the founding.

It is unfortunate that the consecration of the church when built is not recorded in the Book of the Foundation, because it must have taken place. The consecration was a solemnity celebrated with the greatest pomp, especially in the Church of England,¹ and the king in his charter, when granting freedom from all earthly service, especially excepted 'episcopal customs as consecration of the church'.

The same applies to the dedication of the church: this, too, was a great ceremony, on the eve of which the relics of saints were brought to the church and watched throughout the night, with a blaze of lighted candles and hymn singing, and on the day of dedication they would have been laid with due honour in their proper places.² The dedication mentioned in the MS. evidently referred to the site of the church only and to the small cemetery.

It would seem, therefore:

That the church was founded in the year 1123.

That when the building was completed to a point sufficient for consecration the convent assembled, but in what year³ there is no reliable record; probably about 1126, or 1127.

That the sedition, to be described presently, began to foment in the year 1130 or 1131; and

That the resulting conspiracy to take Rahere's life led to the granting by the king of an important charter of privileges in 1133.

The passage quoted above relating to the founding refers to the fact that the church was finished 'in memory of the most blessed apostle Bartholomew', and, seeing that the church was built by the

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxv, 235.

² Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iii, 348.

³ At Norwich the founding was in 1096, the assembling in 1101: Dugdale, iv, 1.

precept of that apostle, as shown in the vision, it is natural to attribute the dedication to that event. But St. Bartholomew had long been held in esteem in England : in the time of King Cnut, the Bishop of Benevento brought the bones of one arm of the saint to England, which were purchased by Emma, Cnut's Queen,¹ and presented to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, by the king by charter, together with the king's great pall, the golden crown of his head and the port of Sandwich,² thereby showing in what great veneration this relic was held. It is not, therefore, surprising to find, in the adjoining diocese of Rochester, a hospital of St. Bartholomew, founded before that of Rahere, by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester,³ about the end of the eleventh century, for the use of lepers. It lies partly in Rochester and partly in Chatham ; it escaped the general suppression by Henry VIII, and still survives. There is also a hospital of St. Bartholomew at Sandwich, founded in the year 1190,⁴ which now supports sixteen brethren and sisters.

St. Bartholomew was always considered the patron not only of the priory but also of the hospital and of the fair, and he is constantly referred to as such by our chronicler. All the cases of healing at the church are attributed to the patron ; when Rahere had his antiphonar stolen it was St. Bartholomew who directed him how to find it ; when men were saved from shipwreck (and there are six such cases recorded) it was through the intervention of the patron. When sailors were thus saved they would bring their offerings to St. Bartholomew's church, in money or in kind ;⁵ on one occasion it took the form of a model in silver of the ship that was saved.⁶ No doubt the offerings of seamen considerably swelled the oblations of the altar of the church. The legend on the priory seal of the fourteenth century shows the position the apostle held in the minds of Rahere's successors — '*Credimus ante Deum proveni per Bartholomeum*' (we believe we are brought into the presence of God by Bartholomew).

The orientation of the church would probably have been arranged at the time of the founding ceremony, or preparatory thereto. On what day in March this took place is not mentioned, but assuming it to have been on Lady Day, the sun, we are told, would have risen on that day (old style) in London, in the year 1123, at 6.6° north of east (83.4° E. of N.). But it has been shown by observations, especially taken for this book, that the angle of orientation of the

¹ Sir Norman Moore, *Past and Present of St. Bart. Hosp.*, p. 11.

² Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, 335, quoting from *Text. Roffensis*, c. 33, p. 37.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* v. 764, pt. ii.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.* xv, 7.

⁵ Book of Found., Lib. II, cap. xxviii.

⁶ *Ib.*, Lib. II, cap. iii.

church is 37.76° north of east (52.24° E. of N.—true north, not magnetic north),¹ so that either the orientation of the church was governed by some other consideration than the point at which the sun rose on the day of the founding, or else the orientation was not arranged in the month of March, but at some time in the summer when the point of the sun's rising would have more nearly coincided with the angle of orientation; that is to say, about May 27th or July 4th, at either of which times, we are told,² the sun would have risen in London, in the year 1123, 37.76° east of north.

Turning again to the Book of the Foundation, the writer tells us of the cleansing of the site.³

'Now that place, however, before its cleansing, holding forth no hope of offering anything good, was very foul and, like a marsh, at almost all times abounded with filth and muddy water. And the part which was above the water was allotted to the hanging of thieves and the punishment of others who had been condemned by judicial authority.'

Stow and other historians speak of the ground being moorish and fenny, but the soil is really a deep layer of fine river gravel on which, as a matter of fact, Rahere built without any other foundation: the condition described above would be applicable to any undrained market-place. It is to be noted that the gallows originally stood on the site of the present church, a fact which does not seem to be generally known.

From this site the gallows were removed to the Elms on the other side of Smithfield by the then Horse-pool, due west from St. Bartholomew's; a site now covered by the western portion of the main block of buildings of the Central Meat Market.

The writer continues:

'When, however, Rahere had devoted his energies to the purging of the place and had decided to put his hand to the sacred building, not being ignorant of the wiles of Satan, he made himself a fool because he was constrained to do so (*quia coactus*) and outwardly putting on the appearance of a simpleton he began for a time to hide the secret of his soul, and to do his work more wisely, the more he did it secretly. At length, with wonderful skill in games, he won to himself bands of children and servants, and by their help he easily began to collect together stones and other things which should be profitable for his building. And he himself played with

¹ From calculations made by the late Mr. J. Franklin Adams.

² From calculations made by Dr. Crommelin of the Royal Observatory at the request of Mr. W. H. Wesley, Assistant Secretary of the R.A.S.

³ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. x.

them and became in his own eyes even more vile from day to day, in order only that he might so much please the apostle of Christ, to whom he approved himself. And helped by his grace, when those things that seemed necessary had been prepared, he raised up an immense fabric; and now he began openly to be and to be called not foolish as was being thought but truly wise as was being concealed.'

As the stone with which the church was built came from a long distance, we assume that these serving men and boys merely helped in unloading the various building materials and carrying them to the place required, as was done in Normandy, where the people harnessed themselves to the carts laden with building materials and provisions for the workmen.¹

The narrative continues :

'From this time all men were greatly astonished both at the novelty of the rising fabric and at the founder of this new work. For who would believe that that place could be purged with so sudden a cleansing and the tokens of the adorable cross be raised there [probably alluding to the cross or rood erected at the founding ceremony] where a short time ago were standing the horrible gibbets of thieves? Who would not be astonished that a remarkable building of piety should there be built to be a safe sanctuary to those that fled thereto, where of old was fixed the common place² of the condemned and where the general punishment of the wretched had been inflicted? Who would not marvel that there should be vaunted there the mystery of the Lord's Body and Holy Blood, where formerly was poured the blood of guilty men? Whose heart would easily admit that a man of such kind, neither remarkable by gentility of proud blood, nor sufficiently endowed with knowledge of letters human or divine, should undertake so prudently, so excellent and magnificent a work, and having undertaken it, should carry it on from day to day with such happy progress? This is the change of the hand of the Highest. These are Thy works, O Christ! . . . who madest Golgotha—a place of public abomination—a sanctuary of prayer, and a solemn token of devotion.'

Those who rebuilt the founder's tomb at the end of the fourteenth century, when they caused the book to be translated, must have been reminded by the above of the passages from Isaiah which they inscribed in Latin on the open Bibles in the hands of the two Augustinian canons kneeling at Rahere's feet: ³'For the Lord shall comfort Zion: He will comfort all her waste places: and He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice

¹ West, *Gothic Architecture*, 25.

² *Officina*.

³ Isa. li. 3.

of melody', and ¹'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose'.

It was probably about this time, before the building was finished, that Rahere obtained the assistance of Alfune, as recorded in the following passage from the twenty-second chapter : ²

'When the plantation which the heavenly Father had planted, to wit the aforesaid church, rose higher, and the fame of the virtue of the apostle rose higher, Rahere joined to himself a certain old man, Alfune by name, in whom there seemed to be seriousness with age, and, with seriousness, the wisdom of age. The same old man, not long before [about the year 1090],³ had built the church of St. Giles at the gate of the city which is called in the English tongue Crepallsgate but in Latin *Porta Contractorum*, and had brought that good work to a happy conclusion. Thinking that this man would be useful to him, he appointed him his colleague, and with his counsel and help arranged and perfected what was to be done. It was the custom of the said Alfune to go about the city and neighbourhood of the church with an officer of the church, and busily to seek necessities for the relief of the poor who lay in the hospital, and of those who were hired for the sake of building the church.'

If Alfune was, say, forty years of age when he finished St. Giles's church, he would have been between seventy-five and eighty when he came to help Rahere.

Returning to Chapter XI the biographer continues : ⁴

'So, as time went on, the clerks who were to live under regular rule were shortly brought together in that place, Rahere holding the office of prior and abundantly ministering to them necessities, not indeed from fixed revenues but from the offerings of the faithful. And not long after, lo, the fear he feared befel him, and what he dreaded happened to him : to some he became the savour of life unto life, to others the savour of death unto death.⁵ For some said "he is a deceiver", because in the net of the great fisherman evil fish are mixed with good until the hour of the last judgment; those of his household became his foes and there arose against him wicked men : but their wickedness deceived themselves. Therefore, stimulated by envy, some secretly, many even openly, ceased not to rage against the man of God, and to disparage the place itself and the prelate thereof, to bring calumnious charges, to terrify with threats, to take away what goods they could, to oppress with baseness, to weary with wrong, to provoke with abuse and to beset with feigned friendship. Some of them broke out into such bold

¹ Isa. xxxv. 1.

² Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxii.

³ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 355. A MS. at St. Paul's says Aelmund the priest built St. Giles's Church.

⁴ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xi.

⁵ 2 Cor. ii. 16.

madness and mad boldness that they entered into an alliance of wicked conspiracy among themselves as to on which set day and place they might deceive him with guile and subtlety and admit to their counsel the man of God, and when present might take him by stealth from the path of life and thus altogether destroy his memory from the earth. But there is no wisdom, no knowledge, no device¹ against the Lord on Whom he was casting his thought, and in Whom, with the help of his apostle, he put his strength. . . . So He, Who was his hope, became his Strength and for his sake overcame his foes. Meantime, while the day appointed for the destruction of the innocent is awaited, one of them who was a partaker in this great treason, and in his guilt shuddering at the unheard-of sin, before the hour of the impending danger, fully disclosed to the servant of God the substance of the whole plan. He thereupon gave thanks to God and to his patron that the secrets of his foes were not hid from him and, by help of his piety, he had escaped the death prepared for him.

‘For these and similar reasons that came to light, again he approached the king and with lamentable complaint urged how with false reproaches he was disgraced, and how the outbreak of scorn tried him; and prayed that he would deign to protect his person and the place appointed him by royal bounty. He also suggested to the king that he could look for no reward of God who began a good work and did not bring what he had begun to its proper completion. Wherefore by the bowels of Christ’s pity on which he trusted, by the might of his dignity, by the eminence of his power, let him open to the desolate his heart of pity, let him honour God in his servants, let him restrain the yelping madness of the faithless and thus, combining better issues with good beginnings, build for himself an eternal mansion in heaven, while he respected the house of God on earth.

‘And so the king, marvelling at the man’s prudence and constancy, answered that he granted his just and necessary petitions and pledged himself to be thenceforward the guardian and defender of him and his. Therefore he presented the church, and all things belonging thereto, with the same liberties with which his crown and the freest Church of England were possessed, and granted to it the customary rights; and he decreed that it should be free from all earthly service, jurisdiction and submission, and gave very sharp sentence against the conspirators. These and many other tokens of liberties he granted to the prior and to those serving under him and to the aforesaid church, and confirmed them by his charter under a seal, adjuring also all his heirs and successors in the name of the Holy Trinity that they should uphold and defend this place with their royal authority, and should grant and confirm the liberties granted by him.

‘Fortified with such privileges he joyfully came out from before the face of the king; and coming to his own people he made known

¹ Eccles. ix. 10.

what he had obtained of the king's majesty, to some that they might rejoice with him, to others that they might be afeared.'

The charter of King Henry I here referred to¹ is addressed to W(illiam de Corbuil) Archbishop of Canterbury and to G(ilbert the Universal) Bishop of London; it is dated 1133, the thirty-third of the king's reign. As the king's reign commenced on August 5th, 1100, his thirty-third year ended with August 4th, 1133, and the year 1133 began with March 25th; as the dates of the archbishop and bishop and of the witnesses are not contradictory, the date of the charter must be between March 25th and August 4th of the year 1133.

The charter occurs in two forms,² both being dated the same and having the same witnesses. The first form occurs in L. 1 of the *Cartae Antiquae* in the Record Office and in the Hospital Cartulary: it is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Sir Norman Moore has printed a translation in his *History of the Hospital* and also in pamphlet form published in 1891. This second form, or charter No. 2, differs in some respects from charter No. 1; notably in that it refers only to the priory, and does not, like No. 1, include any grant to the poor of the hospital.

Charter No. 1 begins with the grant, for which it recites no motive, whereas No. 2 shows that the king's motive is 'for the love of God and for ransom for my sins, and for the salvation of the souls of my father and mother and my kindred'. Each charter ends by giving the motive of the grant, but Charter No. 2 has a more special clause mentioning 'the souls of my father and my mother and of William the king my brother'.³

Charter No. 1 contains a saving of episcopal customs, 'to wit consecration of the church, baptism, and ordination of clerks.' Charter No. 2 does not contain this.

The grants of privileges in charter No. 2 are fuller and more elaborate. As no translation seems to have been published hitherto, one by Mr. William Barnard is given at the end of this chapter, with the meaning of most of the Saxon terms.

Some consider that the granting of this charter indicates the time of the completion of the building of Rahere's church, but the fact of the convent having met and having had time to revolt shows that Rahere's portion of the church must have been completed and consecrated some time before the charter was granted.

Rahere's intention of further establishing his church and hospital

¹ For translation of this charter and explanation of terms, see below, pp. 60-64.

² App. I, p. 477. Charters No. 1 and 2.

³ William Rufus.

by grants from the pope, which would have entailed a second journey to Rome, was frustrated, but was carried out under his immediate successor, as will be seen by what follows.¹

'Also the same venerable man had purposed to lay a complaint of his misfortune before the apostolic chair and, God's grace helping him, to bring back therefrom writings which should profit himself and those that should come after him. But various hindrances arising on this side and on that, and at length the moment of death threatening him, he was not able to fulfil what he wished, and so deserved praise only for his good intention. But after his decease, three men of the same society (whose memory be blessed) went to the heads of the see of Rome, each to one, and by the three grants which they brought back from the three pontiffs, namely the saints Anastasius, Adrian and Alexander, they rendered this church glorious with this triple dowry and defended it against hostile attacks, as it were with an impenetrable shield.'

Anastasius IV here referred to was pope from 1153 to 1154; Adrian IV, whose real name was Nicholas Brakespeare (the only Englishman who has occupied the chair of St. Peter), was pope 1154 to 1159; but of the grants of these two popes there is no trace, either at the Vatican or in the hospital cartulary (as mentioned in the chapter on the records)² or in Jaffa's register, but both would no doubt have been transcribed into the lost cartulary of the priory.

A writing of Alexander III, who was one of these popes from the year 1159 to 1179, is still in possession of the governors³ and is transcribed in the cartulary of the hospital. It is simply dated 'Anagni—13 August'. The pope resided there from 1159 until 1162, when he fled to France, and it may have been written in one of those years or between the years 1173 and 1177, when he was again at Anagni before going to Venice and Rome. By it the pope takes the hospital under his protection, but grants no privileges to the priory.

The chronicler concludes his Chapter XI thus :

'Behold the prophecy of the most blessed King and Confessor Edward, so long time before foretold of this place, is now at length seen to be in great part fulfilled. For behold this church holy and beloved of God shines forth with manifold glory, endowed and guarded by heavenly promise, exalted with exceeding many grants from most famous men and for a crown of praise and glory dowered with many relics of saints and beautified with very numerous signs of heavenly virtues.'

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xi.

² See above, p. xxvii.

³ For reproduction see Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 150.

These relics were apparently at times carried about, for a case of healing by their virtue is recorded¹ from the oratory of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth (probably Little Yarmouth, one of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's). The most important relic seems to have been one of the true Cross,² the possession of which may account for the church of St. Bartholomew's Hospital being dedicated in honour of the Holy Cross.

We are told more of the death of Rahere in the second book,³ where the writer says :

'So then, after 22 years and six months of his priorate, on the twentieth day of September, the seventh month, he who founded this house to the praise and honour of the Name of Christ left his habitation of clay and entered the home everlasting that in his Father's house he might be crowned in his mercy and compassion.

'And as eternal salvation cannot come from works without charity, without which other good things profit nothing, and as charity cannot be had without the other good things by which a man is made good, we rightly have this hope concerning him, who lacked nothing of the things that belong to grace, which we especially seek in those who are departing this life, such as the communion of the faith of Christ and the partaking of His Sacraments, and especially the visible penitence of a contrite heart. For in these surroundings we believe he died ; and concerning him we trust and hope for the help, beyond our deserts, of our powerful patron, to whom he left a little flock of 13 canons⁴ as it were a handful of sheep, with a few lands and very slender rents, yet with plentiful oblations of the altar and the support of the neighbouring populous city.'

We are told also that :⁵

'There was a new festival of offerings and gifts in money, in household goods, in corn also and moveables, besides a great multitude of men that were sick, withered, blind, dumb and deaf who continually grew well in this place, a pleasant feast. For this reason, the day of his nativity in heaven, being known, was celebrated with great dancing.'

The passage is obscure, but we infer that there was a new festival held on September 20th, the date of Rahere's death. It is but an inference, for it is not referred to again.

We are not told in the above record the year when Rahere died,

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxv.

² Ib., Lib. I, cap. xv.

³ Ib., Lib. II, prologue II, headed 'also another'.

⁴ 'For thirtene is a convenient as I gesse', Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* : The Somnours Tale, line 2250.

⁵ Book of Found., Lib. II, prologue I.

or from what date the twenty-two years and six months is reckoned, but, assuming it to be from the date of the founding in March 1123, the date of Rahere's death would be September 1145. But the writer further on in the same chapter tells us :

'When the space of a year had rolled by there followed in the priorate of the new plantation, through Robert, Bishop of London,¹ one of the canons of St. Osyth, in the year of our Lord 1144, in the seventh indiction, in the reign of Stephen, son of Stephen, Earl of Blois, who promoted Theobald Bec to be Archbishop of Canterbury.'²

As the year 1144 in the Latin is written in full *Millesimo centesimo quadragesimo quarto*, and the year 1144 really was the seventh indiction, and as Thomas the prior witnessed, in the year 1145, a deed of grant by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Monastery of Merkgate (on its foundation in that year),³ we consider the date 1144 to be correct and that the *XXII annos et menses sex* is an error for *XX annos et menses sex*, which would bring the date of Rahere's death to the date above given, the 20th September, 1143 : otherwise, with the year's interregnum, it would bring the date of Thomas's appointment to 1146, a year after he had witnessed a deed as prior.

Rahere's Character.

The character of Rahere after his conversion, as told to his biographer by those who had seen and taken part in his work, is given in the opening chapter⁴ of the Book of the Foundation, and may be translated as follows :

'Rahere of pious memory founded this church in honour of the most blessed Bartholomew the Apostle. . . . Having but slightly applied himself to the knowledge of liberal arts, but, that which is more eminent than all knowledge, being endowed with purity of conscience, he strove towards God with devotion, towards his brethren with humility and towards his foes with a certain good will. And the proved sincerity of his mind, the conspicuous honour and probity of his conduct, his remarkable assiduity in divine service and his prudent care in administering temporal business, were worthy of praise. In feasts he was sober, a remarkable follower of hospitality, timely recognizing, patiently aiding and effectively dealing with the tribulations of the wretched and the necessities of the poor. Not elated in prosperity, patient in adversity, and if any misfortune occurred to him, he sat beneath the shadow of his patron whom he venerated, and whom he embraced with all

¹ Robert de Sigillo, 1141-1151.

² Theobald, abbot of Bec in Normandy, 1139-1161.

³ St. Paul's Lib. MSS. B, box 95, f. 45, printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii, 372.

⁴ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. i.

his soul, and by whose help he was safe in all dangers. Thus providing with all humility and the greatest diligence all things necessary for the flock subject to him, he daily increased in favour with God and man, adding for his place reverence, for his friends gladness, for the malicious pain, for those who came after him glory.'

In a later chapter we have a description of his preaching¹:

'Comforted in marvellous wise by the Holy Spirit, and imbued with knowledge of the truth, he spoke the Word of God faithfully through God's churches, and consistently exhorted a multitude, both of clerks and laymen, to pursue those things that are of charity and almsgiving. Wherever he proclaimed his sermon it was in such manner that now, by invoking gladness, he compelled all to applaud him, and at another time, by his unrestrained sadness, compelled almost all to sighs and tears. He himself, however, persevering with unchanged countenance and mind, brought forth sound doctrine and that faithful sermon which is according to God. In his teaching he was irreproachable, teaching those things which the Holy Spirit—by the apostles and apostolic expounders—had handed down to its church to be held universally. Furthermore, his life accorded with his tongue, his deed with his sermon; and so in the sacrifice of God he twisted back "the bill of the turtle dove to its own wings" lest preaching to others he himself should be found a castaway.'

This description of Rahere, taken with that already given of his life before his conversion, gives us the character of the man. In his younger days a time-server and frivolous courtier, making friendships apparently with the sole view of his own ulterior advantage, endowed with a quick wit and alertness which never left him, he underwent a very marked spiritual conversion from which he never went back.

The strength of his character from that time began to assert itself. His tenacity of purpose, combined with obedience to the Higher Power, was shown in the great work of his life. He had resolved to make a hospital for the sick poor of London, but he was commanded in a dream to found a church. This command he obeyed loyally and carried out with great ability, energy and initiative, showing, as we have seen, the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. Having made friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, he made use of their friendships for the single-minded purpose of glorifying God. But in carrying out the command to build the church, he never forgot the vow that he made as he lay prostrate with fever at Rome; a vow which a weaker character would not have

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. x.

considered binding under the circumstances in which it was made. He had probably always had a soft place in his heart for the sick poor of London, but the intoxication of getting familiarly into the society of those above him in the social scale prevented his acknowledging that it was so until after his conversion.

THE CHARTER OF KING HENRY I, 1133¹

IN the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, HENRY, King of the English to W(illiam) Archbishop of Canterbury, and to G(ilbert) Bishop of London and to all Bishops and Abbots and Earls and Barons and Sheriffs and to all his faithful French and English subjects and to his Citizens of London sends GREETING :

Know ye that for the love of God, and for ransom from my sins, and for the salvation of the souls of my father and mother and my kindred, I most steadfastly affirm and grant and ordain, and by my royal power I confirm that the church of Saint Bartholomew London, which is the demesne chapel that Rahere my faithful clerk has founded for the use of Regular Canons; and my canons therein serving God shall be free from every subjection and earthly service and power so that as any church in the whole of England is amply free this church also shall be free as my demesne chapel and all lands to the same church belonging which the prior or canons of that place now hold or which they shall reasonably be able to acquire whether by purchase or by gift.

And all their goods and their men shall be quit throughout my whole land as regards all things which they buy and sell in markets and fairs and in all passing of roads or bridges, from toll, from temy toll and travelling toll, from pontage and pavage, from wharfage, lastage and stallage, from providing straw and from pannage and from every custom on land and in sea ports, from shire courts and hundred courts, from suits of shires, from paying scot and from wapentake courts, from paying monies for forfeitures and robberies, from taxes and danegelds, from paying scutage and hidage, from woodland tax and assizes, from wastes and forest imposts, from all forest pleas, from pursuing murderers, from working on castles, walls, moats, bridges, and causeways, from pounds or impounding any goods, from making fishponds, from cart tax or packhorse tax, or for conveying any goods by land or by water, from giving aid to sheriffs and their servants, from ward and wardpenny, from haverpenny and from hundred-penny, from guildpenny, from hengwite and ferdwite, from bloodwite and fietwite, from leergwite, from mudbriche and miskenneing, from scewinge and fridsocken and weregeltheof, from wardenwite and childwite, from utlepe and forfang and witfange, from horservice and drillings, from taxes for going to work, or in the repairing of bridges or forts, or in the

¹ See App. I, Charter No. 2, p. 478. For terms used in the charter see P. 63 below.

taking of thieves, from keeping watches and from every secular service, and from servile exaction and labour; from all secular pleas and plaints and customs and molestations, and from all other earthly services.

And they shall have soc and sac and thol and theam and infangtheof and outfangtheof and flemenfred and the cognisance of hamesucken and gridbriche and of breach of the peace, and fighting done within the house, and breaking into house or court, and of the shedding of blood and all assaults and obstructions, and of all forfeitures made within their own jurisdiction, on the highway and off, in the city and without, in the feast and not at the feast, and of all laws and customs in wood, and in plain, in meadows and pastures, in waters and mills, in roads and in paths, in pools and fishponds, in marshes and fisheries, in granges and plantations, in all the lands and places which belong to the said church or ever hereafter shall belong.

And of all forfeitures of their own men or of others which shall happen in their lands and fees, all the pleas and fines shall belong to my said canons in like manner as they would have been mine if I were holding the same lands and fees in my own hands.

Now this church with all things belonging to it, know ye that I have taken into my own hand, protection and defence against all men, as being my demesne chapel; and that I will it to be free from every earthly authority and service, like my crown.¹ I grant also to be released to the lands which have been given to the same church, or which any person shall hereafter reasonably give, all customs and demands of royal and episcopal officers; and all things which unto the same place belong shall be entirely free, their cells, churches, burying-grounds, lands, pastures, woods, warrens, waters, fisheries, with due rents and services, from offerings, lights, tithes, tax, morthilds, laws, customs, debating of causes and of customs, corrections whether ecclesiastical or secular, so that none shall presume by any molestation to make reduction or diminishing of these.

And to conclude the whole matter, let none of the kings to come after me, either by force or by prescription, demand provisions out of their possessions, but they shall have for ever every kind of franchise. I forbid, moreover, by my royal authority that any man or officer of mine or any other in all my land be troublesome to the aforesaid church of St. Bartholomew in any matters that belong thereto; or intrude upon its goods or possessions without the consent of the prior and canons. I confirm, moreover, all the privileges and gifts, and the charters which the church now has or which it shall obtain from kings, from popes or from any of the faithful. And whatsoever can be remembered or proved by writings, or by the witness of good men, to have been duly granted to the same church or acquired

¹ The Anglo-Saxon kings made grants in similar terms. King Alfred and Guthred granted that the lands of Durham should be held with the same sovereign power as that by which the demesne of the crown was held.

by it, no man may presume to diminish or nullify by any molestation, false charge, judgment or strong hand.

I grant also my assured peace to persons coming to the fair which is wont at the feast of St. Bartholomew to be held in that place, and to persons thence returning. And I ordain that none of the royal or bishop's officers shall implead them, or without the consent of the prior and canons, in that space of three days, to wit on the eve of the feast, on the day itself, and on the following day, shall exact dues from those coming thither either without the city or within, in the passing over ways or bridges; but all things which flow from the right to fairs shall belong to the said church and the canons.

After the death of the prior of that place let another who is worthy be elected out of the same community, but no person from elsewhere unless one cannot be found there worthy to occupy so great an office. But if that shall happen, which God forbid, let them have uncontrolled power to elect from some other well-known and kindred place a fit person as prior. Of the clerks or lay-brothers of that place let none presume to usurp the lordship, or interfere with their lands, men or chattels except by the will of the whole convent.

The possessions also which have been given, or shall be given to the same church, let it be lawful to no person alien to the said church to give to outsiders, or to sell or to reduce to ordinary tenure without the consent of the chapter. But under the guardianship of kings let the place be defended and protected, together with all things that belong thereto. And let the prior himself, being servant to the king alone, abundantly foster the flock committed to him with spiritual and temporal provision. But if any shall in any wise presume contrary to this my royal privilege, or shall attach the prior or the canons, the clerks or the laymen of the place, he and all of his and all that he has shall be amenable to our royal right.

Now I have granted all these things to the said church of St. Bartholomew, and to Rahere my faithful clerk, and to his successors for ever, for the love of God and the salvation of me and my heirs and for the souls of my father and my mother and of William the King my brother and of all my ancestors. I adjure therefore all my heirs and successors in the name of the Holy Trinity that they maintain and defend this church with all things belonging to it with their royal power, and grant and confirm the franchises granted to it.

And the Witnesses of this my grant are :

HENRY Bishop of Winchester	Henry of Blois, younger brother of King Stephen.
ROGER Bishop of Salisbury	Called Roger the Great, chancellor to the king. He gave St. Sepulchre's to Rahere.
BERNARD Bishop of St. David's	The queen's chancellor and chaplain.
GEOFFREY the Chancellor	The king's chancellor.

STEPHEN Earl of Mortaigne	Two years later King Stephen.
WILLIAM de ALBINI the Breton	Justiciary, <i>ob.</i> 1156.
ALBERIC de VERE	Aubrey the son of Albericus, founder of the family of de Vere, Earls of Oxford. He was Great Chamberlain to the king; <i>ob.</i> 1141.
RICHARD de BASSET	Justiciary of all England under Henry I; <i>ob. circa</i> 1144.
MILO of GLOUCESTER	Miles, Earl of Hereford; <i>ob.</i> 1143.
PEGANUS [or PAIN] FITZJOHN	Judge; <i>ob.</i> 1137.
ROBERT de CURCY	Founded a convent of Benedictine nuns ¹ at Canyngton, Somerset.
HUGH BIGOD	First Earl of Norfolk; <i>ob.</i> 1176 or 1177.

And many other Barons of my Realm.

Now I have ordered this my Charter to be made and confirmed and to be certified by my Seal of my Royal majesty at Westminster in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord the 1133rd and of my Reign the 33rd.

TERMS USED IN THE CHARTER

Assizes. An assembly of substantial men with the justices.

Bloodwite. A fine for shedding blood, to be paid to the alderman or king, in addition to the were-gild or legal value of the life destroyed, paid to the family of the person killed.

Childwite. A fine paid to the lord for getting one of his bondwomen with child.

Danegeld. Annual tax imposed in the tenth or eleventh century originally, it is supposed, for protection against the Danes; continued after the Norman Conquest as a land tax.

Ferdwite. Quit of murder committed in the army; also a fine imposed on a person for not going forth in a military expedition.

Fietwite. A fine levied for breach of peace.

Flemenfred. Receiving of a fugitive or outlaw.

Forfang. A taking of viands in market-places before the king's servant has taken such as are required for the king.

Fridsocken. Right of asylum, or sanctuary.

Gridbriche (Gridbrice). Breach of the peace.

Guildpenny. Tax paid to the Crown.

Hamesucken (Hamsocn). Ancient name for burglary (Blackstone). Attack on a man's house. Fine for such a breach of the peace.

Haverpenny. Money contributed towards the king's averages.

Average—duty charge or impost charged upon goods; a customs duty or the like.

Hengwite. Quittance of fine for hanging a thief without judgment or escaped out of custody.

Hidage. An extraordinary tax payable to the king for every hide of land.

Hundred Court. A larger Court Baron, being held for the inhabitants of a particular hundred instead of a manor. The free suitors are here also the judges.

Hundred-penny. A tax or payment anciently levied in a hundred.

¹ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 45.

Infangtheof. Privilege to lord of manor to judge a thief taken within his fee.

Lastage. A certain payment in fairs and markets for carrying of things where a man will.

Leergwite (Leirwite). Fine for lying with a bondwoman.

Miskennning. A mistake or variation in pleading before a court; also a fine exacted for this. *Miskenynge.* Changing of speech in court.

Mudbriche. Doubtful; probably a breach of the mounds or protection of anything taken into the ward or guardianship of the king or of a borough which was punishable with a fine of £5.

Outfangtheof. Lord's right to pursue a thief outside his own jurisdiction and bring him back.

Pannage. Right of pasturing swine in a forest.

Passage. The hire paid for being transported over sea or river.

Pavage. Tax or toll towards paving highways; right to levy such tax or toll.

Pontage. Contribution to maintenance of bridges.

Sac and Soc. Denoted rights of jurisdiction which by custom belonged to the lord of a manor, and which were specified (along with others) as included in the grant of a manor by the Crown.

Schewinge. Identification.

Scot and Wapentake Courts. In some of the northern counties 'hundreds' are called 'wapentakes'.

Scutage. A tax on holders of land by knight's service.

Shire Courts. The Common Law County Court held by the Sheriff.

Stallage. Payment for erecting stalls in fairs and markets.

Thol and Theam. The right to hold a court into which foreigners, i.e. persons not resident in the jurisdiction, may be vouched.

Tollage. Of paying toll in towns or markets.

Utlepe (Uthleap). Fine for allowing a culprit to escape (Bosworth).

Wapentake Court. Much the same as Hundred Court.

Wardenwite. To be quit of giving money for keeping ward.

Wardpeny. Money paid to watch and ward.

Weregelttheof. Perhaps for Weigilttheof, probably the same as Theftbote: punishment without trial in the King's Court.

Witfange. *Wyta* was a fine or punishment for slight offences: *Wera* for graver offences.

THE MIRACLES.

In the Book of the Foundation are recorded certain events which were considered miraculous, and occurred some in the time of Rahere and some in the time of Prior Thomas his successor.

They are worth considering for the numerous instances they give of faith healing at that time, and for the scraps of information they yield concerning the priory church and its services, and other matters outside the priory altogether. There is no contradiction to known facts in any of these narrations, thus confirming the opinion that the Book of the Foundation is a genuine contemporary record of the twelfth century. The writer introduces the subject thus: ¹

'When then in the beginning there was built in the aforesaid place

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xii.

an oratory (*orratorium*) of the blessed apostle, many and innumerable tokens of miracles were performed, but, on account of their abundance, they were neglected and were handed down to memory by scarcely any one. Wherefore of those we can give only a few, but of those which have been performed in these latter days and have been known to us by sight rather than by hearing, we will faithfully describe as they occur to our memory.'

He then relates eighteen miracles, which he tells us in the introduction to Book II are 'examples of miracles which were done in the days of Raher': they are not given in so much detail as those in the second book. Of these eighteen, nine¹ are instances of faith-healing in the church, and one² in the hospital. One³ relates a miraculous light that shone on the church for an hour after sunset. Another⁴ tells of the recovery by Rahere of his lost antiphonar, and another⁵ of the cure by him of a swollen tongue by prayer and the use of the relic of our Lord's Cross. (These two are the only cases in which Rahere's name is mentioned.) Two⁶ are in connexion with Alfune's collections in the neighbourhood for the poor. One⁷ is a case of sailors being saved from the rocks by the intervention of St. Bartholomew, another⁸ the extinction of a fire by the same; and another⁹ of a notable man of Norwich who, having been without sleep for seven years, was cured by the relics of the church which had been brought to the oratory of St. Nicholas at Yarmouth (as already mentioned).¹⁰

Of the twenty-eight miracles recorded in Book II, ten¹¹ are instances of faith-healing in the church, and four¹² in the hospital. One¹³ is the vision by an aged canon of the Blessed Virgin in the Lady Chapel; four¹⁴ are in connexion with shipwrecked sailors. One¹⁵ records the release of a man unlawfully imprisoned near the priory; another¹⁶ relates how a young woman was freed from the effects of the temptation of the devil. Three¹⁷ relate the saving of cows from death; one¹⁸ the recovery on conditions of ill-gotten gains that had been stolen; one¹⁹ the saving of a house from fire; another²⁰ the recovery of a strayed horse; and another²¹ the release of a man bound in

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xiii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, xxix.

² Ib., Lib. I, cap. xxviii.

³ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xii.

⁴ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xiv.

⁵ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xv.

⁶ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xxii, xxiii.

⁷ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xvii.

⁸ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xvi.

⁹ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xxv.

¹⁰ Above, p. 57.

¹¹ Book of Found., Lib. II, cap. i, ix, x, xi, xiii, xv, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv.

¹² Ib., Lib. II, cap. x, xi, xix, xx.

¹³ Ib., Lib. II, cap. iv.

¹⁴ Ib., Lib. II, cap. iii, vii, viii, xv.

¹⁵ Ib., Lib. II, cap. ii.

¹⁶ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xii.

¹⁷ Ib., Lib. II, cap. v, vi, xxvi.

¹⁸ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xvii.

¹⁹ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xxviii.

²⁰ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xxvii.

²¹ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xiv.

a cart. The whole of these miracles are attributed to the intervention or to the virtue of St. Bartholomew.

It is noteworthy that four only of the recorded cases of healing took place at the hospital, but this is probably due to the fact that the records were made by a canon of the priory and not by a brother of the hospital. The fact, however, that healing was carried on at the church may have been one of the many causes of the dissensions between the two foundations after Rahere's death, for these healings no doubt meant increased oblations to the altar.

The healings here recorded are for the most part of men or women crippled in their limbs, or deaf, dumb, or blind. They are of interest at the present time when we hear so much about the gift of spiritual healing being still amongst us, united then as now, and in the time of our Lord, by the faith of the patient.

The recorder of these cases gives us the following vivid picture of those crowding to be healed on St. Bartholomew's day in the year 1148:

'In the year 1148 from the incarnation of our Lord and 12¹ from the death of Henry the first, king of the English, when the sun's golden orbit had brought back to us the much-desired joys of festal celebration with a new festival of the blessed apostle, new miracles occurred. Sick men oppressed with divers diseases lay prostrate in the church, while the lamps glowed redly on all sides, beseeching the divine clemency and praying for the presence of the blessed Bartholomew. Nor assuredly was the mercy of God far from them, who is always present at the prayer of those that devoutly ask him.

'For one man rejoices with a cry of jubilation that he had received remedy of his aching head, another restoration of his walking powers. Here a man rejoices free from ringing in the ears, there one from ulceration of the limbs; here one who has lost soreness of his eyes and received clearness of sight; many rejoice that they were soothed from the distress of fevers, and thundered praises to the honour and glory of the apostle.'

Continuing, the writer gives the following account² of faith-healing which must serve as an example for the rest, seeing they are all given at length in the appendix.³ (Some of the actions in this and other cases recorded by our author resemble those described of people suffering from Tarantism in the Middle Ages.⁴)

'While on every side there was given by all the people applause for such things, far off, in the left end of the church, there was

¹ Henry I died 1 Dec. 1135. The 12th Stephen would be 1147.

² Book of Found., Lib. II, cap. i.

³ App. I, pp. 396-427.

⁴ *The Times*, 9 Sept. 1911.

heard by certain persons weeping and wailing, where lay a girl deaf and dumb and deprived of the sight of both eyes, and crippled with legs bent backward; whose weeping parents lay clinging to the pavement and ceased not from prayer until the clergy should finish all things which were rightly expedient at so great a festival. So it pleased the divine goodness to condescend to their petition and that His creature should not longer be vexed by the power of evil, but should be perfectly and fully delivered from every bond of sickness. When therefore the canons were chanting the second vespers, the maiden began to be tortured more grievously and to be vexed more hardly than she was wont, foaming at the mouth, smiting her breast, dashing her head upon the ground; but when they came to the hymn of Mary, the most Blessed Mother of God, at the incensing of the altars, the aforesaid girl began to cry with a shrill voice and to stretch her limbs with a supreme effort. And soon thankfully leaping forth, and wiping her eyes, now new and clear, with the linen cloth with which she was clad, with firm step and repaired hearing and with the pleasure of sight restored, she ran to the table of the holy altar, stretching out both hands to the stars. So she, who a little time before had been deaf and dumb, now joyfully called aloud in praise of God and assured her parents, as they wept copiously for joy, that she was free of all her sickness.'

In addition to the interest of the healing in this case, we get the information that the altar, before which this poor girl lay, was in the left end of the church (that is the east end of the north side), the exact position of Rahere's north-side chapel: the Norman entrance remains, but the chapel is destroyed and is now occupied by the robing room of the clergy. It was the oratory of the blessed apostle referred to above in connexion with the commencement of the miracles. That it was the chapel used for such cases we learn from the case of the cripple Osborne,¹ who we are specially told came 'before the altar of the most blessed apostle' to be healed. That this was the position of the St. Bartholomew Chapel we have corroborative evidence in the wills which are quoted when describing the chapel further on.² It is needless to say that the maimed, the halt, and the blind could not have been allowed to lie before the high altar, which was in the conventual quire reserved for the prior and canons. At that time the nave was not built, and the parish chapel was, we believe, in the north transept with the people's altar in an eastern apse, in the centre of the east wall, as was usual in monastic churches of the twelfth century. Access would probably have been direct from Smithfield, up Cloth Fair, and through a door on the west side of the transept, as at Tewkesbury to-day. The multitude of impotent

Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xviii.

See Vol. II, chap. vi, St. Barth. Chapel.

folk described above was therefore probably congregated in the north transept. Particular cases like that of the maimed would have been allowed access to St. Bartholomew's Chapel by way of the north ambulatory, which to people in the north transept would then be correctly described as far off in the left end of the church, but not so far off but that the weeping and wailing could be heard.

It will be observed that from the account of this miracle we also incidentally learn that the vespers on the day of the festival were called second vespers, showing that it was then customary to have festal evensong on the eve of the feast, as now; also that the practice of incensing the altar at the *Magnificat* was in vogue then, as now in our own churches where a full ritual is followed.

Two¹ other cases are referred to in the miracles where the cures took place at the time of compline, showing that the sick were allowed to remain until evening; in fact, a certain knight² named Ralph who went out of his mind, and was very violent, was taken by force to the church and passed two nights there, at the end of which time he was cured.

The miracle of the Antiphonar, which has already been referred to, must be quoted here because it specially relates to the founder:³

'A certain man had removed secretly from the church a book which we call an antiphonar which—and because there was not at that time a large number of books in the place—was necessary to those that should sing in the church. When, therefore, it was anxiously sought and not found at all, what had happened concerning the book was told to Rahere the prior, who with quiet mind bore such a loss calmly enough. At night, however, when in his accustomed manner he had given himself to sleep in his chamber, lo the glorious apostle of God, Bartholomew, appeared and addressing the prior said, "Tell me, Rahere, what is that for the loss of which ye thus complain when I am nigh". And he replied, "My Lord, the clerks had that in which to the honour of God and of thee they were wont to sing in the holy temple of thy glory, and now whether it is hidden somewhere, or by chance removed by some thief, they know not". "At early morning,"⁴ quoth he, "bid thy horse be saddled and hastily enter the city, and when thou comest to the Jews' Street⁵ spare thy spurs, loose thy reins, and leave thy horse to my guidance; then into whatsoever house thy horse shall of his own accord set his foot, in the same house, taught by me know well without any doubt is held the book of which thou has spoken and, doubting nothing, shrewdly and firmly enquire." And saying no more than this, in a moment he dis-

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxi; Lib. II, cap. xxii.

² Ib., Lib. II, cap. x.

⁴ Literally 'at the top of the morning'.

³ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xiv.

⁵ Old Jewry.

appeared. But Rahere, when it was light, leaping from his couch, carefully followed the commands which had been given him and, speaking peacefully with the enemies of peace, found the book which he sought, took it, and carried it home.'

We may have a laugh at this tale, but have none of us learnt on waking where to find something which the night before could nowhere be found? How often, too, has not the same church been robbed during the last thirty years! The narrative is of interest to this history, for we learn that antiphonars, or books which contained whatever was said or sung in the quire, were in use at the priory, although there were but few. We not only learn that when Rahere went abroad for even the short three-quarters of a mile, as it is to Old Jewry, he rode a horse and with spurs; but also we see Rahere's character once more as we knew it as the courtier. Rahere knew how to manage men. As at court 'he employed a complaisance that should please and thus obtained with greater ease anything that it pleased him to ask', so here among the Jews, who were the cause of so much disturbance in those times, he obtained what he wanted by 'speaking peaceably with the enemies of peace'.

Other miraculous events, too numerous to be recorded here at length, yield items of information concerning the convent and the church.

At the commencement of the account of the appearance of the Blessed Virgin,¹ the writer tells us: 'At the east end of the same church is an oratory, and in it an altar hallowed to the honour of the most blessed and perpetual Virgin Mary.' This is the only record we have of there being a Lady Chapel at this time, though we should have assumed that to be so from the fact of there being north and south side chapels, as at Norwich cathedral. It is also fairly clear that this Lady Chapel was built by Rahere, for the saying, in this account of the vision, that 'the canons of this church, my loved ones, used formerly in this place hallowed to my name to pay me the service of a mass', evidently indicates some time considerably antecedent to the vision.

In the account of a sailor delivered from shipwreck² the chapter-house is referred to, which confirms the early date of that building.

In the account of the poor man unlawfully bound with chains and imprisoned³ it is said—'On one sabbath when, as their custom was, the canons of St. Bartholomew's Church were singing *Te Deum Laudamus* before dawn, matins being finished, a peal of bells was rung,

¹ Book of Found., Lib. II, cap. iv.

² Ib., Lib. II, cap. xvi.

³ Ib., Lib. II, cap. ii.

and the poor man who was confined in bonds, hearing the joyful sound of the bells and hymns—for the house in which he was tortured was adjoining the church—began with devout mind and lamentable voice to call upon St. Bartholomew'. Here we have it confirmed that the practice of singing the *Te Deum* after Matins on certain days was observed at the priory, also that the priory thus early possessed a peal of bells.

From other miracles we learn of thank-offerings being brought by shipwrecked sailors¹ to the church; also that some of those who were cured would stay on for a time and work for the convent; one of these helped in the kitchen,² another did carpentering for the canons.³

To affairs outside the priory there are a few references; thus we see⁴ how traders made profits by taking large quantities of goods to Wales to sell to the army when Henry II attacked that principality in the year 1157. We also learn that about the year 1156⁵ a cattle plague killed nearly all the beasts in Enfield; also that the town of Hastings⁶ was nearly destroyed by fire and that the castle of Munfychet in the city⁷ was then standing.

The middle English translation of all these 'Miracles' will be found in the Appendix.⁸

RAHERE'S TOMB

Rahere was buried in the church that he founded; probably on the north side of the sanctuary, where his body now rests beneath his effigy in a canopied tomb erected when the east end of the church was remodelled about the year 1405 (pl. III). It is the usual position for the tomb of a founder or of a great benefactor of a church; thereby it could have the honour of being used as an Easter sepulchre whereon the Blessed Sacrament was placed from Holy Thursday till Easter Eve. When there was an effigy on the tomb, as here, a wooden sepulchre was placed before it to be used in the same way.

Whilst the work of the first restoration was in progress in June 1866 the tomb was surreptitiously opened at the back and the remains of Rahere with sandals on the feet were exposed to view in a wooden coffin. A portion of a sandal, and a small piece of the coffin, were abstracted and hidden. Twenty-four years later, in November 1890, by the aid of a freemason,⁹ to whose craft sacrilege is particularly

¹ Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xvii; Lib. II, cap. iii.

² Ib., Lib. I, cap. xxvii.

⁴ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xviii.

⁶ Ib., Lib. II, cap. xxviii.

⁸ App. I, p. 385.

³ Ib., Lib. I, cap. xxviii.

⁵ Ib., Lib. II, cap. v.

⁷ Ib., Lib. II, cap. vi.

⁹ The late Mr. Henry Heard.



RAHERE'S TOMB
(see p. 70)

abhorrent, these relics were traced to a house then occupying a portion of the site of the north transept. It being deemed undesirable by the rector and churchwardens again to open the tomb, these relics were placed in a glass case in the cloister.

It is customary for priors of the Augustinian order to be buried with their sandals on their feet, which fact, with other evidence, leaves no room to doubt that we really have here the remains of our founder Rahere.

The effigy is contemporary with the early fifteenth-century monument and cannot therefore be relied on as a likeness of the founder (pl. IV). The figure is recumbent on his tomb, with hands together as in prayer. The head, tonsured, rests on a tasselled cushion; the body is clothed in the habit of the Augustinian order. The outer garment is the *Cappa Nigra*, or canon's cope. The hood is rolled back beneath the head and neck. The upper part of the cope is fastened in front at the throat, but there is no sign of a clasp or morse. It is open from the throat to the feet. Under the cope is the almuce, or amess, a small portion only of the upper part which covers the breast is seen on either side of the hands: from it two stole-like strips of fur, three inches wide, descend to below the knees from the breast and have rounded ends. Beneath the almuce is the *super pellicium* or surplice (now painted black), which is carried down to the feet as far as the lower end of the cope, and hangs in folds over the arms. Beneath the surplice is the *pellicium* or cassock, the tight sleeves of which, fastened with two buttons on the arms, alone are visible. On the feet are woollen shoes. In another effigy of an Austin canon, Prior Rowland Leschman at Hexham (*ob. circ.* 1490),¹ and in the brasses of John Stodeley, of St. Frideswide's, Oxford (at Over Winchendon, Bucks), and of James Courthorpe, of Christ Church, Oxford,² the cassock appears below the surplice and above the feet. In the memorial brass of Abbot Bewforest at Dorchester (1513) the almuce and the rest of the habit are very clearly shown. On the Harrington tomb at Cartmel there are fourteen little canons in various attitudes carved in stone, but they are very different from those under consideration and the date is uncertain. There are two puppet canons kneeling on either side of Rahere's figure, about the knees—the one on the further side being a little in advance of the other to enable it to be more easily seen.³ They are enveloped in their copes, the hoods of which are drawn over their heads and foreheads. From the back of the head falls an appendage $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long

¹ C. C. Hodges, *Monograph of St. Andrew's, Hexham*, Pl. xxxiv.

² Willis Clark, *Observances*, lxxvi, lxxviii.

³ See frontispiece and pl. V, p. 74.

and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide which forms part of the hood. They are reading from open books in their hands the 3rd verse of the 51st chapter of Isaiah and from the 1st verse of the 35th chapter (as already stated).¹ The texts are the same on both books and are from the Latin Vulgate.²

‘Consolabitur ergo Dominus Sion et consolabitur omnes ruinas eius et ponet desertium eius quasi delitias, et solitudinem eius quasi hortum domini. Gaudium et laetitia inveniatur in ea, gratiarum actio et vox laudis.’

‘Laetabitur deserta et invia, et exultabit solitudo, et florebit quasi lilium.’³

The writing is on parchment or paper attached to the stone book, but is now much defaced. There are three somewhat similar puppet figures in a sitting posture on William of Wykeham’s tomb at Winchester (1404) and kneeling puppets on Chichele’s tomb at Canterbury (1440). At the feet of Rahere is the figure of a winged angel crowned, draped in a black gown, holding a shield with the arms of the priory (see below) in relief and rising from a cloud. The puppets and Rahere’s effigy are carved from one block of Reigate stone, but the angel is detached. The epitaph is inscribed on the verge of the slab ‘*Hic iacet Raherus Primus Canonicus et Primus Prior huius Ecclesiae*’ (Here lies Rahere the first canon and first prior of this church). Its simplicity probably saved it from the iconoclasts of 1642.

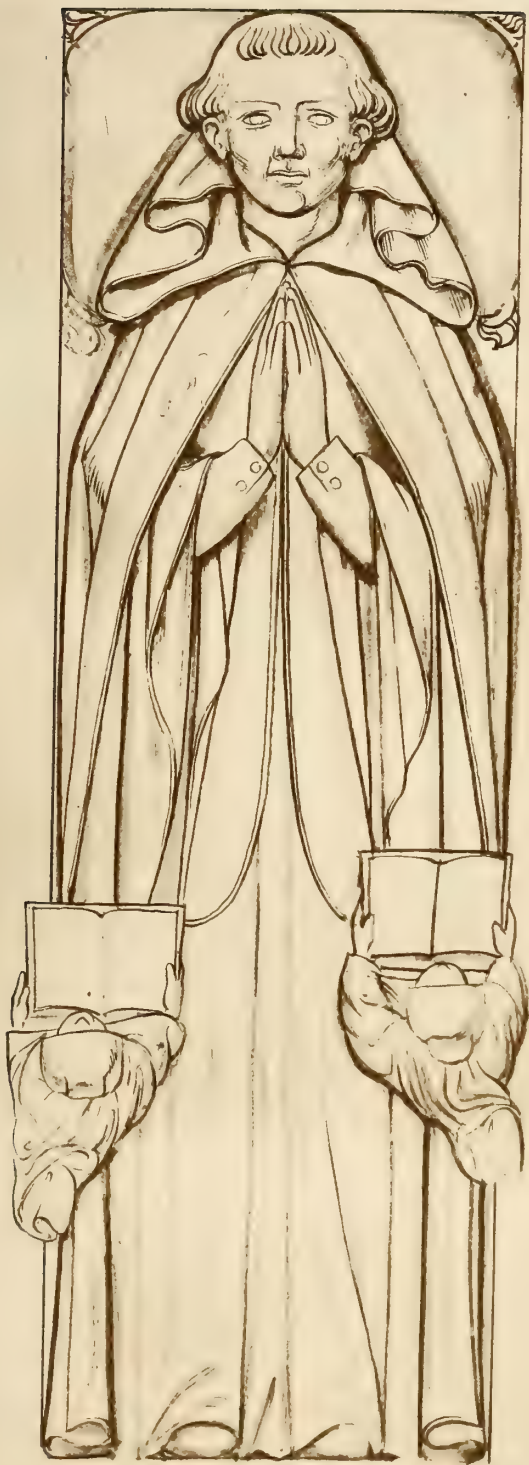
We have the authority of both the late Sir William St. John Hope and Mr. E. S. Prior for saying that the effigies and the angel are the work of about the years 1400 to 1405.⁴ The costume of Rahere, the cut of the hair, the carving of the features and the drapery, the hooded kneeling figures, the angel, the tassels of the cushion, and the lettering of the books, Mr. Prior says are all characteristic of that time. Moreover, the two stole-like appendages to the almuce only came into fashion early in the fifteenth century. The colour on the effigies and on the shields is in a fairly good state of preservation, but its date cannot be fixed accurately. Stow, writing in 1598, did not describe the tomb; neither did he in 1603; but his successor Strype in his extension in the year 1720 says both the monument and the effigies ‘are lately in a reparation of the church refreshed and beautified’. In 1751 a receipted bill in the church says the monument was painted at an expenditure of 30s. In 1815 and in 1867 the monument was restored, but repainting the figures or shields is not specified. In 1893, however, a man between seventy and eighty years of age came into the church to see the figure and said he had

¹ Above, p. 52.

³ Ib. xxxv.

² Vulgate, li.

⁴ *Vetusta Mon.* ii, 2.



RAHERE FROM HIS TOMB IN ST BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

THE MONASTIC HABIT
(see pp. 26, 71, 72)

painted it many years before.¹ This would indicate about the date of the restoration of the monument in 1867.

The tomb occupies the three western bays of a gothic arcade which originally consisted of six bays (pl. VI *a*, p. 78). It formed the north side of the presbytery when the apse was converted, about the year 1405, into a square east end. There was a priests' door in the two eastern bays² of the arcade, which was removed when the apse was restored again in 1867. The third bay is a blank panel. The three western bays which contain Rahere's tomb consist in the upper half of three arched canopies which are richly crocketed and terminate in foliated finials in the cornice. Between these are pinnacles which also run up into the cornice, where they terminate in a small figure. They are shown in Carter's drawing in *Vetusta Monumenta*, in 1784, as running up two-thirds of the way only to the cornice and terminating above and below in a small ball and spike.³ The crockets and pinnacles were restored in terra-cotta by Hardwick in 1815.⁴

In 1867 these crockets were removed, also the whitewash and the iron railing in front of the tomb.⁶ The pinnacles at the same time were once more restored and run up to the cornice as they are now; also the small canons' heads (pl. V *b*, p. 74) (of which there are thirteen, the number at the time of the founding), for Withers wrote, after one of his visits, 'most of the bases, mouldings, pinnacles etc. have been fixed in their position. One of the latter, with the small heads, was being carved. The terra-cotta crockets had been taken off.' And twelve days later he wrote, 'the whole of the pinnacles have been carried up to the required height and the terra-cotta crockets replaced'.⁷ Between the canopies and pinnacles is a mural arcade arranged in two tiers; above the cornice is a rich cresting with reversed trefoils. The vault of the canopy above the

¹ Communicated by the Rev. C. Albert Smith, curate here at the time.

² *Vetusta Mon.* ii, pl. xxxvi, 1784.

³ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* 292 (1802).

⁴ Allen, *Lond.* iii, 639.

⁶ Churchwardens' receipted bills in belfry cupboard, drawer 16.

Dr. to E. Coade for cleaning and restoring rich gothic monument.

	£	s.	d.
Five new rich gothic pinnacles @ 4 gns.	21	0	0
Two do. do. corbels of angels @ 2½ gns.	5	5	0
Modeller's time at the church, 42¾ days @ 8s. 6d.	18	3	4
Charge for scaffold, foreman, Roman cement, &c.	8	1	8
	52	10	0
Deduct overcharges	5	19	8
	£46	10	4

Examined, T. Hardwick. T. I. [T. Illidge]. 1815.

⁶ Withers, *Diary*, pp. 72, 87.

⁷ *Ib.*, 88.

effigy has ribs which spring from shafts on the inner wall, which is pierced with three square-headed traceried openings. In front of the tomb and below the effigy is a stone slab, 7 ft. 3 in. long and 2 ft. high, arranged in four panels; above this slab and immediately beneath the stone on which the figure of Rahere is carved is a ledger stone of Purbeck marble. Below the tomb is a plinth of $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., and a base of 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. above the church floor level (1 ft. $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. above the sanctuary floor level). Before the floor level was lowered in 1864 this base was only 5 in. deep.

The four panels on the slab are richly quatrefoiled with shields in the centre. As now emblazoned they are :

1. St. George, argent, a cross gules.

It was so described by Hatton¹ in 1708 and so shown by William Archer² in 1851, but the sword of St. Paul for London City is shown in the quarter by Pingo³ towards the end of the eighteenth century, also in *Vetusta Monumenta*⁴ 1781, and by F. Nash in 1804, and John Coney in 1818.⁵

2. The priory, gules, two leopards or, in chief two royal crowns or.

3. The king, quarterly 1 and 4 azure, three fleurs-de-lis or, 2 and 3 gules three leopards or.

4. Gules a bend between two martlets, argent.

Hatton¹ and Archer² here again both give the arms thus, as does *Vetusta Monumenta*,⁴ but Pingo,³ Nash, and Coney⁵ all say three martlets.

It is difficult to surmise the original emblazoning; we should have expected St. George, the priory, the king, and Roger Walden.

The second shield is clearly for the priory; it is so assigned in the time of Henry VII in the College of Arms⁶ and denotes the royal grant of the site of the priory. The third shield denotes the subjection of the monastery to the king, from whom permission to elect had to be obtained. The fourth shield, were it intended for that of Roger Walden, should be a bend azure, in the sinister chief a martlet or⁷; were it intended for John Eyton, alias Repyngdon (the prior who died in 1404), it would probably have been gules, a bend cotised between two martlets or.

¹ Hatton, *New View*, i, 143.

² Archer, *Vestiges*, plate Rahere's tomb.

³ *Coll. of Arms, Heraldic Collection*, Pingo, i, 13.

⁴ *Vetusta Mon.* ii, 37.

⁵ Plate in Caley and Ellis, *Dugdale*, vi, 291.

⁶ *Coll. of Arms*, L. 10, f. 66.

⁷ *Ib.*, E.D.N. Alphabet; time Edw. IV.



CANONS FROM THE FOUNDER'S TOMB
(see pp. 71, 73)

A certain Sir Stephen Slaney, Lord Mayor of London in 1595, had for arms¹ gules, a bend between three martlets or and in his will² he left, among similar benefactions, one of £5 13s. 4d. for St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It is conceivable that he reblazoned the coats, making the first coat the City of London and the last his own; and as the third martlet might have been half covered with the bend it may have been painted out in a subsequent restoration. The priory arms also occur on the shield held by the angel at Rahere's feet. We have no knowledge that they occur elsewhere, neither is there any record of the time they were granted, which was probably when the tomb was built, about the year 1405.³

The leopards of England with the crowns on the priory shield indicate a royal foundation, and the monastery, though stated by King John in his charter of 1203 to have been founded by Rahere, is often described in other charters as having been founded by the king. This was general in the case of the great monasteries, especially where, as here, the king granted the site.⁴

The hospital arms now in use are quite different from those of the priory, being party per pale argent and sable a chevron counter-charged. They occur first on a seal attached to an agreement between John Wakering the master of the hospital and the prioress of St. Helen's Bishopsgate in 1423,⁵ and later in the cartulary written by John Cok in 1456. Sir Norman Moore says they would seem to be the shield of John Wakering, which from the use of the seal of his signet ring for more than forty years came to be regarded as the hospital arms.⁶ They do not occur anywhere in connexion with the priory, but the shield appears in a fifteenth-century book of Venetian Arms in the Heralds' College under the name of the ancient Venetian family of Renier.⁷

The monument has much in common with that of King Edward III in Westminster Abbey, who died in 1377; and it is almost identical with that in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster, of the friend of Richard II, Sir Bernard Brocas, who died in 1395.

¹ Ib., Miscellaneous grants, i, 34.

² 5 P.C.C. Dorset, 2 Aug., 40 Eliz. 1598.

³ See N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 238.

⁴ Gasquet, *Eng. Mon.* 44. In Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 23, the monastery is called the royal free chapel of St. Bartholomew.

⁵ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* ii, 15, 16.

⁶ Ib., i, 238.

⁷ Vincent, No. 171, pt. II, p. 85; time, Hen. VII.

CHAPTER II

THE HOSPITAL

THE history of the Hospital has been written by Sir Norman Moore, sometime its senior physician ; all that will be necessary here, therefore, will be to trace, from the point of view of the Priory, how it came about that the hospital became at last practically independent.

The hospital, as we have seen, was founded by Rahere simultaneously with the priory. It was named, like the priory, after St. Bartholomew, but it was also founded in honour of the exaltation of the Holy Cross,¹ and in the fourteenth century, in Bishop Braybroke's register at St. Paul's, it is referred to as 'the hospital of the Holy Cross in Smithfield'.²

It was built on a portion of Smithfield, granted by the king, south west of the priory ;³ but, unlike the priory, which was never enlarged, the site of the hospital was added to by the grant by King Edward II (in the year 1326) of two waste plots in Smithfield.⁴

We learn from Prior Thomas's charter of 1147⁵ to Adam the Master, that the object of the hospital was to do all that could be done for the needy, for orphans, for outcasts, for the poor of the district, for every kind of sick person and for homeless wanderers ; and from the Close Roll of the year 1352,⁶ that it was founded for the relief of the sick poor until they recovered, for women with child until delivered, and for the maintenance of the children, born there ; if the mother should die in the hospital the child was to be kept until the age of seven. It was planned to accommodate a master, eight brothers and four sisters.

According to the list of masters in the cartulary of the hospital⁷ Rahere himself was the first master : the three first entries, translated, run as follows :

Rahere, the founder, in the time of King Henry I in the twenty-third year then founded that place.

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 62, *Hospitalis Sancti Barthi nuncupati et in honore exaltationis sancti crucis fundati*.

² Reg. Lond., Braybrooke, f. 282, A.D. 1373 (often spelt Braybroke).

³ Cartae Antiq., vol. I, no. 11. Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 295, 37 Hen. III, 15 June 1253.

⁴ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 5.

⁵ Hosp. Cart., f. 46.

⁶ Close, 26 Edw. III, m. 28. Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 296.

⁷ Hosp. Cart., f. 62.

Hagno, the clerk, in the time of the reign of King Stephen in his second year (1137).

Adam, the Mercer, first master of the regular brothers and laymen, in the time of King Stephen in his twelfth year (1146-7).

Rahere had, as we have seen,¹ the assistance of the aged Alfune in the planning of the priory and of the hospital. Alfune is called by Stow the first hospitaller or proctor of the hospital, by what authority we do not know, but, as already stated, he collected things, including meat from the butchers in the market, for the relief of the poor in the hospital; we have also a record of his collecting in the neighbourhood malt and other things for making their beer.² For all we know, he may have been master before Hagno. We are not told when Alfune died, but it was probably before 1137, the year when Hagno the clerk was appointed Master. Rahere must have found the personal management of his two foundations a great strain without some such assistance. There was probably some difficulty in those early days in finding a suitable stipend for the master, and this was probably the reason why Rahere, having obtained from Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the Church of St. Sepulchre³ close by, appointed Hagno to the vicarage. Rahere made the appointment by charter, sealed with the seal of his convent and with that of his hospital, both of which seals are attached to the deed, still in the possession of the governors of the hospital (pl. VI b, p. 78). There are not, so far as we know, any other impressions extant of these two seals. The grant, translated, may be read as follows: ⁴

'Be it known to the whole body of the faithful that I, Rahere, prior of St. Bartholomew's which is in Smithfield, and the whole convent of our church have granted in alms [or in frankalmoign (*in eleemosina*)] the church of Saint Sepulchre to Hagno the clerk, to the end of his days if he shall not have entered the rule of another order. Moreover, know ye that the same aforesaid Hagno shall every year render to us for the use of the canons and of the poor staying in the hospital fifty shillings, at the feast of St. Michael twenty-five shillings, twenty-five at Easter.

'In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven, the second year moreover of the rule of King Stephen in England. With these witnesses being present:

Haco, the dean;

Hugh, canon of St. Martin's;

Walter, brother of William the Archdeacon;

Tiold, the canon;

¹ Above, p. 53.

² Book of Found., Lib. I, cap. xxiii.

³ Cart. Antiq., L. 11, 37 Hen. III (1253).

⁴ For Latin see App. I, p. 489.

Ralph, the Master ;
 Gilbert, the priest (*presbiter*) ;
 Osbert, the priest ;
 Robert of St. Mary's ;
 Algar, the priest ;
 Godfrey, son of Baldwin, the priest (*sacerdos*) ;
 Roger the black (*niger*) ;
 Alexander ;
 Odo ;
 Geoffrey the Constable ;
 Richard the priest ;
 Burdo the Clerk ;
 Geoffrey of Heli.¹

By this it will be seen that Rahere obtained not only a stipend for the master of his hospital, but also what was then a considerable sum for the maintenance of his canons in the priory and for the poor in the hospital.

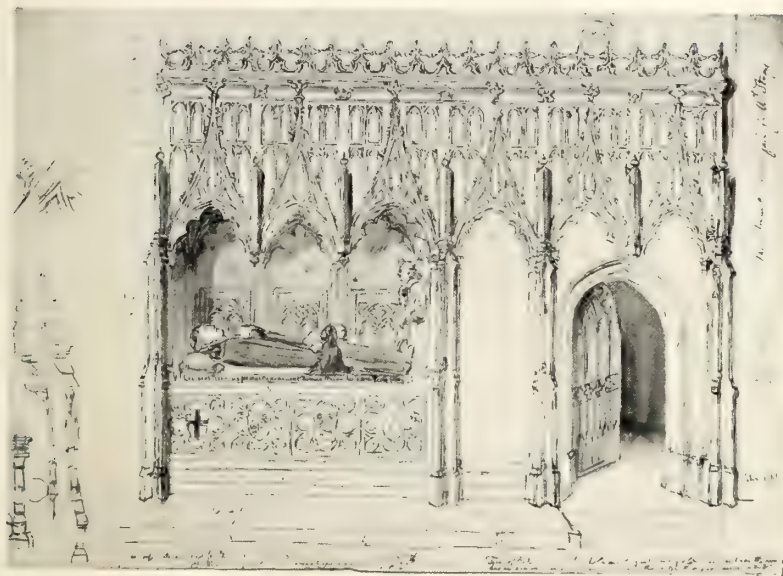
The date of the foundation of St. Sepulchre's 'in the Bayly' (as it was called) does not seem to be known. It was dedicated in honour of the Holy Sepulchre, to rescue which and the Holy Land the first Crusade was organized in 1095.² Roger, known as Roger the Great, a great builder of churches and castles, was a powerful and wealthy prelate. He was chancellor to Henry I during the whole of his reign and justiciary to King Stephen. He was Bishop of Salisbury from 1102 until his death in 1139. He must have spent much of his time in London with the king, so it is quite possible that Roger was one of the friends whom Rahere made at court before his conversion, and that Bishop Roger founded and endowed the church himself and presented it to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's at the instance of Rahere. As the hospital cartulary says Hagno was master of the hospital in the second year of King Stephen, we may assume that he was so appointed when he became Vicar of St. Sepulchre's. It is probable that Hagno outlived Rahere and that it was on the occasion of his death that Prior Thomas, in the year 1147, issued his charter and ordinance.³

The objects of this charter were firstly to commit the care of the hospital to Adam the mercer, whom Prior Thomas admitted into the fraternity, though, being a layman, he could not be admitted to the clerical brotherhood ; secondly, to make regulations for the future governance of the hospital and also to establish the relations between

¹ Reproduced and transcribed in N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 26.

² The Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, who had the keeping of the Holy Sepulchre, followed the rule of St. Augustine.

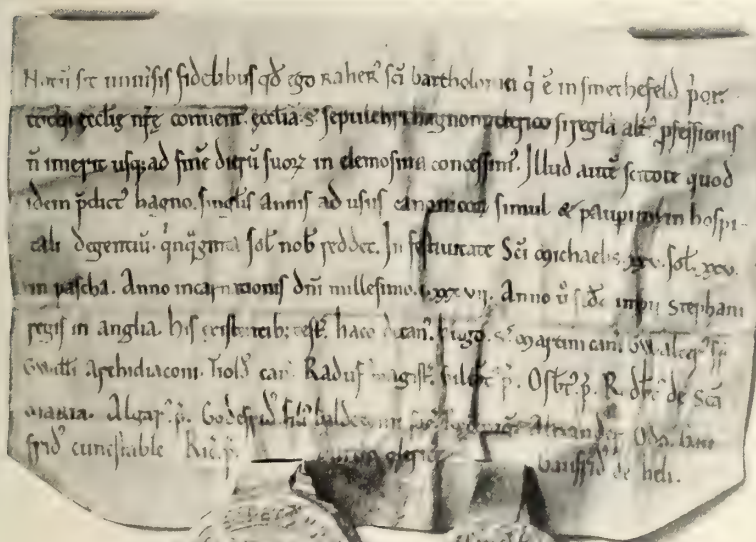
³ Hosp. Cart., f. 46. See App. I, p. 490 ; translation below, p. 95.



THE FOUNDER'S TOMB AS EXISTING IN 1781

b

(see p. 73)



RAHERE'S CHARTER TO HAGNO, 1137

(see pp. 38, 77)

it and the priory. From this we may assume that dissensions had already begun to appear.

The ordinance of Prior Thomas seems to have served its purpose until the death of that prior in the year 1174, about which time a member of the convent went to Pope Alexander III, then resident at Anagni,¹ and obtained the grant of privileges for the hospital, of which the original deed is still in the possession of the governors (as already mentioned).² It is addressed 'to the ruler and brethren of the hospital' and was made, as it says, at the request of the proctor, or master at that time (probably Stephen). By it the pope takes the hospital and its belongings under his protection; the chapel adjoining, and the tithes of bread, &c., granted by the prior and convent, he confirms to the brethren of the hospital.

From this time, in the controversies that arose between the priory and the hospital, the latter seems to have gone with all its grievances to the pope, who sent bulls granting the requests of the aggrieved petitioners. All these papal letters are copied in the hospital cartulary.³

As we hear only one side of the case, it is impossible to say whether the prior and canons or the master and brethren were in the wrong in the disputes, but we may assume that there were faults on both sides. The master and brethren of the hospital, in their desire to be free from the control of the canons concerning the discharge of their charitable work, probably magnified the faults of the prior and canons and were not justified in attributing to their actions the base motives that they did. The prior and convent, on the other hand, valuing the right of patronage of the hospital, and having perhaps some pecuniary advantage in the connexion, and being much in need of money for the work that they themselves were carrying on, may have resented too warmly the attempt to separate Rahere's two foundations.

In one of these letters Pope Lucius III⁴ writes to Alan the master :

'Inasmuch as it has been notified to us that by the ill-advised arrangement of Adam,⁵ a layman, who had aforetime been appointed warden of your house, an agreement has been made between your

¹ See above, p. 56.

² Hosp. Cart., f. 47. See App. I, p. 56. For photograph of original deed, preserved at the Hospital, see N. Moore, *Hist. of St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 150.

³ Hosp. Cart.: f. 47, Lucius III, 1183; f. 48, Lucius III, 1184; f. 48 d, Lucius III, 1185; f. 51, Clement III, c. 1190; f. 48 d, Celestinus, 1191; f. 49, Celestinus, 1192; f. 49 d, Celestinus, 1192; f. 50, Honorius III, 1217; f. 51, Alexander IV, 1258; f. 52 d, Urban IV, 1265; f. 58, Martin V, 1425; and others in connexion—addressed to the Bishops of London, Rochester, &c.

⁴ Hosp. Cart., f. 48, here translated.

⁵ The ordinance of Prior Thomas addressed to Adam.

house and the canons of St. Bartholomew's, and has been authenticated by public writing to the effect that on the death of the master for the time being of your house there shall be set over you by the authority of the prior and chapter the man whom ye by the general consent of your community shall have considered proper to be elected, and he, after taking an oath of fealty to the said prior, saving the mastership and security of your house, shall have with your consent the general and independent management of your house; save that he shall not, without the consent of the prior and canons, admit any person to lifelong sustenance in your community; the result of which is, as has been reported to us as the truth, that although at present in your house by the grace of God a very great throng of sick poor and orphans is maintained by the alms of the faithful in Christ and by your own zeal, yet the aforesaid prior and canons, who are seeking their own and not the things which are Jesus Christ's¹ when they have had requests from you as to the reception of any poor persons according to their need, shew themselves the more obstinate according as those proposed for reception are believed to be the more serviceable to your house; to the end that, when you yourselves have gone the way of all flesh, your house and the revenues of the poor may come entirely under their usurpation. As therefore those things that grow from the root of greed ought to be cut back by the pruning knife of apostolic correction, we decree that, saving in other matters the tenor of the agreement between yourselves and the said canons seeing that it was made without fraud and is contained in a genuine instrument in writing, if it shall happen that the aforesaid prior and canons, when request is made by you with fitting humility as to the reception of free and independent persons, in the future treat you harshly or vexatiously, it shall be lawful for thee, my son Alan, and thy successors, with the advice of the brethren, when fit occasion shall arise, freely to receive into lay brotherhood such persons when fleeing from the world, and without the gainsaying of any to retain them in your community, and moreover they must show due reverence and deference to the aforesaid canons.'

From the above it is clear that there was considerable ill-feeling between the hospital and the priory at this early date (1184). It repeats, we may presume, the words of the petition of the master and brethren. It is simply dated '*Verona XVII Kal. Augusti* (16th July)', but, as Lucius only resided at Verona from the 25th July 1183 to 25th November 1185, it must have been written between those dates. The next letter is dated '*Verona VIII Kal. Augusti* (24th July)', so probably the first was dispatched in July 1184 and the second in July 1185. It is addressed to the Abbot of Boxley,² to the Archdeacon of Rochester, and to the master of some place in

¹ Philip. ii, 21.

² A Cistercian abbey in Kent.

Northampton.¹ It directs that the prior be suspended from authority to excommunicate for not reporting an appeal made against a sentence of excommunication made by him, the occasion having been the resistance by the hospital of the alleged assault on them by the prior and canons, and the taking possession of the candles at a funeral of one of the brethren of the hospital. A translation is quoted here in full to show to what a pitch the dissensions between the two foundations had reached :

. ' Lucius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the Abbot of Boxley, the Archdeacon of Rochester, and the master of the hospital of Northampton greeting and apostolic benediction.

' You shall know that it has come to our hearing that after our beloved sons the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew had placed in their own chapel, according to custom, the body of one of their brethren who had departed this present life, the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's, desiring violently to remove the body contrary to custom and justice, pronounced a sentence of excommunication of their own initiative against the same brethren, when they resisted them to the best of their power, in spite of appeal made to us, and furthermore falling upon them with a reckless daring, laid violent hands upon them and foully and dishonourably treated them, and stretching out hands of greed towards the candles which were carried with laudable devotion by the faithful at the burial, converted them to their own uses.

' And when the aforesaid brethren and A(lan) the priest, their proctor, brought the complaint to the archdeacon of the place, the said prior with the assent of the canons, and the above-named A(lan) are said to have given their faith to the archdeacon himself that upon these and other objections which had been made on the part of the canons, they would abide by the award of six men whom they would choose by common consent; and although it was included in that compromise under a pledge of good faith that neither of the parties should in the meanwhile inflict on the other any grievance or molestation, yet none the less, as we hear, the said prior and canons, going contrary to their oath of good faith, have caused the said brethren to be shunned as excommunicate by as many as possible, and furthermore have brought upon them grievous wrongs and very much damage.

' And for this reason at our discretion by apostolic writings we command, in so far as that is true which is asserted, the said prior and canons (to pay) the penalties owed for their breach of faith without any chance of escape by appeal, urging them to make adequate compensation to the said brethren in the matter of the damages incurred and wrongs done them and to cease from undue molestation of them, and we bind them by an ecclesiastical censure.

' The sentence of excommunication, however, if it were passed on the same brethren, as is said according to the appeal which has

¹ Probably the Hospital of St. John Baptist, founded 1137.

been lodged, you are to pronounce vain; and the prior himself, for the reason that he did not report the appeal, you are to suspend, without leave of appeal, from authority to excommunicate any one until you shall learn further the apostolic will in these matters.

'But if you are not able to take part in the carrying out of these matters, two of you are to carry them out none the less, without obtaining from the apostolic see any letter prejudicing truth and justice.

'Dated at Verona 9th of the Kalends of August.'

There is no record to show that the Abbot of Boxley found the charge against the prior and canons proved. The records of the twelfth century, both ecclesiastical and lay, are in general very meagre, and the more so as regards St. Bartholomew's owing to the loss of the cartulary of the priory. We do not even know the name of the prior at this period.

It is clear, however, that the active man on the side of the hospital was Alan the priest, who was master from the year 1182 to 1211; but the protection of the pope continued to be invoked after Alan's death, for a recitation and confirmation of the bull of Lucius III was obtained from Pope Honorius III in the year 1217,¹ and there are further letters in the year 1220 addressed to the Bishop of Rochester, and a third addressed to the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester about the year 1224. There were also letters from Pope Alexander IV in 1258, and two from Urban IV between the years 1261 and 1265, and a general recitation and confirmation of ordinances from Pope Martin V in the year 1425.

These papal bulls or letters seem to have been only put into force, so far as the relations between the two institutions were concerned, when the Bishop of London thought fit to embody such a direction in an ordinance.

No less than four bishops of London endeavoured to make peace and allay the controversies and dissensions. The first attempt was by Bishop Richard de Ely, in the year 1198, who issued 'ordinances',² but this did not allay the troubles. Then in the year 1220, in the bull referred to above, the pope delegated Benedict, Bishop of Rochester, with assessors, to hear both sides. After many disputes, each side agreed to submit to a composition and to abide without appeal by the ordinance of Bishop Eustace de Fauconberge³ and

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 50.

² These were published by Sir Norman Moore in pamphlet form in the year 1886. One of the three originals with seal attached is in St. Paul's Library, Box A. 25, No. 643 (pl. VII). There is no copy in Cok's cartulary at the hospital.

³ The only copy is in Hosp. Cart., f. 53 d. See also below, p. 112.

[illegible]

his ordinance was promulgated on the 1st July, 1224. A century and a half elapsed and again discord arose; this time over Bishop Eustace's composition. So Simon of Sudbury, then Bishop of London, went very fully into the matter, 'taking counsel', as he says, 'of men discreet and skilful in the law', and having received due information both in the chapter of the canons and in the house of the hospital he decided to modify some of the clauses of the ordinance of Bishop Eustace, and he therefore issued a fresh ordinance on the 12th April 1373,¹ which is fully described in the following pages.²

In the year 1413 there was a further disturbance³ when the prior was charged with delaying the presentation of a new master in order to secure the disposal of the property of the hospital. There was also dissatisfaction with the clause of Simon's ordinance whereby two brethren had to join in the procession on St. Bartholomew's Day. So in the year 1420 Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, issued a further and final ordinance,⁴ arranging these two points in favour of the hospital. As the hospital had now obtained virtual independence there was an end to controversies, but five years later, John Wakering, the master of the hospital, petitioned Pope Martin V for confirmation of the ordinances of Bishop Eustace, Bishop Simon, and Bishop Richard Clifford, which petition was granted on the 18th May, 1425;⁵ and in the year 1453 Pope Nicholas V recited and confirmed the recital of Pope Martin V⁶ and also the bulls of Popes Lucius III and Alexander IV.

The points of controversy, which were very numerous, are here detailed, showing how they were affected and finally arranged by the various ordinances.

The Election of Master.

Prior Thomas had ordained, in the year 1147, that on the death of a master the brethren should elect in chapter from their own number the one they thought best; that he should have the same charge as his predecessor had had, and be solemnly bound by an oath of fidelity and obedience to the prior. Stephen, the fourth master, was elected accordingly in the same year (1147).⁷ Pope Lucius, in the year 1184, confirmed the arrangement, but Bishop Richard, in 1197, ordained that the election should be made with the common

¹ Reg. Lond. Braybroke, f. 24. St. Paul's Lib., Box 25, No. 644; another copy, No. 647. Hosp. Cart., f. 55. Trans. in Cal. Pap. Reg. x, 642.

² Below, pp. 84-90.

³ Hosp. Cart., f. 56 d.

⁴ Hosp. Cart., 57 d. Trans. in Cal. Pap. Reg. x, 642.

⁵ Hosp. Cart., f. 58.

⁶ Cal. Pap. Lett. x, 642-6, 5 July, 1453 (there translated *in extenso*).

⁷ Hosp. Cart., f. 62.

consent of the canons as well as of the brethren, and if none of the brethren were fit for the office the master might be chosen from outside, promising obedience to the prior as before.

This arrangement evidently was not satisfactory, for Bishop Eustace ordained, in the year 1224, that on the death of a master the brethren should obtain licence to elect from the prior in the same way as the canons had to obtain licence from the king for the election of a prior, after which they were then free to choose a master for themselves; but the person elected must be a priest, or one who could be promoted to the priesthood in a short time, and not a layman as in the case of Adam the mercer. After his election he was to be presented to the prior, and, if the prior considered him fit, he was to present him to the bishop for confirmation. After confirmation the master was to swear obedience to the prior and his successors at the chapter of the prior and convent, but only in lawful and canonical commands, and on the articles of the bishop's ordinance, and not otherwise. This arrangement seems to have worked well for 150 years, for Bishop Simon confirmed it and we hear of no further controversy concerning the matter until the year 1413, when it was alleged that the prior, without reasonable cause, had so long delayed in presenting an elected master to the bishop for confirmation that the hospital had suffered.

In consequence of this, Bishop Richard Clifford, in the year 1420, ordained that, although the brethren were still to seek licence to elect from the prior, after the election they were to go straight to the Bishop of London for confirmation and not to the prior, but the prior was to induct after the confirmation. Bishop Richard also ordained that, if the master proved to be worthless, he was to be removed by the common consent of the canons and brothers, and a better substituted.

Several instances of election under Bishop Richard Clifford's ordinance are very fully set out in the episcopal registers of St. Paul's from 1510 to 1532. Sometimes the election would be by the method of 'Inspiration of the Holy Ghost';¹ sometimes 'by delegation', as in 1525,² when Cardinal Wolsey was delegated to choose, and as in 1532,³ when Archdeacon Gwent, the Dean of the Arches, was so delegated (probably with the view of the appointment of the king's nominee).

¹ Reg. Lond. Fitz James, Installations, f. 15, Election of Robert Byley, 1510.

² Reg. Lond. Tunstall, f. 80, Election of Geoffrey Wharton, 1525.

³ Reg. Lond. Stokesley, f. 66, Election of John Brereton, 1532.

Admission to the Hospital of new Brethren and Sisters.

Prior Thomas had ordained (as mentioned above in the letter of Pope Lucius III) that the master might admit any one for consultation and help, but not to perpetual food and clothing, without the consent of the prior and convent. But the master complained to the pope, as has already been seen, that the canons put obstacles in the way of admission of those likely to be useful to the house; therefore Pope Lucius ordered 'that it should be lawful for the master, with the advice of the brethren, to receive from time to time any who were desirous of fleeing from the world and to keep them in their society without any one saying nay; nevertheless', he said, 'they must show reverence and honour to the canons'.

Bishop Richard, fourteen years later, did not confirm this order of the pope, but, on the contrary, ordained that no one should be admitted to permanent pension or investiture without consent of the prior and convent; and whatever persons were admitted as brethren or sisters were to receive their habit from the prior at a chapter of the canons, and must swear obedience to the prior and church of St. Bartholomew.

Bishop Eustace ordered that, although permission must first be asked from the prior, if the candidate was unknown to the prior but was known as a fit and useful person to the master and brethren, then the prior must give his assent. If the prior knew the candidate and thought him unfit, but the master and brethren thought the contrary, then the decision was to be left to the bishop or to the chapter of St. Paul's. When the candidate was admitted the prior was to take or send the habit to the chapter of the brethren of the hospital where it should be delivered, instead of in the chapter of the canons. The person thus admitted was then to swear fealty to the prior and obedience to the master in the presence of the prior and of the master. If any man were ill and desired the brotherhood, it was to be reported to the prior that he might come to the hospital and deliver the habit to him and, if delay should be dangerous, then it should be lawful for the master himself to deliver it. If the sick person recovered, he was to take the oath of fealty to the prior and obedience to the master as done by others. Bishop Simon, however, modified this and allowed the master to receive a new brother or sister, and to deliver the habit without the assent of the prior, but within three days of such delivery the new brother or sister was to swear fealty to the prior and convent.

The Chapel of the Hospital.

Prior Thomas also ordained that the master might complete the chapel which had been commenced almost at the same time as the hospital itself, but the gateway towards the horse market was to be blocked and in it placed a box for collections (probably the horses wandered into the hospital on market days as they did into the priory). The chapel in the midst of the hospital was to be removed, as it was too much hidden, and in order that the hospital might have a better effect and be more roomy for those coming to it.

This order does not seem to have been carried out ; possibly there was difficulty in getting a faculty for the demolition ; for in the year 1184 Pope Lucius granted a free faculty (subject to the consent of the bishop) for the transfer of the oratory to a more suitable spot in their own ground, and he instructed the Bishop of London to consecrate it, when rebuilt, without raising any objection ; but here the matter ends as far as the records go.

Prior Thomas granted that the master and brethren might have a chaplain, other than a canon of the priory ; this was never afterwards disputed, though Bishop Richard directed that the chaplain should be chosen in the same way as was the prior, that he should then be presented to the bishop, after which he was to take the oath of submission to the prior and convent.

The Collections.

Prior Thomas ordained that the brethren of the hospital ' might go out to obtain those things that were necessary for their house as had been the custom heretofore '. Richard de Ely did not refer to the matter, but apparently some overlapping arose later on, as Bishop Eustace directed that ' when they went forth to preach or to collect alms, they should take an oath to ask for nothing except in the name of the hospital, or, if they should receive anything appertaining to the canons, they should restore it at once ' ; and *vice versa* that the canons or lay-brothers should take a like oath. This regulation was confirmed by Bishop Simon and never altered.

The Priory Tithes to the Hospital.

Prior Thomas ordained that the hospital should have, as hitherto, the gift of a tithe from the priory of bread and of the leavings of bread, meat, fish, and drink, ' and ', he adds, ' it is to be given with greater

cheerfulness, if it be possible, than heretofore, and more abundantly. If the hospital should lack anything in which the priory should abound, or if the house of the hospital should abound in anything which the priory lacked, they should assist each other in turn without reluctance on either side'.

Pope Alexander III, as we have seen, confirmed this grant about the time of the death of Prior Thomas. Bishop Eustace also again recited the gift and confirmed it, but added thereto the *anniversaria* or funeral offerings, if any such were given. The reason of this addition was probably to settle the quarrel which gave rise to the scene alleged by Pope Lucius to have taken place at the funeral of one of the brethren of the hospital in the year 1185, already referred to.

But the time came when Bishop Simon of Sudbury, in the year 1373, having made the prior and convent give way in so many things, had to ordain that they should no longer give to the master and brethren these tenths as they had been doing for over 200 years, neither should they give the *anniversaria*, but he also ordered that the hospital should continue to observe the same hospitality of the sick as honourably and as liberally as heretofore; and this was confirmed by Bishop Clifford in the year 1420.

The Burial Ground.

The ordinance of Prior Thomas makes no mention of the question of a separate burying ground for the use of the hospital, so we may presume that the agitation to obtain one had not then commenced; but ten years after the death of Thomas, in 1184, Pope Lucius ordered that 'notwithstanding any man's objection or appeal the cemetery there for the brethren, household, and poor was to be hallowed, though heretofore they had burial at the church of the canons'. The disturbance at the funeral at the hospital probably caused the pope to make this order, but it was not observed, for seven years later, in 1191, Pope Celestinus III,¹ after confirming the bull of Lucius III, enlarged on the necessity of a separate burying ground and ordered that one be granted, 'since', he says, 'on account of the multitudes of those who sojourn in the house of your hospital, and the excessive distance of the cemetery through the horse market and muddy streets, the labour entailed on those brethren and servants in your house who apply themselves to conducting funerals is recognized in these days to have grown to vast proportions'.

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 49.

It is noteworthy that, after these two papal bulls, Bishop Richard in his ordinance of the year 1197 should have entirely ignored the papal letters, and that Bishop Eustace in his ordinance of 1224 should have said 'moreover, the cemetery granted to them by the indulgence of the Lord the Pope, which the brethren desired to be consecrated, they shall not have, nor shall they claim any other for the future except the cemetery set aside for the burials of the poor by the canons'. But he made a concession which probably, from a pecuniary point of view, satisfied the master and brethren for a time, for he ordered that 'if any one of the City of London or elsewhere shall choose the burial of the poor of the hospital of St. Bartholomew's, his body, having been brought to the said hospital, and mass having been celebrated for the souls of himself and of the faithful, he shall be buried in the said cemetery set aside for the burial of the poor as if he had died among the poor in the hospital'.

But the agitation broke out again, for 150 years later, in 1373, Prior Thomas de Watford gave way and Simon of Sudbury granted that the master, brethren and sisters might be buried in their hospital, together with those dying there; and that they might cause a cemetery to be consecrated, and admit any wishing to have sepulture there, excepting those dying within the priory and those who were parishioners of St. Sepulchre's. But they were not to be allowed to ask for a burial ground in the priory for the burial of their poor which had been assigned to them of old, nor were they to interfere with any burial ground or burial there. This was confirmed by Bishop Clifford in the year 1420, and so one of the greatest of the contentions between the two foundations was satisfied. This burial ground was next the present Little Britain gate, as we learn from the will of John Baldwin, 'made within the great South gate of the Hospital called Tanhousgate towards Dokelane and next the common cemetery of the Hospital', in the year 1414.¹

The Alienation of the Hospital Property.

Richard de Ely, in the year 1197, ordained that the master should not alienate property of the hospital of any kind, without the consent of the Bishop of London, and of the prior and convent,² and that he should render an account twice a year of receipts and expenditure.

Bishop Eustace confirmed this, adding that the seal of the hospital

¹ App. I, p. 532.

² Stephen the Master obtained consent of the prior to the alienation of two pieces of land, *cir.* 1166; St. Paul's MSS., A, Box 41, No. 396.

was to be kept under three keys, one in the possession of the master and two in that of two of the brethren who were to be elected for the purpose, and the prior was not to change them if they were considered fit by the master and brethren.

Simon of Sudbury, however, went further and gave the master and brethren power to alienate any revenue and possessions they liked without consulting the prior, so long as they observed the sacred canons of the church. He especially mentioned also that the prior ought in no respect to meddle with the custody of the seal. In spite of this clear direction, however, prior John Watford, in the year 1413, whilst the hospital was in his charge during a voidance of the mastership (from 31 August, 1412, to 13 June, 1413),¹ tried to ignore the ordinance, or was accused of doing so, by securing the custody of the keys and the disposal of the property. He was also accused, as we see by Bishop Richard Clifford's ordinance of 1420, of delaying the presentation of a new master with this object.² The matter, being a breach of the ordinance of Simon of Sudbury, was brought before the Ecclesiastical Courts in the month of February, 1413; but a writ of prohibition was issued by the king (Henry IV), commanding that the case should be transferred to the King's Court; and a further writ was issued on this writ being disobeyed. (Copies of these writs are in Cok's cartulary at the hospital.³)

General Assemblies.

Richard de Ely, in 1197, ordered that four times in the year all the brethren and sisters of the hospital house were to come to a general assembly of the two foundations and were to join in the procession of St. Bartholomew at Candlemas (February 2nd), Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and Ascension Day. But the master and brethren probably found that they could be ill spared from tending the sick on those occasions, so Bishop Eustace reduced the number of attendances to two only, Palm Sunday and Ascension Day, and on St. Bartholomew's Day two of the brothers were to bring to the procession two wax tapers weighing four pounds in the name of the master and brethren, and subsequently offer them at the high altar of St. Bartholomew's. This, too, was irksome, so Bishop Simon

¹ In 1285 the king ordered an inquiry as to the right to the advowson of the hospital and if the custody during a vacancy belonged to him or to the prior. The answer was that the priory was a free chapel of the king and the hospital was annexed as a member and subject to it. When the hospital was vacant the prior had the custody. Chancery Inq., P.M. 13 Edw. I, N. 125.

² See later, p. 200.

³ Hosp. Cart., f. 56 d.

excused all attendance at the processions so long as Bishop Eustace's injunction concerning the two candles on St. Bartholomew's Day was followed. But still the hospital was not satisfied, and urged that even the attendance on St. Bartholomew's Day was too much, giving as a reason that it occupied the two brethren so long a time that the masses and other divine offices which ought to be celebrated at the hospital on that day had ceased and, in consequence, the devotion of the patients had been lessened and much scandal had been sustained. Richard de Clifford, in his ordinance of 1420, therefore, ordered that only one brother should offer the wax, that it should weigh six pounds, and that the brother should return at once to the hospital, and not join in the procession as had been the custom for the previous 300 years.

The Bells.

It was apparently not until the thirteenth century that the hospital agitated to have more bells, when Bishop Eustace ordered that the master and brethren should not have more than two, that the bells should not be large, and that the master and brethren were not to have a belfry in the accustomed way; and further that on Easter Eve they were not to ring their bells before those at the priory were rung. But Simon of Sudbury, with the consent or at the instance of Prior Thomas de Watford, allowed them to have as many and as large bells as they pleased, and to construct a bell tower for them in the usual way, and on Easter eve to ring them as freely as they liked. This was also confirmed by Bishop Richard in 1420.

Altar and Image of St. Bartholomew.

Apparently the canons had to protest early in the thirteenth century against the hospital erecting a St. Bartholomew altar and an image of the apostle, for fear of oblations being diverted thereby. Bishop Eustace ordered, in the year 1224, that no such altar or image should be erected to the prejudice of the canons, and Bishop Simon confirmed this, and thus it remained to the end.

Discipline.

The last subject of controversy was the punishment of offenders, concerning which Bishop Eustace ordained, and Bishop Simon confirmed, that the master of the hospital should himself, were he able, correct the excesses of the brethren and sisters; but if unable, then the prior should, at the instance of the master, come to the chapter of the brethren, where those things needing correction should be

corrected by the advice of himself and of the master ; or, if they failed in correcting, then correction should be administered by the bishop or his official.

This matter was also the subject of an injunction by Gilbert de Seagrave, bishop of London, in the year 1316.¹ By these injunctions it was ordered that simple quarrelling by the brethren or sisters was to be punished on conviction by reduction to the rule of bread and water for one day more or less ; disobedience for a whole day by a fast of bread and water for three days, or, if the offender continued longer obstinate, then the punishment was to be suspension or excommunication.

These ordinances were subject to appeal to the Bishop of London. They were drawn in the form of a tripartite chirograph and were to be sealed by the Bishop of London, the chapter of St. Paul's, the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, and by the master and brethren of the hospital. One part was to remain with the prior and convent, one with the master and brethren, and one in the treasury of St. Paul's.

That the orders contained should not be forgotten, it was ordered that the prior, with some of his canons, should come, year by year, on the morrow of Ash Wednesday, to the chapter of the hospital, and there cause the ordinances to be read. On the sixth week-day afterwards the master of the hospital, with some of his brethren, was to come at the chapter hour to the chapter of the priory and do likewise.

The form of oath of obedience to the prior to be taken by a new master is appended to the copy of the ordinance of Bishop Eustace in the hospital cartulary.

It was well for the hospital thus to have obtained practical independence of the priory. A root principle in the Benedictine and Augustinian Orders was the family life of the monastery and that the abbot of every house should be the elect of the community he was to govern ; to live the family life all must be under one roof (which was not the case with the hospital and priory). It was a gain to them when they had freedom of election of their master, and it was a loss when they chose to elect by the process of 'delegation', thus placing the appointment in the hands of the king.

From the first there is evidence of the good work done by the hospital ; but after the year 1420, when complete independence was gained, their good works begin to appear in the public records. Thus when

¹ See his injunctions recited by his successor, Richard de Newport, in 1318 Reg. Lond. Baudake, ff. 39 d and 40.

King Henry VI granted licence¹ to the master and brethren to acquire land in mortmain in the year 1437, he did so 'in consideration of their great charges in receiving the poor, feeble, and infirm, keeping women in childbirth until their purification, and sometimes feeding their infants until [the time when they would have been] weaned'. In the year 1446, the same king, in making a personal grant² of lands in Hendon, does so 'for their aid and relief and for the help of the wanderers and beggars who congregate at the hospital'. In the year 1464, also, King Edward IV,³ when granting a pardon to the master, did so 'in consideration of the work done within the hospital in relief of poor pilgrims, soldiers, sailors, and others of all nations'. Even Henry VIII,⁴ when resuscitating the hospital in the year 1544, which he had suppressed 4½ years before, expressed a wish 'that the works of charity might be restored: to administer solace to prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and burial to the dead'.⁵

Down to the present time, this great foundation of Rahere has acted up to the grand intentions of its first pious founder, and it has gone far beyond anything which he could have thought of, even in his dreams.⁶

The following will in Queen Mary's reign is an example of the affection inspired then, as now, by the devotion of the medical and nursing staffs: ⁷

'I Guye Hill of Creekerne in the County of Somerset geve and bequeathe to the hospitall of Sainte Bartilmewes of London v s. Item I geve and bequeathe to my surgeon v s. also I geve and bequeathe to the hospitelor of the saide hospitall xii d. Item I geve also to Mestres Fisser the mestres of the hospitall v s. Item I geve and bequeathe to Mary Johnson seester of the saide house who keapeth me xx d. Also I geve and bequeathe unto every poore man within the ward where I lye ii d. a peace. . . . Proved at London 4 Dec. 1557.'

The subsequent records of the priory are chronicled in the following chapters.

¹ Cal. Pat., 15 Hen. VI, m. 22.

² Pat. Roll, 24 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 5.

³ Ib., 4 Edw. IV, pt. 1, m. 19.

⁴ Ib., 36 Hen. VIII, pt. 24, m. 41, 23 June.

⁵ L. and P., For. and Dom., Hen. VIII, No. 812, (80) Grants 1544. See also below, p. 275.

⁶ 7,500 in-patients, 130,000 out-patients treated every year.

⁷ Wills, P.C.C. Wrastley, 53.

CHAPTER III

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

PRIOR THOMAS

A.D. 1144-1174.

AFTER the death of Rahere, which, as we have shown,¹ probably occurred in the year 1143, there seems to have been some difficulty in finding a suitable successor; for we are told that the post was vacant for a year. This is not surprising when we consider the troubles that had occurred in the monastery. These troubles, too, may have been the cause of a member of another monastery being elected prior, instead of some canon of the house of St. Bartholomew.

Prior Thomas, who eventually succeeded Rahere, came from St. Osyth's, or Chick, a priory of Augustinian canons in Essex. St. Osyth's—the extensive ruins of which still remain—had been founded in the year 1118 by Richard de Belmeis, the Bishop of London who had befriended Rahere in obtaining the grant of the Smithfield site from the king. The first prior of St. Osyth's, William Corbuil (or de Corbellio), made Archbishop of Canterbury in the year of the founding of St. Bartholomew (1123), is reported to have been a great friend of Rahere (though on what evidence is not clear). But as Corbuil was evidently a man of some distinction to have been raised from a monastery to the primacy, Rahere would probably have met him at the king's court. Thomas must have been a man of about 70 years of age when he became prior, for when he died, in the year 1174, he was, we are told, 'in age an hundrid wyntir almost'. The following account of him is a translation from the Latin of the Book of the Foundation:²

'So when the space of a year had rolled by there succeeded in the priorate of this new foundation by the hands of Robert Bishop of London, Thomas, one of the canons of the church of St. Osyth, in the year of our Lord 1144, the seventh indiction, in the reign of Stephen, son of Stephen Earl of Blois, who promoted Theobald of Bec to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

'This Thomas, as we have proved for all, was a man of good company and of social cheeriness, of great eloquence and varied knowledge, learned in philosophy and versed in sacred books; whence also he had the power of readily uttering metrically what-

¹ Above, p. 58.

² Fol. lxxix.

soever he attempted, and his practice was on every solemnity (holy day), as occasion demanded, to dispense the word of God to the people; and as crowds collected for that purpose, He that gave him this inward grace added to him outward glory. He was our prior with humility for about thirty years, and being about a hundred years old, with his senses unimpaired, he was laid beside his fathers with a Christian solemnity, belonging to the grace of Christ, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, the fifteenth year of the papacy of the blessed Alexander the third, the twentieth year of the coronation of the most invincible king of the English, Henry the Second, on the 17th day of the month of January in the very year of the election of our lord Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the brethren set there and praying, whom the grace of God had increased from the aforesaid small number (13) to thirty-five¹ with a corresponding increase of temporal possessions; which the giver of all good things promised should be added to those who seek the Kingdom of God. In his time also the plant of his apostolic vine grew in glory and grace before God and before men, and the curtains of our tabernacles were extended with more ample buildings to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

We refer fully in a later chapter² to the growth of the church, and of the monastic buildings, in his time; we show that the crossing and transepts, and the bay of the quire on the east side of the crossing, also the bay of the nave on the west of the crossing (which is included in the conventual quire), are the work of his period—also the filling in of the triforium arches of the quire, with a subsidiary arcade; they date from about the end of the second, or from early in the third quarter of the twelfth century—and that, having completed the conventual quire, instead of continuing the nave, Prior Thomas commenced the monastic buildings and probably completed at any rate the east walk of the cloister. He commenced the chapter-house, and possibly the frater, but of the latter we have no record. The base of the shaft on the eastern jamb of the cloister arch and the twelfth-century remains discovered in the year 1912 on the site of the chapter-house afford proof of the correctness of this assumption, and of the statement of the chronicler that 'the curtains of the tabernacles were extended with more ample building'. The extension of Rahere's quire westward would have made room for the thirty-five stalls required for the increased number of canons. The chronicler, as so often happened in medieval times, seems to have mistaken the year of the prior's death; for the 17th January 1174, in old style,

¹ For number of canons in later years see below, p. 232.

² Vol. II, chaps. i and viii.

would be 1175 in our reckoning, as the new year did not begin until the 25th March; but January of the fifteenth year of Pope Alexander III¹ was the year 1174, new style; and the twentieth year of the coronation of King Henry II² was 1174; and the 17th January of the year of the election of Richard Prior of Dover³ was also 1174, new style, so we must consider that Prior Thomas died on the 17th January 1174, new style.

Prior Thomas's name occurs very seldom in the records. In the year 1145, in company with the Abbot of St. Albans, the Abbot of Colchester, and with the priors of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, of St. Botolph's, Colchester, and of Merton Priory, Surrey, his name occurs as Prior of St. Bartholomew's, as a witness to the deed in St. Paul's library which has been already quoted as evidence of the date of the death of Rahere.⁴

In the year 1147, Prior Thomas made a formal announcement by charter (as we have seen)⁵ that he had admitted one Adam, a mercer, into the fraternity. No doubt he had done this because he considered him, though a layman, a suitable man to be the head of the hospital and to regulate its affairs. Prior Thomas, evidently a strong man himself in spite of his years, grappled vigorously with the questions which, after the death of the founder, had begun to arise; and he laid down rules and regulations for the guidance of the new master.

This ordinance was fortunately copied by John Cok in the cartulary of the hospital;⁶ otherwise it would not have been preserved to us. A copy will be found in the Appendix,⁷ the following being an epitome of its contents.

It commences:

'Thomas prior of the church of St. Bartholomew of London and the convent of the same church to all the sons of mother church, greeting—

'To all of you we make it known that we have received Adam, mercer, into our brotherhood to partake of the corporal and spiritual benefits which are to be found in our church. And since he is a layman and we know that he cannot fill a place in the convent of the clerical brethren, we have committed the care of the hospital house to his brotherly prudence with this charge: That whatsoever in lands or rents that he shall acquire to the advantage of the house shall remain payable wholly to the hospital house.

'That if he particularly wishes to assume the canonical habit entirely out-of-doors, his wish shall be satisfied.

'That because Adam has done fealty and is bound by an oath

¹ Consecrated 24 Sept. 1159.

² Crowned 19 Dec. 1154.

³ Elected 3 June 1173.

⁴ Above, p. 58.

⁵ See above, p. 78.

⁶ Hosp. Cart., f. 46.

⁷ App. I, p. 490.

to the church of St. Bartholomew and has promised obedience to Prior Thomas and his successors (without prejudice to an agreement in this charter concerning the guardianship of the hospital house) therefore we confirm the care of the house to him and give him full authority to abound with bowels of mercy towards the orphans, outcast children, the poor in the neighbourhood, and to any who are sick or homeless.'

It further ordains that he may admit any of the household or of the benefactors of the house to help him from time to time ; but he is not to admit any one to food and clothing permanently without the consent of the prior, nor make a practice of giving out-door relief.

That he may complete the chapel which was commenced almost at the same time as the hospital ; but the gateway towards the horse market he must brick up and place an alms-box therein.

That he will demolish the chapel in the midst of the hospital so that the house may appear more beautiful and have more room.

That at his death the brethren, having been summoned to chapter, shall elect by common consent, and the authority of the prior, some one from the house who is worthy, honourable, and profitable to be set over them.

That his successors are always to have the same charge as this and to be bound with a like oath of fealty and obedience.

Prior Thomas further grants to Adam and the brethren that they may have a chaplain other than a canon to say the divine office continuously in the hospital.

That the brethren may go out to obtain things necessary, as has been their custom.

That the prior and convent will grant them a tenth of their bread and what they leave of bread and meat, fish and drink, with greater cheerfulness even than heretofore and more abundantly.¹

It continues :

'And if, which God forbid, that house shall lack anything in which we abound, or if the said house shall abound in any things which our church lacks, they shall assist each other in turn without reluctance on either side.

'And whatever chaplain shall go into the church of our church or of the hospital, shall observe faith towards the things solemnly herein set forth.

'In order therefore that it may appear to all with what ardour and with how unbreakable a bond of affection we have desired that that house shall be allied and abide in unity with our church—

¹ This has already been referred to when describing the dissensions between the priory and the hospital. See above, p. 87. For notes on the witnesses see N. Moore, *Hist. St. Barth. Hosp.* i, 55.

I Prior Thomas and the convent curse and excommunicate all who shall try to make division and separation.

Witnesses :

Stephen, prior of the church of Holy Trinity.	
Robert, prior and canon of the church of St. Mary Overy.	
Adam, his canon.	Richard, priest of St. Mildred.
Ishmael, priest of St. Thomas.	Master Clement, grandson of William Grand.
William de Coveham.	Ralph Buetel.
Robert of Cornhull.	David his brother.
Peter FitzWalter.	William the Great.
Edward White.	William de Blemunt.
Goce Vinitor (the vintner).	Andrew Bukerell.
[and 19 others named.]	

After the death of Adam the mercer, his successor Stephen, a secular priest, was elected master in his place by the common consent of the brethren, as provided by Prior Thomas in his charter;¹ and there is a record among the St. Paul's MSS. that Stephen also observed the charter of Prior Thomas by obtaining the consent of the prior before granting away two pieces of land in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles (by Foster Lane).²

In addition to thus arranging the governance of the hospital and conducting the large building operations at the church, the prior dispatched on two, if not on three, separate occasions special emissaries to Rome. These succeeded in obtaining the grants of privileges (as has been already shown)³ from Anastasius IV in the year 1153-4; from Adrian IV, some time before 1159; and from Alexander III, either before 1162 or after 1173.

It was, moreover, Prior Thomas who obtained the confirmation charter from St. Thomas of Canterbury; for Becket was only archbishop from May 1162 to December 1170, in which year he was murdered, and both of these dates are within the years of the priorate of Thomas. It seems to have been customary both for bishops and archbishops to grant confirmation charters. William of Blois, Bishop of Lincoln (1203-1206), granted such a general charter to St. Frideswide's, Oxford; and there are records that Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1319, and Thomas Arundel, in 1411, also granted like charters.

In this charter⁴ to St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas takes the church and canons regular there beneath the protection of the Lord

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 62.

² St. Paul's Lib., Box A. 21, No. 396 (no date).

³ Above, p. 56.

⁴ Hosp. Cart., f. 39 b. For Latin transcript see App. I, p. 490.

and himself, and assures to them the place in Smithfield where the church and hospital are built, as granted to them in frankalmoign by King Henry I and confirmed by his charter. He also confirms to them all the churches and possessions which they held then and would in future obtain, and all dignities which they had in the time of King Henry I.

Prior Thomas also obtained, apparently in the year before his death, a charter from King Henry II¹ confirming all the privileges granted by King Henry I in 1133. It differs in detail from the earlier charter and omits any reference to Rahere himself, but is otherwise without special interest beyond the fact that the king specially emphasizes that the church is his 'demesne' chapel and the canons are his 'demesne' canons; 'this church', he says, 'shall be free as being my demesne chapel' and the priory be protected as belonging to 'the king's demesne'. It was given at Rouen, but no month or year is mentioned; it must, however, have been when Henry was in France to quell the rebellion of his sons, for among the witnesses is the Earl of Clare, who died in 1173, the same year as the king went to France; and as no one date of the other witnesses controverts that date, 1173 was doubtless the year of the charter. It was witnessed by—

Rotron (bishop of Evreux).

A. Albinic (bishop of Avranchc).

Thomas (the chancellor).

William, Earl of Aumale (*d.* 1176; served under Henry II against Prince Henry, 1173).

Hugh (the Earl).

Wm. d'Aubigny (*d.* 1189).

Roger de Clare (Earl of Hertford; *d.* 1173).

Richard de Humet (the constable).

M. Biset (the sewer).

W. de Keisneto.

Stephen de Turonis (the chamberlain, by the hand of—)

Stephen de Fulgerius.

Also at Rouen, and probably at the same time, a short reminder charter² was granted, consisting of the substance of the longer charter, but with this additional privilege in the final clause, viz., 'I order that they shall not make answer for any matter, nor be set to plead, save by me, and in my presence', i.e. in the Curia Regis or King's Bench.

It was witnessed by Richard de Humet, the constable, and Manasser Biset, the sewer, and no one else.

¹ App. I, Charter No. 4, p. 478.

² *Ib.*, Charter No. 5, p. 479.

The various miracles chronicled in the Book of the Foundation as having occurred in connexion with the church in the time of Prior Thomas and his successor, have already been briefly referred to,¹ and, as they are printed in the Appendix,² no further reference to them here is necessary.

PRIOR ROGER, AND OTHER PRIORS OF THE HIATUS

A.D. 1174-1201.

We have no exact record as to who succeeded Prior Thomas. The writer of the Book of the Foundation, although he wrote after the death of that prior, does not mention his successor by name. In fact, the only record we have of a prior's name between the year 1174, when Prior Thomas died, and 1201, when Prior Richard's name appears in the king's court, is that of a Prior Roger which occurs twice only; once among witnesses to 'a grant by William de Ram' (Ramis, Raimis, or Reymes)³ to Adam son of Ranulph son of Adam, of half his land at Egeswere (Edgware) and Stanmore, including the church and a meadow.⁴ Among the other witnesses was a Geoffrey Bucuint (Boycoynte or Bocointe), but neither he nor any of the other witnesses help to date the grant. At the Record Office the grant is attributed to some time in the reign of Henry II.

In 1171 another Bocointe, Henry, who held an estate in Stanmore Parva (or Whitchurch) under William de Reymes, paid one mark into the king's exchequer, that he might implead William de Reymes for that manor;⁵ and about the year 1176, an undated charter, referred to below, was granted to the prior and convent confirming certain gifts made to them, among which was a gift by Roger de Raimis of whatever William de Raimis had conceded to them in Edgware. William de Raimis had therefore given part of his Edgware property to the prior and convent before the date of this charter of about 1176. In view of this and of the above facts it is not unreasonable to assume that it was about the same time that William de Raimis was dealing with other portions of his Edgware lands, to the granting of half of which to Adam son of Ranulph, Prior Roger was a witness. This would make the date of the grant about 1176 and sufficiently near the date of the death of Prior Thomas to warrant the assumption that Prior Roger succeeded Prior Thomas about 1174. It is also possible that he was the only prior between Prior Thomas and Prior Richard.

¹ Above, p. 64. ² App. I, p. 396 et seq. ³ Below, p. 102, No. 9; also p. 355.

⁴ Catl. Anc. Deeds, R.O. II, A, 2146.

⁵ Lysons, *Environs*, vol. ii, pt. 1, p. 155. See also p. 352, below.

The other occurrence of Roger's name is on a grant by John Becointe and two others to the hospital of land adjoining thereto. The agreement was made *coram Rogero priore sancti Bartholomei*. Sir Norman Moore, since the publication of his history of the Hospital, has attributed the date of this deed to about the year 1181, and if that is a correct surmise it leaves twenty years only before Prior Richard appears.

Some confusion has been caused by Alan the master of the hospital having styled himself prior about this time. He did so in a deed at St. Paul's,¹ '*Ego Alan prior et Fratres Hospitalis Bartholomei*', whereby he acknowledges that they hold certain lands of the canons of St. Paul's. The deed is undated, but it must have been executed between 1182, when Alan, styled 'the priest', was elected proctor, and 1191, when Nicholas the Archdeacon, one of the witnesses, ceased to be archdeacon. The late Dr. J. C. Cox pointed out that it was not an uncommon occurrence for the master of a hospital to call himself prior, as was the case in about the year 1160, when the master of '*Domus Dei*' of Derby, is called 'the prior' in one place in the Derby cartulary. There are other instances, as at 'God's House' at Portsmouth; at St. Thomas's, Birmingham; and at Southampton. That Alan was proctor of the hospital and not the prior of the church there is no doubt, because Pope Lucius III, in his letters of the years 1183 and 1184, and Pope Celestinus III in his letter of 1191² address him as 'Alan the priest and proctor of the hospital', and he is mentioned in the hospital cartulary as proctor from 1182 to 1211.³ In the year 1185, Pope Lucius, in his letter to the Abbot of Boxley and others,⁴ not only refers to Alan the proctor, but also directs that the prior (whose name unfortunately is not given) shall be suspended, if found in the wrong for not reporting an appeal against his authority to excommunicate those of the hospital involved in the dispute over the burial of one of the brethren already referred to.⁵

During the twenty-seven years (1174 to 1201) in which there are no records of the names of the priors, with the one exception above, several additional charters were obtained, both from King Henry and King Richard.

Thus, in an undated charter⁶ given by Henry II at Westminster

¹ St. Paul's Lib. MSS. A, Box 71, No. 1798.

² Hosp. Cart., ff. 47, 48, 49, quoted p. 79, above.

³ *Ib.*, f. 62.

⁴ *Ib.*, f. 48 d.

⁵ See p. 81.

⁶ App. I, p. 479, Charter No. 6, Latin transcript.

about the year 1176, all the gifts made to the church by Henry I and others are enumerated and confirmed in simple frankalmoign.¹

It was witnessed by :

Richard, Bishop of Winchester (1174-1188).

B., Bishop of Ely (as there was no 'B' bishop of Ely, Geoffrey Ridel must be intended, 1174-1189).

J(ohn), Bishop of Norwich (John of Oxford, 1175-1200).

Bishop Richard de Luci (*d.* 1179).

Earl Albericus (Aubrey de Vere, created Earl of Oxford soon after 1142; *d.* 1194).

Simon de Beauchamp.

Geoffrey de Sai.

Gervasse de Canvilla (of Canvell priory, Staff.).

The charter was therefore given between the years 1175, when the Bishop of Norwich was consecrated, and 1179, when Richard de Luci died. As the charter shows the possessions of the monastery acquired by gift during the first sixty-four years after its foundation, they are given here as they occur in the charter, with the addition of the churches of Gorleston, of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, of the other moiety of the church of Mentmore, and of the church of St. Michael Bassishawe, which are omitted from this charter; (these are inserted within [] with references to charters where they occur).

1. By the gift of King Henry his grandfather (Henry I) the place of Smithfield (*Smerefeld*) in which their (the prior and canons) church was founded and the hospital house of the same church with all its tenements and appurtenances which Rahere the founder of the same church built for the use of the poor and infirm.
2. [By gift of the same king the church of Gorleston near Yarmouth with other churches and chapels in Ludyngland.²]³
3. [By gift of the same king the church of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth,⁴ with the chapel of Northville (Nortvilla) annexed⁵ and Lowestoft (Lodewistoft) and of Belton (Beleton)⁶].
4. By gift of Roger Bishop of Salisbury the church of St. Sepulchre in the Bailey (*de Balio*) with its tithes and appurtenances within borough and without.
5. By gift of Hugh Buisel (or Bussel) a moiety of the church of Mentmore and a hide and a half which they have in the same parish.

¹ A tenure by spiritual service by an ecclesiastical corporation free from all temporal service, as already explained.

² A hundred in the north of Suffolk.

³ App. I, p. 481, Charters Nos. 8 (1187), 16 (1253).

⁴ *Ib.*, Charter No. 16 (1253).

⁵ App. I, Rent. Bodl. p. 428.

⁶ App. I, p. 484, Charter No. 15.

6. [By gift of William son of Milo another moiety of the same church.¹]
7. By gift of Walter de Dunn (*some omission here on the roll*) and a part which Robert de Cestresham granted them of his tithe at Grove² (Granam).
8. By gift of Robert de Ramis the church of St. Bartholomew of Elstree (Herts) (*Tydulfnestre*) with its appurtenances.
9. By gift of Roger de Ramis the church of St. Lawrence of Stanmore (*Stanmere*) with its appurtenances and whatever William de Ramis or Adam Buchiunte or Earl Patrick or Countess Ela have conceded to them in the village of Edgware (*Eggeswere*) and at Elstree (*Tidulfnestre*).
10. By gift of Ralph Trichet (*or* Trochet) the church of St. Martin Pomeroy (*de Pomerio*).
11. By gift of the same Ralph³ a moiety of the church of St. Mary Aldermary (*Aldermarichurch*).
12. [By gift of Gilbert Bishop of London (either Gilbert the Universal, 1128–1134, or Gilbert Foliot, 1163–1188) the church of St. Michael Bassishaw (*de Bassingeshagh*).⁴]
13. [By gift of William de Bosco the church of Theydon Bois (*Taiden*) with its appurtenances.⁵]
14. By gift of Earl William de Mandeville⁶ a moiety of the church of Danbury (*Danningebere*) (Essex).⁷
15. By gift of Geoffrey son of Ailwin a moiety of the church of Wenhaston (*Wennacheston*) (Suffolk), with all its appurtenances.
16. By gift of Atropus de Merc the church of Little Bardfield (*Berdefeld*) (Essex).
17. By gift of William de Ramis the church of Bradfield (*Bradefeld*) (Essex) [with the chapel of Manningtree (*Mannester*)⁸].
18. By gift of Geoffrey the chapel of St. Bartholomew of Wenhaston (*Wennacheston*).⁹
19. By gift of Miles de Verdun two parts of the tithe, with all the movable property of his domain of Oslakester.¹⁰
20. By gift of Alan Dapifer¹¹ a part of the tithe of his domain of Charleton (Cherbuton or Cherlinter) (Midd.).
21. By gift of Ralph de Berners half a hide in Peltend.
22. By gift of the same Ralph ten shillings' worth (*solidatas*) in Islington (*Iseldun*).
23. By gift of Miles de Verdun and William de Nineris two hides at Shortgrove (*Sortegrave*) (Essex).
24. By gift of Oswald de Malden whatever they had at Malden.

¹ App. I, pp. 481, 485, Charters Nos. 8, 16.

² A small place in Bucks which was annexed to the parish of Mentmore soon after the conquest.—Lipscombe, Bucks, iii, 356.

³ App. I, p. 482, Charter No. 10 says 'of the gift of Roger Perrom'.

^{4,5} *Ib.*, pp. 481, 482, 485, Charters Nos. 8, 10, 16. ⁶ Third Earl of Essex (*d.* 1189).

⁷ The second moiety was granted in 1234; see below, p. 116.

⁸ App. I, p. 482, Charter No. 10. ⁹ Distinct from the church referred to above.

¹⁰ App. I, p. 480, Charter No. 6.

¹¹ *Ib.*

25. By gift of Robert Lebel and by gift of Henry Cawesnefes and by gift of Cecily daughter of Robert Bloet and by gift of Lefumer the charcoal maker and Joscelyn the fishmonger whatsoever they had [of the fee of Robert FitzRoger¹] in Langley (*Langeleia*, Laindon).

A further charter² was also obtained from Henry II dated at Windsor, but again without the year being given. It was a charter of protection for the church and was witnessed by :

Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely (1174-1189).
 Ralph de Glanvill (the chief justiciar of England; *d.* 1190).
 Earl Albericus (the first Earl of Oxford, *d.* 1194).
 Simon de Beauchamp.
 G(eoffrey) de Sai.

As four of these five witnesses are the same as those of the previous charter, its date is probably about the same year, viz. 1176. We have not found either of these charters anywhere other than in the Letters Patent of *inspeximus*³ given 11 Edward II.

A further charter⁴ was apparently obtained from the same king dated at Winchester in his thirty-third year (1187). It seems to have differed from the earlier charter of about 1176 (No. 6) only in the smaller number of the gifts confirmed and in the names of the witnesses which are given in the Memoranda Roll of 1325; these are :

Richard, Bishop of Winchester.	
Hugh de Beauchamp.	
Richard.	William Ruff.
Stephen.	Richard Bert.

Very shortly after this, a fourth charter⁵ was obtained by a prior of the hiatus, viz. in the first year of Richard I (1190), when the king was at Rouen on his way to the third Crusade. It is merely a confirmation of the charter of Henry II⁶ of about the year 1173, which simply recapitulated the great charter of Henry I.

It was sealed at Rouen on the 24th March by the Bishop of Ely, he then being the chancellor.

The witnesses were :

B(aldwin) Archbishop of Canterbury (who died the same year).
 H(ugh) Bishop of Durham (who, with William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, was appointed justiciary during the absence of the king).

¹ App. I, p. 482, Charter No. 10. ² Ib., p. 480, Charter No. 7 (Latin transcript).

³ Ib., p. 487, Charter No. 19; also Cal. Pat., p. 158.

⁴ App. I, p. 481, Charter No. 8.

⁵ Ib., p. 481, Charter No. 9.

⁶ See above, p. 98. App. I, p. 478, Charter No. 4.

R(eginald) Fitz Joceline, Bishop of Bath (1174-1192).

H(ugh) Bishop of Coventry (1188-1198).

W(illiam) son of Ralph, seneschal of Normandy, and

W(illiam) the Marshal.

Another charter,¹ dated the 23rd March in the same year, recapitulates the grants of lands, churches, &c., which are set out in full in the charter of Henry II of about the year 1176, and adds to the gifts there enumerated, as mentioned above,² the church of St. Michael Bassishaw and the church of Theydon Bois,³ the second moiety of the church of Mentmore, and states that what the prior and convent had in Langley was of the fee of Robert FitzRoger; otherwise the two charters are alike.

The witnesses were the same as those of the preceding charter, except that the Bishop of Bath was not among them. The charter only occurs in the Memoranda Rolls 1 Edward III and in part in those of 19 Edward II.

It is known that King Richard granted many charters as a means of raising money for the crusade, and it is probable that these two charters were granted with that object.

The bulk of the possessions of the priory had been acquired by this time; for the additions enumerated in King Henry III's charter of the year 1253, and in the Rental of 1306, are few and comparatively unimportant.

A sixth charter obtained during this period consisted of a short reminder charter granted by the king at Rouen at the same time (1190). It briefly confirmed all the charters, franchises and free customs granted by King Henry I and King Henry II; and again forbade that the prior or canons should be impleaded in the matter of any of their tenements, save before the king or his chief justice. It occurs in the *Cartae Antiquae* (L. 9), where the date is given as March 22, but when recited in the *inspeximus* granted by King Edward II in the year 1318,⁴ the date is given as March 26th, which is probably correct, being after and not before the longer charter. It is only witnessed by William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely.

At the same time, on the 24th March, the king issued Letters Patent from Rouen⁵ to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex not to interfere with the fair of the prior and canons of the church, which he again says was his 'demesne' church (referred to in the chapter on the fair).⁶

¹ App. I, p. 482, Charter No. 10.

⁴ App. I, p. 482, Charter No. 11.

⁶ Below, p. 303.

² See p. 102.

³ See p. 102.

⁵ Ib., p. 482, Charter No. 12.

In the following year, 1191, the prior had to contend with the agitation on the part of the hospital for a separate burial ground, in favour of which the master (Alan)¹ and brethren had obtained a letter from the pope. As shown in the chapter on the disputes with the hospital,² this agitation for a separate graveyard was successfully resisted for nearly 200 years; it was temporarily parried at this time with the assistance of Richard de Ely, Bishop of London, who (as already mentioned³) issued an ordinance in 1197-8 to allay the quarrel, at which time the second Stephen had become master (1198).

¹ Alan succeeded Stephen I, 1182-1198.

² Above, p. 87.

³ Above, p. 82.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

PRIOR RICHARD

Here 1201, here 1206.

THE first reference to a prior by name, after Prior Roger, occurs in the *Curia Regis* Rolls in the year 1201, where there is an entry, which translated reads :

‘Richard the prior of St. Bartholomew’s puts in his place Andrew his canon against Henry del More concerning a plea of warrant of charter.’¹

Richard may have been prior many years before this, and, judging from his activity in the interests of the monastery, it is quite probable that it was he who, as just recorded, claimed the view of frankpledge in the year 1194. He may too have continued, for all we know to the contrary, until G. of Osney was elected in 1213, but he does not appear in the records by name, so far as we have been able to discover, after the year 1206. The following deed should help, but, unfortunately, like so many others, it is undated.

Translated from the Latin it reads :²

‘Richard the prior and the convent of the church of St. Bartholomew London to all the sons of Holy Mother Church : be it known that we have conceded and by this our charter we have confirmed to the present and future brethren of our hospital house that tenement which Roger Punchenall gave to our church in frankalmoyne to wit that tenement which John Bucuinte held of us TO HAVE AND TO HOLD to himself of our church for ever paying to us rent four shillings per annum at the feast of St. Michael and the other half at Easter, of which are witnesses Henry the Mayor of London (Henry FitzAilwin, mayor 1189–1212) ; Roger son of Alan (sheriff 1193)³ ; Robert le Bel (sheriff 1198)⁴ ; William son of Sabelina (William FitzIsabel, sheriff 1194) ; John Bucuinte (sheriff 1191) ; Ernulf son of Alulf (Arnold FitzArnold, sheriff 1199) ; Thomas, Alderman ; Michael de Valentin ; John the Burgundian ;

¹ Cur. Reg. Rol. 25, Michaelmas, 3 John, m. 1, App. I. (This was before the days of the professional advocate.)

² Hosp. Cart., 37 d.

³ Dates of sheriffs : Stow, p. 186.

⁴ Strype corrects Stow in this case.

Gilbert Waldine ; Richard son of Roger Punchenall ; Nicholas and Peter his brothers ; Ralph the bedell.'

It will be seen that none of these names fixes a date, other than showing that it was between the years 1189 and 1212, when Henry FitzAilwin was mayor ; for it is not stated if any of the men who follow were sheriffs at the time of witnessing.¹ The same prior gave his consent to a grant of land by the master and brethren of the hospital to the prior and convent of Sempringham, but here again there is no date given.²

In the year 1202, Richard is mentioned by name as prior in the Middlesex fines,³ when he was represented again by Andrew his canon. He was the defendant in the collusive or mock action regarding a virgate of land in *Heggwere* (Edgware) which Humphrey Bucuinte released to him for two marks of silver. He is also mentioned by name in the Buckingham fines in the same year (1202),⁴ and also in the year 1206.⁵ In the first instance Roger de Argenton and Matilda his wife granted 'Richard the Prior' and convent the advowson of a moiety of the church of Mentmore,⁶ in consideration of which the prior and convent admitted them to all benefits and prayers in the church of St. Bartholomew. In the second instance the same man and his wife granted to 'Prior Richard' and the convent, represented by Andrew the canon, a rent charge of 2s. on a virgate of land in Mentmore.⁷ (This seems to be the gist of the long and complicated collusive action.)

The same Andrew the canon appears as attorney for the Prior of St. Bartholomew's against the same Roger de Argenton in the *Curia Regis* Rolls⁸ concerning a plea of land, but the prior's name is not given, neither is the entry dated.

It was certainly within the years of Richard's priorate that a charter of confirmation was obtained from King John ; for it was sealed at Brill on December 29, in his fifth year (1203).⁹ By it the king takes the church and canons under his protection and confirms the charters of Henry I and Henry II. He orders that the hospital shall be in the disposition, rule and governance of the prior and convent of his

¹ Latin text, see N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 136-7.

² *Ib.* i, 259-60.

³ Feet of Fines, Midd., 4 John, No. 20, 27 Sept. 1202.

⁴ *Ib.*, Bucks, 3 John, 3 Feb. 1201-2. Hunter, p. 201.

⁵ *Ib.*, 7 John, 3 Feb. 1205-6. Hunter, p. 236.

⁶ Both moieties had already been given to the prior and convent. See above, p. 101.

⁷ *Cur. Reg.*, tem. John, No. 61, m. 2.

⁸ App I, p. 496.

⁹ *Cart. Antiq.*, Chancery, L. 5, m. 2, Charter R, 5 John. Duffus Hardy transcripts, p. 115.

'demesne chapel', as they were at the time when 'Rahere the first prior founded it'. And he goes on to say :

'If any one shall intend to withdraw the hospital house from the church and rule of the prior and canons, he shall be subject to the royal prerogative and it shall be done unto him as unto one who shall intend to diminish the liberty of our crown.'

Which reads like a counterblast to the letters of Popes Lucius III and Celestinus III.¹

He confirms all the possessions (without enumerating them) and again forbids the prior and convent from being set to plead concerning any of their tenements, save in the King's Bench. (There are many entries of such pleading in this court, but the want of even an ordinary index of names and places mentioned in these early *Curia Regis* Rolls renders a thorough search impracticable, except at great cost.²)

The witnesses to this charter were³ G(eoffrey) son of Peter, Earl of Essex (one of the judges while King Richard was on crusade, and who did much to secure the succession of King John); W(illiam) Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (who did great service in the crusades and was regent in 1216); Hugh de Nevill (who also went to the crusade with Richard I); Robert de Vieuxpont, baron of Westmorland (who supported King John against the barons); William Brewer (another of the justices left by King Richard; he was one of John's evil advisers who, in the year 1213, sealed the charter surrendering the crown and the kingdom to Pope Innocent III); Peter de Stok and Geoffrey de Lucy.

SECOND HIATUS IN THE NAMES OF THE PRIORS

1206-1212.

The prior of this period had to deal with the circumstances arising out of the great interdict of Pope Innocent III, which lasted for six years from the 24th March, 1208, to the 2nd July, 1214. It was promulgated, as is well known, in consequence of King John refusing to accept the appointment of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. It was pronounced by William of St. Mary Church, Bishop of London, and other bishops, who then fled the kingdom. Under the interdict all rites of the church were suspended; no bells or tapers were allowed; nor any services in the churches. The churchyards were closed and the dead interred in unconsecrated ground without a service. Baptisms were permitted and confessions

¹ Above, p. 79.

² Above, p. xxxv.

³ D.N.B.

of the dying ; also prayers and sermons in churchyards on Sundays and marriages at the church doors. Dean Milman says no privileges were granted to monasteries, but there are indications that it was otherwise here, for Pope Lucius III, in a letter to the hospital in the year 1183,¹ says that ' should there be a general interdict the brethren may nevertheless celebrate the divine offices in a low voice but with closed doors, without ringing of bells or admission of excommunicated people '. In fact the following ordinance of the Bishop of London, probably made during the brief time that he was in England in the year 1209, expressly states that those dying in the hospital were to be buried as usual during the interdict. As the last clause in the ordinance shows a desire to prevent a quarrel between the church and the hospital, we can hardly doubt that the same privileges were accorded to the canons as to the brethren.

There is a Latin transcript of this ordinance in the hospital cartulary,² which translated reads as follows :

' William by the grace of God Bishop of London to all the sons of Holy Mother Church throughout the bishopric of London greeting in the author of salvation for ever. When lately a general sentence of interdict had been promulgated by apostolic order throughout all England to the effect that it should be nowhere lawful to deliver the bodies of the dead to Christian burial as was customary, notable men and our well-beloved sons in Christ H. the mayor³ and the citizens of London requested our well-beloved sons the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's and the proctor and brethren of the hospital of the same to allow to them a certain plot adjoining the hospital of St. Bartholomew on the eastern side for the public burial of their dead ; and the said canons and also the brethren aforesaid, listening to their pious petition and at the same time having regard to their plea of the inconvenience of the whole city, granted a favourable and kind consent to their requests. But lest, under pretext of that piety, there should arise an occasion of impiety, with wise and salutary counsel it was provided between them that the said plot for disposing of the dead, in accordance with what all parties arranged ought to be settled, should be enclosed on all sides, keeping an entrance for the use of the citizens for burial. Particular provisions were also made that no one should be allowed to bury in the same plot the bodies of the dead who should happen to die in the hospital aforesaid ; for all those from the hospital, whether brethren or the poor coming from elsewhere, are to be buried during the interdict as was the former custom, according to the will of the canons, in some suitable place to be provided by those canons for the reason, doubtless, that in that way, God's grace blessing His holy church, they might enjoy their

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 47.

² Hosp. Cart., f. 52 d.

³ Henry FitzAilwin.

former peace and the uninterrupted observance of their oaths. The aforesaid spot is to revert freely to the right possession of the brethren of the hospital, but no one whatever is to be allowed any more to bury any dead person in the same plot. But in order that peace may be preserved in future unbroken between the said canons and brethren of the hospital we have taken care to strengthen this which has been written, by the testimony of our seal.

‘Witnesses :

A(lard) Dean of St. Paul’s (*c.* 1210–1216) ;
 S(imon) Archdeacon of Colchester (here 1214) ;
 R(ichard de Higham) Archdeacon of Essex (1206–1214) ;
 J(ohn of Canterbury) the Chancellor (whilst Alan was Dean) ;
 B(enedict de Sansetun) the precentor (1203–1215) ;
 R(obert) de Camera } (both prebendaries of St. Paul’s) ;
 J(ohn) of St. Lawrence }
 H(enry FitzAilwin) Mayor of London (1189–1212) ;
 Constantine son of Anulf ;
 Arnald, his brother ;
 William, son of Reigner ;
 Thomas de Haverulle ;
 T(homas) son of Nigell ;
 Michael de Valencin ; and others.’

None of these witnesses enables us to fix an exact date to the ordinance, but Sir Norman Moore places it between March 1208 and October 1209,¹ and there seems no reason to doubt this. The special provision that those from the hospital should only be buried in the ground provided by the canons was no doubt not to prejudice the case of the separate cemetery, for which, at this time, they had only obtained the sanction of the pope and not that of the Bishop of London.

In the year 1212, whoever was prior approved the appointment of William as the new proctor to the hospital, and as such he continued to rule the hospital for twenty-eight years² (according to dates in the hospital cartulary).

PRIOR G. OF OSNEY

1213.

In the year 1213 there is a brief record of a new prior, but he only remained for a few days, when he joined the Benedictine order. He was chosen from outside the convent of St. Bartholomew, from an abbey of Augustinian canons at Osney, near Oxford. We do

¹ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.’s Hosp.* i, 128.

² Hosp. Cart., f. 62.

not know his name other than that he had the initial G. The only record we have concerning him is in the annals of Dunstable, where it is recorded (in Latin) :

‘ In the year from the incarnation of Christ, one thousand two hundred and thirteen, G. canon of Osney is made prior of St. Bartholomew’s London, but after a few days the same man becomes a monk of Abingdon ’¹—

which was a Benedictine monastery in Berkshire.

THIRD HIATUS IN THE NAMES OF PRIORS

A.D. 1213–1226.

There is now a period of thirteen years during which there are many records of the priory, but no mention has as yet come to light of the name of the prior or priors.

It is possible, and even probable, that prior John Blund, who was here in 1226, was the immediate successor of Prior G. of Osney in 1213; at any rate there are indications that justify a surmise that he may have been prior as early as 1216, for he witnessed a grant to the hospital (unfortunately undated) by John Testad, of 8s. quit rent from land in St. Sepulchre’s parish ‘once belonging to Osbert the Chaplain’² (says the grant), who probably died about the year 1200, and among others it was witnessed by ‘Roger the Baker’ (*Rogero pistore*), who witnessed three other grants to the hospital, one of which was as early as 1212–1213,³ so that Sir Norman Moore thinks 1216 would not be too early a date for a grant made, he says, soon after the death of Osbert. However, it is safer not to assume that John Blund was prior before the actual date when his name first appears (1226).

The following records relate to this period :

King John, who had despoiled the monasteries, submitted to the pope in 1213, as a result of the interdict mentioned above. In 1215, the year he sealed *Magna Carta*, a controversy arose between the prior and convent and H. de Napford and M. de Mentmore his wife concerning some lands; so Pope Innocent sent a commission to the Dean of St. Paul’s and others to inquire into it,⁴ but with what result does not appear.

In the year 1219, a case is recorded in the pleas (i.e. the obligations to attend court) in the *Curia Regis* Rolls⁵ in which John de Shelford

¹ Ann. Dunstap. R. Ser. (36), iii, 41.

² N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.’s Hosp.*, i, 336.

³ *Ib.*, 334.

⁴ St. Paul’s Box 77, No. 2069.

⁵ Cur. Reg. 70 B. m. 7 d, tem. Hen. III. Dup. ib. 71 m. 9 d, Mich., 3 & 4 Hen. III (A.D. 1219). App. I, p. 496.

and Robert de Amnervill (or Aranovill) were against the priors of St. Bartholomew's and of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and the dean of St. Paul's. The meaning of the entry, apart from its legal technicalities, is that a writ of summons issued to the priors and the dean on complaint by John and Robert that they had purported to deal in an ecclesiastical court with a matter properly triable in the king's court, that they did not appear: whereupon a writ of attachment issued, but they still evaded jurisdiction (*unde vicecomes mandavit quod non fuerunt inventi*). It is one of the numberless cases of conflict between civil and ecclesiastical courts as to which should have jurisdiction. Each was jealous of the other, and civil courts were always ready to issue process at the instance of disappointed suitors in ecclesiastical courts, who used this method of getting a new trial; particularly was this the case where either party to the suit was an ecclesiastical person or corporation.

In the year 1224 there is a further case recorded in these rolls in which William de 'Rennes' claims against the prior the advowson of the church of Bradfield in Essex, and the jury decided in his favour and against the prior;¹ eventually, in the year 1262, the prior recovered the advowson, but by fine² and free gift.

In the same year (1224), a deed of gift by the Abbot of Coggeshall to the hospital is witnessed by *Domino . . . Priore Canonorum Sancti Bartholomei*, but the name is left blank,³ which may possibly indicate a vacancy at the time.

During the period we are now considering, the relations between the hospital and the church were again becoming strained under Hugh the master (about 1214–1223). The ordinance of Richard de Ely in 1197 had not removed the causes of disagreement, as we have already seen.⁴ In the year 1217, the hospital had obtained from Pope Honorius III a confirmation⁵ of the letters granted by Pope Lucius III in the year 1183. In the year 1220, Pope Honorius delegated Benedict de Sansetun, Bishop of Rochester, with the Archdeacon of Colchester as an assessor,⁶ to inquire into the controversy. This resulted in an agreement being arrived at, which formed the basis of the ordinance promulgated by Eustace de Fauconberge, Bishop of London, in the year 1224.⁷

In the previous year (1223), the dispute seems to have caused the

¹ Cur. Reg. 87, m. 13 d, Mich., 8 & 9 Hen. III. For transcript see App. I, p. 496. Ib. (duplicate entry), 85, m. 19 d, 8 Hen. III, Mich. (1224). See also p. 102, where a Wm. de Ramis is named as the donor.

² See below, p. 132.

³ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 386.

⁴ See p. 82.

⁵ Hosp. Cart., f. 50, d. 12, Kal. July 1st of his pontificate, 20 June, 1217.

⁶ Hosp. Cart., f. 53 d.

⁷ Referred to above, p. 82.

temporary withdrawal or suspension of William the proctor, for the young king issued letters patent¹ from Keninton in that year entrusting the wardenship of the hospital to one Maurice, Chaplain 'of the house of the Temple' until the king and his justiciar (at that time Hubert de Burgh) should come to London and 'more fully arrange concerning the governance of the hospital'. The king also issued letters close,² to 'the master or reader' of the Temple, to so entrust Maurice the Chaplain; and also to the prior of St. Bartholomew's, and to Richard Ringer (probably the escheator), not to set their hands on the hospital until the king should have so come and arranged. William was master when the ordinance was sealed in 1224, for it is expressly stated 'William the proctor being then master of the hospital' (but who was then prior of the church unfortunately is not stated). William remained master until the year 1246.

The only record of this ordinance of Bishop Eustace is Cok's transcript in the hospital cartulary, so that neither the copy belonging to the priory, nor that of the hospital, nor even the one belonging to St. Paul's, has survived.

Of the coming of the Friars (the Dominicans in 1220 and the Franciscans in 1224) there is no mention in any of the records of St. Bartholomew's, though the latter were neighbours.

The prior of this hiatus would have had the induction of William the Master of the Hospital in 1224.

PRIOR JOHN (BLUND)

Here 1226-1232.

The first record we have of Prior John by name occurs in the year 1226 in a Feet of Fines³ when 'John Prior of St. Bartholomew's London' appears as plaintiff in a friendly action concerning a carucate of land belonging to Henry de Merc. We have no record as to when John was elected prior; he may, as has been said above, have been the immediate successor of Prior G., of Osney. He appears as John 'Blund' in 1227, as witness to a deed still in the hospital, but nowhere else.⁴ After that we have not found his name in any other record

¹ Cal. Pat. (*in extenso*), 7 Hen. III, m. 4, Keninton, 17 Apr. 1223.

² Cal. Close (*in extenso*), 17 Apr. 1223.

³ Feet of Fines, 9 Hen. III, No. 143. Agreement dated 5 weeks from Easter' 10 Hen. III (May 24-31).

⁴ See N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 394.

until the year 1232, when it is stated in the Annals of Dunstable,¹ 'in the same year, John the prior of St. Bartholomew's having been changed, Gerard a canon of the same place is substituted in the priorate'.

In the year 1227, the year when Henry III declared himself of age, the prior obtained a royal charter² from him. It is identical with the charter granted by King John in the year 1203, with only a slight variation in the last few lines. It was witnessed by :

J(ocelin) the Bishop of Bath ;
 R(ichard) the Bishop of Sarum (surnamed 'The Poor') ;
 P(eter) de Rupibus the Bishop of Winchester (this was Sir Pierre des Roches, Knight) ;
 H(ubert) de Burg (the justiciar, who with Stephen Langton governed for the young king until 1232) ;
 Hugh de Nevill (baron, one of King John's advisers) ;
 Martin de Paleshill ;
 Ralph and Nicholas and Richard de Argenton 'our Stewards' ;
 Ralph de Trubleville (or Turberville) ;
 Henry de Capel ; and others.

Given by the hand of Ralph (de Neville) Bishop of Chichester the Chancellor (an office he held from 1227 to the year of his death, 1240).

In the year 1229 the king granted another short charter³ by which he confirmed to the church of St. Bartholomew the church of Gorleston ; and the churches of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, of Lodwenstofts (Lowestoft) and of Beleton (Belton, Suffolk), 'which' (he says) 'are of our own gift', to hold in perpetual frankalmoign for their maintenance 'as the charter of King Henry, grandsire of King Henry our grandsire, and the charters of the said King Henry our grandsire and of King Richard our uncle'. The witnesses were :

H(ubert) de Burg (Earl of Kent, *ob.* 1243) ;
 R. de Gray ;
 H. de Sedgrave ;
 John son of Philip.

Why these Suffolk churches should be singled out for confirmation does not appear, unless it be that they were all omitted from the charter of Henry II, about the year 1190.

In the year 1226 the king granted a licence to Katharine, the wife of William Hardell, to found an anchorite's cell adjoining the hospital⁴ where she was herself an anchoress. There is no record that there

¹ Ann. Dunstap., No. 36, R. Ser., iii, 130.

² App. I, p. 484, No. 14.

³ *Ib.*, No. 15.

⁴ Leland's Coll., T. Hearne, 112.

was an anchorite at the church, though Newton states that it was so.¹ Bequests to anchorites in London were numerous in the fourteenth century: we have counted fourteen such bequests in the Husting Wills in the years 1341 to 1372. Reference is made to an anchorite at St. Peter's Cornhill, in the years 1345 and 1350, to an anchoress at St. Bennet Fincke, in the years 1345 and 1368; and at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the latter year, and to the hermits there in 1350.²

In 1368 there were also bequests to anchoresses at St. Mary de Manny and at 'Holbourne'. In other years there are bequests to many anchorites without mentioning where they abode. In 1353, Edward III gave to Alice de Latimer, a recluse anchoress, 20s. in aid of her support.³ In 1370 he gave money to three hermits and eight anchorites within the City of London.⁴

The practice continued to the time of the suppression, for in the year 1521, an anchoress, professed in a new house of the Blackfriars adjoining the church, having alleged that the prior would not suffer her to be professed unless she gave sureties to his house of meat, drink, and clothing, the prior was sent for by the court of aldermen and the sureties were given accordingly.⁵ And in the year 1532 there is an entry in the Repertories that the next voidance of the anchorite in the wall at St. Paul's should be granted to Champneys alderman that he might name a person for the same⁶; by which it would seem that the anchorites in the city were regulated by the corporation.

An anchorite was not infrequently a chantry priest who never went beyond the threshold of the church. He would often live in some little cell communicating with or near to the chantry chapel itself. People would ask spiritual advice of him, which was given through a little window or grated opening looking out on to the churchyard.⁷ Although there is no mention of an anchorite at St. Bartholomew's, it does not at all follow that there was not one there; and the foundations of a small chamber recently discovered outside the north-east corner of the church, which communicated by an arched doorway with the east ambulatory, may well have been an anchorite cell.

In the year 1231 there is a record of a general chapter of the Augustinian order being held at St. Bartholomew's, when canons were published (as mentioned in the chapter on the order),⁸ but Prior John is not referred to by name.

¹ Newton, *London*.

² Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 483, 638; ii, 107.

³ Issue R., 27 Edw. III, p. 35.

⁴ *Ib.*, 44 Edw. III, p. 395.

⁵ Repertories Guildhall, 26 Sept., 13 Hen. VIII.

⁶ *Ib.*, 24 Feb., 23 Hen. VIII.

⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 483 *n.*

⁸ Above, p. 23.

PRIOR GERARD

1232---here 1241.

Gerard, as mentioned above, was 'substituted' for Prior John in the year 1232. Beyond this record his name appears once as a witness and several times as plaintiff or deforciant in the Feet of Fines, but in no matter of great interest. It was probably he who carried forward the work of building the nave of the church, as will be seen presently, but there is no direct record.

In the year 1232 'Gerard the Prior of St. Bartholomew's' appears as witness to a grant of land to Richard, the prior of Holy Trinity, London (1223-1248).¹ Among the other witnesses were Robert, the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England; Warin, the prior of The New Hospital without Bishopsgate; Alexander, Canon of Bridlington; Andrew Bukerel, Mayor of London (1231-1237); Gerard Bat and Henry de Edmonton, Sheriffs (in 1232), and others.

In the year 1234 'Gerard prior of St. Bartholomew' was deforciant in a case recorded in the Feet of Fines when Geoffrey de Heyno, the plaintiff, agreed to remise to the prior the advowson of the (second) moiety of the church of Danbury in Essex; for which grant Geoffrey was received into all the benefits and prayers of the church.²

In 1236 he appears in two fines as plaintiff. In the first he agrees with Richard de Idebir, and in the second with Ingenulf de Suleby and Benselina his wife to exchange half a virgate of land in Mentmore, Bucks, for three $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre and two 1-acre plots elsewhere.³

In the year 1238 he again appears as plaintiff in a fine, which resulted in his agreeing to exchange with William de Raimes a messuage and a carucate of land in Bradfield, Essex, for the reversion of all the land which William's mother, Egidia, held in dower in Little Stanmore; for which the prior paid William £42 sterling.⁴

In 1239 he agreed by fine to exchange with Henry de Merc the advowson of the church of Little Bardfield, Essex (save an ancient pension of the church) for 7s. rent in Finchingfield.⁵

In all the above entries 'Gerard prior of St. Bartholomew's' is mentioned; but in the year 1241 the collusive action is between 'the prior of St. Bartholomew London and Brother William his

¹ Catl. Anc. Deeds, II, A, 2073.

² Feet of Fines, Essex, 18 Hen. III, n. 341. The first moiety was granted about fifty years before; see above, p. 102.

³ Ib., Bucks, 20 Hen. III, n. 9.

⁴ Ib., Middlesex, 22 Hen. III, n. 164.

⁵ Ib., Essex, 23 Hen. III, n. 605.

canon put in his place', and William Hannselin and Egidia his wife, the name of the prior not being given. It is probable that the prior here and in the next entry was Gerard, who, no longer able to appear in person from sickness or old age, was represented by William his canon. The cause of this fine was a complaint that the Egidia mentioned above, and her new husband, William, were making waste and sale of the dower lands, of which the prior obtained the reversion in 1238. It was therefore now agreed that the prior should, in order to stop further waste, have all the lands, and William and Egidia all the tenements for Egidia's life; the prior forgoing any claim for past damages and paying 40s. to William and Egidia.¹

In the same year (1241) the prior, by William his canon, once more came to an agreement by fine. His cattle had been distrained by Randulphus le Poer for homage and suit of court and reapings of a hide of land at Mentmore, his liability to which the prior did not acknowledge. But it was finally agreed that Ralph should grant the hide of land in Mentmore to the prior for 12*d.*, doing a proportion only of the service of the king; the prior forgoing claim for damage caused by distraining his beasts.²

In the year 1239, Henry III made several grants to the monastery, as will be seen by the following extracts from the Calendar of the Liberate Rolls.³

'April 15, 1239. Liberate to the canons of St. Bartholomew's, London, £20 for the works of their church, of the king's gift; and to Richard de Haddestock £8 for 4 lasts (*lestis*) of herrings bought from him and given to the said canons in Lent.'⁴

'June 26, 1239. Liberate to the underwritten in recompense for the damages that they had sustained by the wall and ditch of the Tower of London, appraised by the oath of upright and lawful men. . . . The prior of Holy Trinity London 20s. . . . the said prior 7*s.* 8*d.* . . . the prior of St. Bartholomew's London 10*s.*, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's 5*s.*'⁵ &c.

'Sep. 24, 1239. Liberate to the sacristan of St. Bartholomew's, London, £20 for the works of the church, of the king's gift.'⁶

'Oct. 29, 1239. Liberate to the sacristan of St. Bartholomew's, London, 2 marks to redeem (*acquietandum*) a chasuble (*casulam*) previously pawned.'⁷

Two gifts in one year of £20 each for the works of the church

¹ Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 25 Hen. III, n. 191.

² *Ib.*, Bucks, 25 Hen. III, n. 21.

³ The Liberate Rolls are copies of warrants by the king to his treasurer, to liberate or deliver payments out of the king's Treasury whether for domestic or imperial purposes.

⁴ Cal. Liberate R., i, 377.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 396.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 416.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 426.

represent a large sum at the present value of money. It points to a great work being in progress which, with but little doubt, must have been the building of the nave. Whether the work commenced in Prior John's time (1226-1232), or when Gerard became prior, there is no record; but the fact that a chasuble had been pawned points to an urgent need of money at this time.

The gift of 4 lasts of herrings in Lent is remarkable, especially as the monastery had fishing rights of their own in Little Yarmouth. A last contains 1,300 herrings, but it does not follow that the 4 lasts (5,200 fish) were all consumed during Lent; for any surplus, after providing for the canons, their servants and their guests, was probably sold.

The damage sustained 'by the wall and ditch of the Tower' was probably due to some tenement being encroached upon by enlarging the Tower moat. The damage was paid for by the king and not by the corporation, because the Tower always was, and still is, the property of the Crown.

These are all the records of Prior Gerard, though if he were the prior in 1241, it would have been he who consented to the election of Bartholomew the Chaplain to the mastership of the hospital in that year.

PRIOR PETER LE DUC

Here 1242-1255.

There is no entry in the Patent Rolls of the election of Prior Peter, but there is a record concerning him in a MS. at St. Paul's, which dates from some time between October 1241 and October 1242; for the deed is witnessed by Ralph Aswy (or Eswy), the mayor, and Thomas de Dureme, and John (Fitz-John) Vyel (or Voyle), the sheriffs, in their year of office.¹

It is a grant 'by brother Peter le Duc, called prior of the church of St. Bartholomew', to Sir Peter de Newport, Archdeacon of London, for ten marks, of the service and yearly rent which he and his successors were bound to pay for land and houses in the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate.²

There is, also at St. Paul's,³ a bond which probably dates from the same time. The bond is given by 'Peter prior of the canons

¹ Riley, *Chron.*, p. 9.

² MSS. St. Paul's Lib. A, Box 15, No. 1358, with seals attached (Nos. 3488, 3489, p. 319 below); Ann. Dunstap., iii, 136, R. Ser.

³ *Ib.*, A, Box 40, No. 1452, with similar seals. See below, seals, p. 318.

of St. Bartholomew, London', to grant seisin¹ to 'Alexander de Swereford, treasurer of St. Paul's', for his life, of the land of Tewin with the advowson of the church which he had given them for the maintenance of four canons to celebrate divine service for his soul in the church.

The witnesses do not help in dating the deed ; they were :

William, chaplain ;

Ralph, chaplain ;

Richard, clerk ;

William de Alneto (the Hermit who held the prebend of Portpoole, 1226-1267)² ;

William de Pres ;

Walter de Felebrug ; and others.

Alexander was thus treasurer of St. Paul's when the bond was given, and he was still treasurer on the 10th November, 1241, for on that day 'Alexander the treasurer' witnessed a grant by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to Herbert de Winton. He did not die until 1246, but it is known that he retired some years before then, though the date of his retirement is not recorded. It may, however, be assumed that this bond was given at the time of his retirement to secure him the income of the Tewin lands for his life. As no record has been found describing him as treasurer after 1241, and as Le Neve says that his successor was treasurer 'about 1240'³ (obviously too early), it is probable that the date of the bond was at the end of 1241 or the beginning of 1242.

At his death, in 1246,⁴ his grant of lands and of the advowson of the church of Tewin was confirmed to Peter the Prior by Godfrey de Tewing, on payment of 5 marks down and 1 penny a year.⁵

This Alexander de Swereford was a great benefactor of St. Bartholomew's and was a man of some importance. In 1227 he was, when Archdeacon of Salop, a chaplain to the king and also held the prebend of *Consumpta per mare* of St. Paul's. In 1233 he was appointed treasurer of St. Paul's. In 1234 he was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer and became a famous collector of historical precedents.⁶ In 1235 Henry III granted him for life the free use of one of the turrets of the city wall on the north opposite his garden near the Ludgate, so that he might build in it what he pleased ; but in time of war he was to surrender it for the munitions of war like other turrets in the city.⁷

¹ i. e., possession.

³ Le Neve, ii, 352.

⁵ Feet of Fines, Herts, 31 Hen. III, n. 329.

⁷ Cal. Pat., p. 106.

² Le Neve, ii, 426.

⁴ Ann. Dunstap., iii, 171, R. Ser.

⁶ D.N.B.

In 1241 he appears in connexion with the hospital as one of the witnesses to the deed determining the controversy between Roger de Horset and the master and brethren there, concerning lands in the prebend of Portpool.¹

In 1245 he was ordered by the king to present to the prior and convent a chalice of the value of 4 marks² (*unam cuppam ad eukaristiam*). He built the altar of St. Chad at St. Paul's and founded a chantry there for one priest to celebrate daily for his soul; he was buried before the altar.

But to return to the history of Prior Peter's time. In 1246 the prior and convent (as will be seen when dealing with the Fair³) got into trouble with the corporation for setting up a scale or 'tron' of their own. The mayor, the principal men of the city, and a multitude of the citizens went to the priory to protest, with the result that the prior and convent made amends for their presumption.⁴

In 1250 the monastery received a valuable gift enumerated in the following acknowledgement⁵ (translated from the Latin):

'To all the faithful in Christ the prior of St. Bartholomew and the convent of the same place send Greeting in the Lord. Know ye that we have received by the gift of Master Richard de Wendover⁶ imbued with pious charity, a psalter glossed in two volumes, and the epistle of the blessed Paul and an altar slab (*mensam*) and an altar cloth (*mensale*) for the honour of God and of all the saints and the advancement of our house. And we, imbued and full of pious charity, have received him to be a brother with the consent and goodwill of the whole convent. And we grant and give to him participation in all the benefits of our house given and to be given hereafter, so that his name, with the brethren of Christ, may be inscribed in our roll. Given in the year of grace 1250 on the day of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist. In witness whereof we have set our seal to this writing.'

The only other record of this prior is a copy of a grant made in the year 1251 by 'Idonea' daughter of Andrew Blund to 'Peter Prior of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield' and the canons, of rents issuing from

¹ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 103.

² Close *in extenso*, p. 320.

³ Below, p. 304.

⁴ John of Codres, who had been sheriff in 1238, was soknereve to the prior and convent at the time. N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 430, quoting *Chronica Maiora*, p. 12.

⁵ MSS. St. Paul's Lib. A, Box 70, No. 1759 (a small parchment in bad condition; a fragment only of the seal remains, similar to the seal on grant p. 118, excepting that the upper part of the church and of the figure of St. Bartholomew remain).

⁶ He held the prebend of Neasden in St. Paul's (d. 1252).

tenements in the parish of St. Augustine the Little (Watling Street) and in 'Shoperers Lane' (Sopers Lane).¹

But the one event that overshadowed all others during the priorate of Peter le Duc was the forcible visitation of the house by Archbishop Boniface in the face of the protests of the sub-prior and convent. The account given by Matthew Paris is a contemporary record, for the affray took place in the year 1250 and Matthew Paris died about 1259. It was a deplorable event which gave him full scope to denounce the promotion of foreign ecclesiastics in England.

Boniface was the son of the Count of Savoy and uncle of Eleanor, the Queen Consort. He was forced on the monks of Canterbury against their will, and so strong was the opposition of Simon Langton, the Archdeacon of Canterbury (brother of Stephen the archbishop) that, although Boniface was accepted by the king as archbishop in the year 1240, he was not consecrated until four years later, and was not enthroned until 1249. He was not even in holy orders when appointed archbishop, for he was only then admitted to his diaconate and priesthood (at one and the same time) by the authority of the Pope (Innocent IV).² He was practically an Italian, and proud, tyrannical, and ambitious. Finding the diocese poor, he obtained a grant from the pope of first fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he obtained large sums of money : those bishops who refused to pay were suspended.

In the year 1250³ he claimed the right of visitation, beyond his own diocese, over the whole province. This was strongly opposed in London, as will be seen by the following account translated from Matthew Paris's own words :⁴

'Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, stimulated by the example of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had obtained the power of visiting his canons, attempted to make a visitation of the bishops, abbots, clergy and people in his province. He, therefore, in the first place, made a visitation in the chapter of his monks at Canterbury with great strictness and without mercy, so that the monks said amongst themselves "We suffer this from our own deserts, because we sinned against his predecessor St. Edmund, whom we considered austere and froward ; we endure what we have justly deserved for electing a foreigner, an illiterate, unknown and inexperienced man, and one adapted to and versed in warlike rather than spiritual matters. Oh ! what excellent men were his predecessors, martyrs, authorized teachers, and holy confessors of God. Alas ! why did

¹ MSS. St. Paul's Lib. A, Box 2, No. 585.

² Milman, *Ann. St. Paul's*, 57, n. 7 (quotes papal letters).

³ Riley, *Chronicles*, p. 18.

⁴ Matthew Paris, translation by Rev. J. A. Giles, 1893, vol. ii, pp. 344-349.

we in this election obey our earthly, rather than our heavenly king? ”

‘From thence the archbishop went to the abbey of Faversham, the pusillanimous monks of which place, through fear of his tyranny, did not dare to oppose his visitation. Thence he went in great anger to the priory of Rochester, and extorted more than thirty marks from that poor house. Hence it appears that he exercised this office of visitation more from a greedy desire for money than for the reformation of the order or its customs, for he was ignorant of the rules and customs of the order, and also devoid of learning.

‘On the 12th May (1250), which was the day of St. Pancratius and his fellow-saints, the said archbishop came to London, to visit the bishop and his chapter and the religious men of that city. Without leave from any person he took up his abode in the noble house of the Bishop of Chichester, near the houses of the Converts, and did not go to his own house at Lambeth; he also ordered his marshals to procure him provisions by force at the king’s market, which they did, at the same time heaping threats, reproaches, and insults on the traders; he did not, however, invite any guests.

‘On the following day he visited Bishop Fulk, the shameless extortions practised on whom by the said archbishop in his demands of food, drink, and harness, that is to say harnessed horses, would, if any one could relate them, offend the ears and minds and wound the hearts of all that heard them. When about to visit the Chapter of St. Paul’s, at London, the canons opposed him, and appealed to the supreme pontiff; wherefore he excommunicated the dean and some others.¹

‘On the following² day, still swelling with anger and clad in armour under his robes, as those who saw him asserted, the archbishop went to the priory of St. Bartholomew to visit the canons there. But on his arrival, as he was entering the church, he was met by the sub-prior (the prior not being then in the house) attended by the brethren of the convent in solemn procession, bearing numbers of lighted tapers, and amidst the ringing of bells; the brethren themselves dressed in their rich choral copes, the most handsome one of which was worn by the sub-prior. The archbishop did not pay much attention to this honour being paid to him, but said that he came thither to visit the canons. All of the latter were now assembled in the middle of the church, that is, in the quire, as well as the archbishop with the greater portion of his retinue, who were squeezed together in a disorderly way. One of the canons then, on behalf of all, replied that they had an experienced and careful bishop, who held the office of visiting them when it was necessary, and they would not, and ought not, to be visited by any other, lest he should appear to be held in contempt. On hearing this the archbishop burst into an unbecoming fit of anger, and, rushing on the sub-prior, forgetful of his station and the holiness of his predecessors, impiously inflicted blows with

See below, p. 125.

² 13 May 1250.

his fist on this holy priest and religious man, whilst standing in the middle of the church, and cruelly repeated his blows many times on his aged breast, his venerable face and his hoary head, exclaiming with a loud voice, "Thus it becomes me to deal with you English traitors"; and then, raving more horribly, with unmentionable oaths, he demanded a sword to be brought him immediately. As the tumult increased, and the canons were endeavouring to rescue their sub-prior from the hands of his violent aggressor, the archbishop tore the valuable cope which the sub-prior wore, and broke away the fastening, commonly called a clasp, which was rich with gold, silver, and jewels, and it was trodden under foot in the crowd and lost; the noble cope itself was also trampled on, torn and irreparably injured. Nor was the fury of the archbishop yet appeased; for, like a madman rushing on this holy man, with great violence and forcing him backwards he pushed his aged body with such force against a *spondam*, which divided two of the stalls, and was made for a *podium*,¹ that he crushed his bones to the very marrow, and injured his lungs and the parts about his heart. The rest of the assembled persons, when they saw the immoderate violence of the archbishop, rescued the sub-prior, with much difficulty, from the jaws of death, and thrust back his aggressor, and as he fell back his robes were thrown aside and his armour was plainly visible to the multitude, who were horror-struck at seeing an archbishop in armour, and many declared that he had come thither, not to visit or correct errors, but to excite a battle. His impetuous followers, fellow-countrymen of his, in the meantime had cruelly attacked the rest of the unarmed and unprepared canons, and, by the orders and following the example of the archbishop, cruelly treated them, striking and wounding them, and throwing them down and trampling on them. With bruised and bloody feet, and disordered, maimed, and otherwise badly injured, the canons then went to the bishop of the city and, amidst tears, made a heavy complaint to him of this detestable proceeding, in reply to which the bishop said "The king is at Westminster; go to him and see if this public and violent disturbance of his peace in his chief city will arouse his anger".

'Four of the canons, therefore (the rest being unable to go from the pain of their wounds), went to the king at Westminster, and showed him their torn garments, and the traces of the blows, which were visible from the blood, and the lividness and swelling of their flesh, in the presence of many people, who compassionated their sufferings and detested such an enormous deed. The said sub-prior was unable to go to the court either on foot or on horseback but was carried, groaning, to the infirmary and, taking to his bed, passed the rest of his life in a state of feebleness. The king, however, refused to see the aforesaid canons, although they waited for a long

¹ It is not quite clear what Matthew Paris intended by the words *spondam* and *podium*, but probably he meant to say 'against a shaft (or respond) which divided two of the stalls made for a support (or pedestal)'.

time at the door of his chamber, nor would he listen to their complaints; and they therefore returned in greater trouble of mind to their church, which the archbishop had polluted and profaned with the blood of the priests and religious men. The city in the meantime was greatly excited and, as if a sedition had arisen, the citizens proposed to ring the common bell, and to cut the archbishop to pieces, whatever afterwards might happen. Insults and reproaches resounded, and the people, who were rushing in crowds in search of him, cried after him, as he was hastening to his house at Lambeth, "Where is this robber? this impious and bloody aggressor of our priests, not a gainer of souls, but an extorter of money, whom not God nor a free election promoted to his dignity but who was illegally thrust into it, illiterate and married as he is, by the king, and whose foul infamy has already infected the whole city".

Soon afterwards he embarked secretly on the Thames, and going to the king, laid a heavy complaint on the matter before the king, justifying himself and accusing the others, and then hurried to the queen and made a more serious complaint to her. The king, then being in great fear of a sedition arising in the city, ordered proclamation to be made by herald, forbidding any one, on his life and limbs, to interfere in the controversy. Thus, rejected by the canons of St. Bartholomew's as well as by those of the Holy Trinity, who boldly appealed against his proceedings, the archbishop, taking courage from the king's favour, proceeded to Lambeth, and in the chapel there solemnly renewed the sentence of excommunication he had pronounced against the canons of St. Paul's, involving also in it the Bishop of London, as being an abettor of the said canons. They therefore, as they suffered harm and injury on all sides, with pitiable complaints entrusted their cause to St. Bartholomew, whom they served continually day and night and prayed that God, the Lord of vengeance, as man either could not or would not, would deign to punish such great offences.

The archbishop, still full of the gall of anger, proceeded on the following day to a manor of his called Harrow, about seven miles from the convent of St. Albans, in order to hold a visitation there, and at that place he renewed the aforesaid sentence. And although he had been told by his friends and clerks, learned and eloquent men, of the noble privileges granted to that church by the Apostolic See, he concealed his knowledge of them and superseded them. He then returned and made preparations to cross the sea, that he might lay snares for the innocent at the Roman court, where he had great influence and where he made a practice of taking up his abode more than presiding over his flock, as a good shepherd ought to do. The dean of St. Paul's at London, however, a good and old man, and one of experience, Master Robert Barton, and Master W. of Lichfield, eloquent and learned men, and canons of the said church, in company with the proctors of their bishop and of the aforesaid canons, also went to the Roman court to make a heavy complaint to the supreme pontiff of all the above-mentioned proceedings,

being properly instructed in the matter and strengthened by the testimony of many, to prove the truth of their complaint.

'The Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ thinking that the sulphureous stench of infamy and scandal, which arose from the enormous excesses he had committed in the churches of the canons of St. Bartholomew's, had infected the whole extent of the kingdom, secretly sent messengers to these canons, and by soft speeches and promises, mingled with threats, suppressed the clamour of their complaints. They therefore held their peace, both because they were so poor, and because the archbishop had influence enough to justify himself, although plainly culpable; and keeping their minds patient and calm, intrusted their cause to God and St. Bartholomew.'

The names of those excommunicated, given in a MS.² in the British Museum, are :

Henry de Cornhill, the Dean of St. Paul's ;
 Peter de Newport, the archdeacon ;
 Robert de Barthone, the precentor ;
 Master William de Lichfield ;³
 William la Faite ;⁴ and
 Robert ' the said monk canon of London '.

The bishop is not mentioned, neither are the sacristan, the cellarer, nor the precentor of St. Bartholomew's, though it is elsewhere recorded that the latter were excommunicated, and Matthew Paris mentions the excommunication of the bishop. If this Robert was the sub-prior who was so grievously assaulted, and if he is the same ' brother Robert de Novo Loco canon of the house ' by whom the king in the year 1255 sent licence to elect on the cession of Prior Peter ; and if ' Robert the sub-prior ' who was elected was also the same man (as seems probable), then he could not have been so badly injured as Matthew Paris tells us, for he filled the position of prior from 1255 to 1261.

The dean of St. Paul's and the priors of St. Bartholomew's and of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, appealed to the Roman court then at Lyons, whither Boniface, and also the Bishop of London, the dean, and five members of the chapter⁵ proceeded in person.

The result was that on October 28th the pope, in a letter addressed to the prior, the sub-prior, the sacristan, the cellarer and precentor

¹ *Ib.*, p. 402.

² Add. MSS. No. 15356, Mon. Brit. ex autograph. Rom. Pont. Innocent IV, Ann. VIII. Epist. 116, vol. vi, p. 347.

³ He held the prebend of St. Pancras 1250-1258. *Le Neve*, ii, 423.

⁴ He held the prebend of *Consumpta per mare* in 1252 and 1262. *Le Neve*, ii, 379.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* i, 141. *Ann. Theokesberia*, R. Ser. This chronicler states that the conflict was at Holy Trinity and that a canon of St. Bartholomew's perished through the archbishop's act.

of St. Bartholomew's, annulled the sentence of excommunication issued against them by the archbishop, so far as it was issued against them for the fault of the convent ; but added that he would hear the archbishop as to his statement that it had been issued against them for their fault.¹ A mandate was issued at the same time to the Abbots of St. Albans and Waltham, and to the Archdeacon of St. Albans, to put a stop to the publication of the sentence.² But full absolution was not granted until two years later (1252), when the pope wrote a letter of which the following is a translation :³

' Innocent bishop &c. unto his venerable brother the Archbishop of Canterbury greeting and apostolic blessing. As the dean and chapter of St. Paul, and the priors of the churches of the Holy Trinity and of St. Bartholomew and their convents at London have taken care to notify unto us that because when thou wast proposing to hold a visitation and procuration in such churches the aforesaid dean and others withstood thee, herein refusing to admit thee to the aforesaid churches, thou, after their appeal was lodged before us, hast proceeded against certain of those persons to sentence of excommunication and hast denounced them as excommunicate and hast also caused them to be so denounced, at the motion of thine own will ; and after a case hereupon had been brought by way of appeal to the Apostolic seat, and had been decided there by definite sentence, supplication was humbly made unto us on the part of the aforesaid dean, priors and others that in our fatherly love we should take care to protect them in the matter of the excommunication and denouncing aforesaid ; wherefore O brother, we command thee by this apostolic writing that within eight days after the receipt of these presents without any hesitation as to taking security thou shalt take care to release the excommunication and utterly to refrain from such denunciation, by this same writing giving thee hereon strict injunction, or where fitting making request. Furthermore, by our letters we enjoin upon our beloved son the abbot of Waltham, in the diocese of London, that he shall further be diligent to release the same sentence by pronouncing absolved those of the aforesaid against whom such a sentence was passed in places where it shall appear to him to be expedient, and further if they have committed any irregularity by joining in divine service or assuming orders before the benefit of absolution was granted, either by means of thee or of the said abbot, let them obtain the benefit of absolution by dispensation and by restraining cavillers by ecclesiastical censure putting aside appeal, notwithstanding that any may have indulgence from the Apostolic seat so that they cannot be interdicted, suspended or excommunicated by letters from the same seat, except in such letters full and express mention is made of that same indulgence, or of the meaning thereof word for

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. i, 264.

² Ib.

³ *Ann. Mon.* i, 304. *Ann. de Burton*, R. Ser.

word, or by any other apostolic indulgence by the omission whereof from these presents the effect of this command might be hindered or delayed.

'Given at Perusium on the nones of June in the ninth year of our pontificate.'¹

Five months before this the pope had addressed his decision to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the question of his claim of visitation, in which he condemns the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and the priors and convents of St. Bartholomew and Holy Trinity, to admit the archbishop to visit their churches as metropolitan and to pay procurations.² The pope also issued a mandate to the above three bodies to admit the metropolitan: also to the Abbot of 'Boxele' to see that the archbishop was not molested in regard to the same.³

The statement that Boniface built the chapel at Lambeth Palace by the injunction of Pope Urban IV (1261-1264) in atonement for his tyrannical and sacrilegious treatment of the canons of St. Bartholomew's,⁴ we have been unable to verify; there is no mention of it in the calendar of the papal registers, and it is difficult to believe without documentary evidence. That the right of visitation was subsequently exercised by the metropolitan is shown by the injunctions issued by Archbishop Winchelsea in the year 1303.⁵

In the year 1253 Prior Peter obtained from the king a charter⁶ confirming the possessions of the monastery, which are all enumerated therein. Five of the possessions are additional to those enumerated in Henry II's charter of *cir.* 1187 and in Richard's of the year 1190. These charters have been already quoted, so that it will be only necessary here to give those possessions that have not already been mentioned:

Of the fee and of the gift of William de Ramis all the lands and rents which they hold in Little Stanmore and Bradfield (*Bradefeud*).

Of the gift and of the fee of Adam son and heir of Ellis de Somery and of Saier (*Saerii*) son of Henry, all the lands and rents which they hold in the vill of Shenley (*Shenle*).

Of the gift of Alexander de Swereford, sometime treasurer of St. Paul's London, of the fee of Godfrey de Twying son of Richard de Twying, and of John son of John son of *Vitalis* all the lands and rents which they hold in the vill of Tewin (*Twying*) with the advowson of the church of the same vill.

¹ 5th June, 1252.

² Cal. Pap. Reg. i, 276. 10 Kal. May-Apr. 22, 1252.

³ Ib. i, 276.

⁴ Cave Browne, *Lambeth Palace*, p. 245.

⁵ See below, p. 143.

⁶ App. I, p. 485, Charter No. 16.

Of the gift of the same Alexander Swereford all the lands and rents which they hold in the vill of Hertford, Amwell (*Amewell*) and Lockley (*Lockeleg*).

Of the fee of Henry de Merke and of William de Verdun all the lands and rents which they hold in the vill of Shortgrove (*Shortegrave*).

Some gifts mentioned in the previous charters are omitted here, such as possessions in Edgware and Elstree; the moiety of Aldermarichurch (probably exchanged); the church of Bardfield (exchanged as has already been seen);¹ the chapel of St. Bartholomew of Wenhas-ton (still in their possession, for it is mentioned in the rental of 1306); the chapel of Mannestree; tithe and movable property at Colchester (which with the following are all in the rental of 1306²), tithe in Charlton; half a hide at Peltend and ten shillings rent in Islington; possessions in Maldon and Langley; and two hides in Shortgrove. (No mention is made of the many rents in London.)

Beyond this confirmation of the possessions, there is nothing in the charter other than a further confirmation that the hospital shall be in the rule, ordinance and governance of the priors and canons, as declared in the charters of Henry I and John. The witnesses to this charter of Henry III were:

Aymer (de Valence), Bishop-elect of Winchester (son of Isabella the widow of King John by Hugh X, Count de la Marche, *d.* 1260);

Bertram of Crioll;

John de Grey (judge, *d.* 1266);

John de Lessyngton (for a short time Keeper of the Great Seal, *d.* 1257);

Peter Chaceport, Archdeacon of Wells (favourite of King Henry III, treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral, *d.* 1254);

Master William de Kilkenny, Archdeacon of Coventry (afterwards Bishop of Ely, *d.* 1256);

Henry de Wingham, Dean of St. Martin's (Chancellor of England and Bishop of London in 1259, *d.* 1262);

Bartholomew Peeche;

William de Grey;

William de St. Ermine; and others.

Dated at Westminster 15 June, 37 Henry III (1253).

The king granted another charter,³ of the same date, inspecting the charter of Henry II (*cir.* 1173)⁴ and confirming the same. The witnesses are the same as those above, with the exception of Archdeacon Chaceport, who is not included.

¹ Above, p. 116.

² App. I, p. 486, Charter No. 17.

App. I, p. 443.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 4.

Prior Peter relinquished the priorate in November 1255,¹ but whether from old age, or from what other reason, we have no record.

In the year 1246 he had presented Bartholomew as master of the hospital.

PRIOR ROBERT DE NOVO LOCO

1255-1261.

The enrolment in the Patent Rolls of the king's grant of licence to elect on the death of a prior, of his assent to the election, and of his notification of his assent to the Bishop of London for confirmation, appears to have commenced at this time. We have been unable to find any entry concerning the election of Prior Bacun in 1264, or of Prior Hugh about 1269, but with these exceptions the entries thenceforward appear, with fair regularity, on the occasion of the death of each prior.

The following is a translation of the entry concerning Prior Robert : ²

'The Priory of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield, London, is vacant by the cession of Peter, formerly prior of the said place. And the king has granted to the convent of the same place licence to choose another prior by brother Robert de Novo Loco canon of the said house for this purpose sent to the king on behalf of the whole convent.

'Witness the king at Westminster, 4 November' (1255).

In the same roll, in the same year, on the 23rd November, is likewise recorded the royal assent to the election of Robert the sub-prior to be prior; also the mandate issued to F(ulk) Basset, the Bishop of London, to do his part therein³, but no record of the bishop's action has been found in the episcopal registers.

The name '*de Novo Loco*' probably implies that the canon had come from Newark Abbey, in the parish of Send, near Guildford. This abbey was variously called Newark, Newsted, New Place, or *de Novo Loco*. There were other Newarks called '*de Novo Loco*', but Newark Abbey at Send was the only house of Augustinian canons so called.

But few records of Prior Robert have been found. We have already referred to the probability that he was the sub-prior Robert who was assaulted by Boniface five years before.

¹ Bishop Kennet's list in a copy of Dugdale, p. 1256, is in error. See Wilkinson, *Lond. Illust.*

² Pat., 40 Hen. III, m. 22 (1255).

³ Pat., 40 Hen. III, m. 20.

Among the MSS. at St. Paul's is a small parchment,¹ which is a release by Robert the prior and the convent to Sir Godfrey de Acra, canon of St. Paul's, of all their rights in a rent of 5s. a year issuing from a dwelling-house in the south end of 'Eldedenslane'² in the parish of St. Faith which they had of his gift for the purchase of wine for divine service in this church, for which concession Godfrey paid 60s.

In the year 1259 he appears in the Husting Rolls in the Guildhall, where Robert de Oxeneford and Agnes his wife grant to Robert the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's a quit claim of land and houses in Aldersgate Street.³

He also appears by name in the Close Rolls,⁴ in the year 1321, as having acquired in fee of Adam de Milkestrete a messuage in the parish of St. Benedict of Wodeswarfes, long before the publication of the statute of mortmain, which was in 1279.⁵

Prior Robert died in 1261, as is learnt from a record of 26 November of that year, wherein the Bishop of London prays the king to assent to the election of Gilbert de Weledon 'in room of Robert the late prior deceased'.⁶

PRIOR GILBERT DE WELEDON

1261-1263.

We do not know what date the king granted licence to elect Prior Robert's successor, but, according to the following entry in the Patent Rolls, the temporalities were restored on 24 November. If that date is correct, then the date above of November 26th must be wrong.

The king's letter⁷ may be thus translated :

'The King to Richard Oysel (or Dysel) Keeper of the priory of St. Bartholomew London, greeting.

'Whereas H(enry de Wingham 1259-1262) Bishop of London has confirmed the election lately made in the conventual church of St. Bartholomew London, of brother Gilbert de Weledon, canon of the said house, to be prior of the same place, to whom we previously gave Our royal assent as the said bishop by his Letters

¹ MSS. St. Paul's Lib. A, Box 9, 342. Two-thirds of twelfth-century seal, 3488, attached. The MS. is in perfect condition.

² Old Dean's Lane, now Warwick Lane.

³ Ct. Hust. R. No. 2, m. 30, 43 Hen. III (1258-9).

⁴ Cal. Close, p. 288, 14 Edw. II, m. 11. Also Cal. Inq. Miscell., ii, 420.

⁵ See below, p. 158.

⁶ Report V, App. II, Dep. Keeper Pub. Records, p. 69, No. 563.

⁷ Pat. 46 Hen. III, m. 19, 24 Nov. (1261). Bishop Kennet gives the date Nov. 23, 1262, in error.

Patent signified to us and We have restored to the said elect the said priory with the appurtenances now therefore we command you that you cause the said elect to have full seisin of the said priory without delay.

‘Witness the king at the Tower of London 24 November.’

Richard Oysel would have been the escheator, but a later prior successfully claimed freedom for the convent to retain their possessions during a vacancy, thus saving much inconvenience and expense.

Only four other records relating to this prior have been found :

One is in the year 1261, when ‘Gilbert the Prior’ and convent gave two annual quit rents of 7s. and 2s. from tenements in the parish of St. Andrew, Newgate (i.e. St. Andrew’s Wardrobe), to the Franciscan or Grey Friars,¹ whose house (founded in 1224) adjoined St. Bartholomew’s hospital on the south side. The hospital also granted them 2s. quit rent at the same time.

The second record is in the year 1263, when Prior Gilbert and the convent released to the same friars the quit rent of a tenement in St. Bride’s parish, which had been the gift of Ivo de Mortelake.²

The third record is in the year 1262, and occurs in the Feet of Fines, when ‘Gilbert the prior’ recovers from Hubert de Royby, on conveyance by fine as a free gift in frankalmoign, a tenement and common of pasture in the heath at Bradfield (Essex), also the advowson of the church there which, as we have seen,³ was the subject of a case in the Court of King’s Bench in the year 1224, when the jury’s verdict was against the prior. In return for this grant the prior admitted Hubert and his heirs into all benefactions and prayers of the church for ever.⁴

The fourth record is in the Twyne MSS. at Oxford, where the provincial prior of the Austin Friars of Little Yarmouth promises 13s. 4d. a year as compensation for loss of tithes to Gilbert the prior of St. Bartholomew’s, and to the vicars of the churches of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, and St. Andrew’s, Gorleston, of which the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew’s were the impropiators.⁵

Prior Gilbert must have died, or retired, at the close of the year 1263, as the signification to the Bishop of London of the royal assent to the election of his successor (John Bacun) was dated the 11th January, 1263/4.⁶

¹ Brewer, *Mon. Francis.* 499.

² Report 35, Dep. Keeper, p. 20, No. 203. Charters, Duchy of Lancaster, Anc. deeds, L. 139.

³ See p. 112.

⁴ Feet of Fines, Essex, 46 Hen. III, n. 776; also below, p. 335.

⁵ See below, p. 322.

⁶ Cal. Pat., 11th Jan., 48 Hen. III (1264).

PRIOR JOHN BACUN

1264—(probably) 1268.

Prior John Bacun had been a canon at St. Bartholomew's, as is seen by the following translation of the entry in the Patent Rolls:¹

'Whereas H(enry de Sandwich) Bishop of London has confirmed the election lately made in the conventual church of St. Bartholomew London of Brother John Bacun, canon of the said house, to be prior there, the king having first given his assent, the king has restored to the said elect, the said priory. And the knights, freemen, and other servants of the said priory are commanded to be attendant upon and answerable to the said prior as their lord in all things.

'Witness R. King of Germany, brother of the king.'²

There is no record as to the length of time that Bacun continued as prior, but the following entry occurs in the *Curia Regis* Roll of the year 1268, and it is just possible that the expression 'the same John' refers to the prior; should it do so, then Bacun remained prior till 1268:

'Adam de Stratton offered himself on the fourth day against the prior of St. Bartholomew London and Margaret . . . [summoned] on this day for enquiry by what service they hold their tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which service the same John in the King's Court here granted to the aforesaid Adam and his heirs,' &c.

All that is known for certain is that Bacun had ceased to be prior in 1269, as Prior Hugh occurs in that year in the *Curia Regis* Rolls,³ and we know, by the same entry, that Prior Hugh had as predecessor a Prior John, which it is not unreasonable to assume was John Bacun. There are very few records concerning him or the priory between the years 1264 and 1269.

In the year 1264, as mentioned in the chapter on the monastery,⁴ the prior was summoned with other dignitaries of the church by Simon de Montfort to his great Parliament.

In the year 1266 there is a case recorded on the *Curia Regis* Rolls⁵ where the prior claims against Germain 'le Gorgerer' and Denys his wife, 18½ perches of land in length and 5 feet in width in Clerkenwell Street, as being of his seisin, on which Germain and his wife had no

¹ Cal. Pat., 48 Hen. III, 20th Jan. (1264).

² Richard Earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans.

³ Cur. Reg. R. 193, m. 7 d, 53 & 54 Hen. III, Michaelmas.

⁴ See p. 4.

⁵ Cur. Reg. R. 176, m. 22 d, 50-51 Hen. III (Oct. 1266).

right to enter, except through Robert son of Richard le Fever, who, the prior alleges, thence unjustly in the first disseised Prior Peter (le Duc). This was denied, so a jury was summoned, but their verdict is not recorded.

In the following year (1267) the prior claimed in the same court¹ against Roger Baynard and Rose his wife that they should do him the accustomed services for their free tenement which they had of him in Maldon in Essex. As Roger and Rose did not appear, the sheriffs were ordered to distrain on their lands.

In the forty-ninth year of Henry III (1264-5) there is recorded a grant² by Peter called Clannag, baker, to Robert de Aldenham, buckler maker, of London, of a messuage within Aldersgate in the parish of St. Agnes, held of the fee of the canons of St. Bartholomew, paying the latter yearly 13s. 4d., the nuns of Ankerwik (near Staines) 8s., the nuns of Clerkenwell 7s., the monks of St. Albans 18d., and the monks of Bermondsey 12d. This deed is witnessed by Thomas FitzThomas, Mayor of London,³ and Edward Blund and Peter Anger sheriffs,⁴ and others named. In the year 1268 Robert de Aldenham granted the same property, subject to the same payment to the canons, to Adam de Stratton.⁵

During a great thunderstorm in the year 1264-5, it is recorded that a part of the belfry of St. Bartholomew's was struck down.⁶

PRIOR HUGH

Here 1269-1295.

All entries of the election of Prior Hugh in the Patent Rolls or elsewhere are wanting. He is referred to in the Bodleian Rental of the year 1306,⁷ but as Henry ('*per Fratrem Henricum Priorem*'), which is obviously a scribe's error for '*Hugonem*', for the prior is referred to as Hugh in the *Curia Regis* Roll of 1269, as is seen below, and he died prior in 1295.

His first appearance in the Court of King's Bench was an unfortunate beginning, as will be seen, but apart from this case Prior Hugh stands out as a man who, during the twenty-six years or more of his priorate, ably upheld and safeguarded the rights and privileges of his house.

¹ Cur. Reg. R. 176, m. 4 d, 51 Hen. III (1267).

² Catl. Anc. Deeds, R.O. Vol. II A, 1983.

³ Mayor, 1263-4-5.

⁵ Catl. Anc. Deeds, R.O. Vol. I A, 1515.

⁷ App. I, p. 429, Rent. Bodl. See also below, p. 360.

⁴ Sheriffs, 1265.

⁶ Riley, *Chronicles*, p. 234.

In the case in point he was opposed to Queen Eleanor, and the facts seem to have been as follows :¹

There was a house and about 80 acres of land in Tewin, Herts, the possession of which John de Twynge had recovered from Godfrey de Twynge and Prior John (Bacun) by a verdict of a jury of 12 men in an assize of novel disseisin (that is, an inquiry of recent dispossession) held before Judge Nicholas; whereupon Godfrey had quit-claimed (or released) to John and his heirs in writing all his rights in the property. John, after enjoying possession for a considerable period, made over the freehold to Queen Eleanor of Provence, the wife of Henry III. After the death of Prior John, Prior Hugh, with Godfrey de Twynge, who was then dwelling in the monastery, arrayed a jury of 24 knights before Judge Martin of Littlebury to override the verdict of the previous jury of 12 and they obtained a verdict giving possession again to Godfrey and the prior, thus dispossessing the queen. Whereupon the queen intervened and the matter was brought into the King's Court, when the prior was charged with calling the jury of 24 by collusion and fraud and deceit of the court; and inasmuch as the queen had not been acquainted with the fact of the case being brought before the second jury, and as neither Godfrey nor Prior Hugh could deny the writing whereby Godfrey had quit-claimed John, and as Prior Hugh had also in writing, before the arraignment of the jury of 24, granted that John had recovered possession, and as this latter jury was arraigned in Prior Hugh's name and the first jury in Prior John's, which was against the custom of the kingdom, it was decided that the last verdict should be quashed entirely and that John should regain his possession, and the queen hers, and that Prior Hugh should be committed to gaol, for the usual twelve months imprisonment in such cases. He was, however, at once mainperned (bailed out) by two friends, to whom he was given up. For what reason Prior John and Godfrey de Twynge were dispossessed by John de Twynge in the first instance, or by what argument they persuaded the jury of 24 knights to override the verdict of 12, does not appear.

In the year 1273 Prior Hugh obtained by fine a house and 214 acres of land in Tewin,² thus adding to the property given in that place by Alexander de Swereford.

In 1279 there was a 2s. rent payable to the king in connexion with

¹ Cur. Reg. Roll, 193, m. 24 d, 53 & 54 Hen. III, Mich., and m. 7 d. See also above, p. 132, and below, p. 360.

² Feet of Fines, Herts, 1 Edw. I, n. 17, 11th June 1273. See also below, p. 360.

180 acres of land in the same place. The prior held that it was payable by John, son of Godfrey de Twynge, and when he did not pay and the Crown distrained for it, the prior came to an agreement by Fine¹ with John, whereby the latter took over the liability and confirmed the holding and the advowson of the church to the prior, who in return admitted John and his heirs to all benefactions and prayers of the church. Prior Hugh was represented in this case by John de Kensington, his successor as prior in 1295. This John son of Godfrey is probably the same John de Twynge who appeared in the case with the queen.

In 1273 the prior successfully protected the privileges of the monastery; for the king ordered that the prior should be acquitted of the 40s. in which he was amerced by reason of the common summons of the eyre of the justices in Essex, the prior having had acquittance thereof.²

The next year (1274) Prior Hugh had licence to go abroad for about four months, for which purpose he appointed Alexander de Staundon and Adam de Eyton to act as his attorneys in all pleas from March 28th to St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1st).

In the year 1279 Prior Hugh received a grant of quit rents³ from the executors of James de Stanes in the parishes of All Hallows, Bread Street, and of St. Martin Outwich.

The prior at this time had to be prepared to have all the privileges of the house challenged, for when King Edward, in 1274, returned from the Holy Land he found that, during his father's long reign, the revenues of the Crown had been considerably diminished by ecclesiastics and laymen withholding just dues; by alienations to the church under pretexts of gifts in frankalmoign; by usurping the right of holding courts; by demanding unreasonable tolls at fairs, and in other ways. The king at once appointed commissioners to inquire into these abuses, whose inquisitions, which contained evidence on oath of each hundred and town in the country, were entered in the Hundred Rolls.

The finding of the jury for London was that the King of Scotland, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Gloucester, the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, the brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, the brethren of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and the prioress and convent of Haliwell, held their own courts in the City of London, but on what warrant they knew not. On the passing

¹ Feet of Fines, Herts, 7 Edw. I, n. 67, 1st July 1279.

² Cal. Close, p. 61, 2 Edw. I, 7th Dec.

³ Court of Husting Roll, 10, m. 27, 7 Edw. I.

of the Statute of Gloucester in 1278, founded on these inquisitions, writs of *Quo Warranto* were issued.

In that same year (1278), a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against the Prior of St. Bartholomew's to inquire by what right he enjoyed all the privileges which were granted him by the charter of Henry I in the year 1133.¹ He claimed that he enjoyed his privileges by that charter, confirmed by Henry II and Henry III. He also claimed view of frankpledge in all his lands. The matter was tried before the justices and a jury of 12, who found that the prior and his predecessors had fully enjoyed all the liberties claimed concerning view of frankpledge in a tenement which the prior held of Master Richard Shoreford in Tewin (Thewynge), and this the jury found had of old time been held by the sheriffs of the king, and they advised that the king should recover the view, which was not worth more than two pence a year. This finding was entered on the Assize Rolls in 1278,² and again *in extenso* on the Quo Warranto Rolls in 1292.³

In 1293-4 the prior was served with a writ of *Quo Warranto* ⁴ in regard to his claim to view of frankpledge, the regulation of the weight and measure of bread and beer, &c., in Little Stanmore, and on these counts the jury's verdict was in favour of the prior; but as regards infangenthef (the liberty to judge a thief taken within the fee) or outfangenthef (the liberty to bring a man of the manor to judgment in the manor court) and gallows, the verdict was in favour of the king.

In the same year the prior had to contest the claim of three daughters of Ralph 'Bequeynte' to 24 acres of land and 3 acres of pasture in Little Stanmore, but eventually the ladies withdrew.⁵

The writ *Quo Warranto*, as regards the Fair, was not issued until the fourteenth year of Edward II, 1321, under which year reference will be found.⁶

In the year 1285, the City of London lost its franchise and for thirteen years was 'in the king's hand', being governed by a warden of his selection and appointment, instead of by a mayor appointed by the citizens.⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that the king should claim the advowson of the hospital at this time,⁸ but the jury found

¹ See above, p. 60.

² Assize R. No. 323, Roll 35, 6 Edw. I.

³ Plac. de Quo Warranto, p. 279, 20 Edw. I.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 478, 22 Edw. I, Rot. 37 d (1293-4). Identical with Assize R. No. 544, 22 Edw. I, Rot. 37.

⁵ See below, p. 349.

⁶ See below, p. 160.

⁷ Cal. Let., Bk. A, p. xi, Guildhall.

⁸ Cal. Inq. Miscellaneous I, 391, entry 1355, and Chanc. Inq., p. m., 13 Edw. I, n. 125.

that neither the king nor his ministers intermeddled with the election of a master unless the priory and hospital should both be vacant at one time.

In the year 1292 the warden of the city insisted that, as the privileges of the city were forfeited, all the benefits arising therefrom, as the profits of the fair, also belonged to the king. The king took a reasonable view of the matter and wisely left the decision in the hands of the barons of the exchequer, as will be seen in the following letter (translated) to the warden :¹

'Edward, &c., to the Warden and Sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the Prior of St. Bartholomew of Smethefeud, in the suburb of London, claims to hold by charters of our progenitors, kings of England, and our confirmation, a certain Fair there every year to last for three days, viz., on the eve, the Feast and morrow of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, together with all liberties and free customs to such a Fair appertaining, in which, as the said Prior asserts, he has met with hindrance at the hands of the Warden, and a dispute has arisen between you touching one half of the aforesaid eve and the whole of the morrow aforesaid ; we, being desirous to do justice both to ourselves and to the aforesaid Prior before the Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, one month after Michaelmas, command you that after taking security from the said Prior for payment into the Exchequer of the profits of the Fair for one half of the eve and the whole of the morrow aforesaid, on the day aforesaid, in case the Prior should fail to show cause why the said profits should not belong to us, you permit the said Prior in the meanwhile to take the profits in form aforesaid.

'Dated Durham, 9 Aug., 20 Edw. I (A.D. 1292).'²

In the year 1287 the prior had to obtain judgment to enforce the annual payment of 4 marks 3s. 4d. by the prior of Blythburgh for the moiety of the advowson of the church of St. Peter Wenhamston, Suffolk.³

In July of the eighteenth year of King Edward (1290) the prior obtained an *inspeximus* and confirmation of the charter granted by the king's father in the year 1253 (37 Henry III)⁴ and of the charter granted by his father in the same year inspecting and confirming the charter of Henry II⁵ (of about 1173), which confirmed all the privileges of Henry I's charter of 1133.

This charter of King Edward was witnessed by :

Robert (Burnell), Bishop of Bath and Wells (1275-1292 ; Chancellor 1274).

¹ Cal. Let., Bk. C, pp. 9, 10, Guildhall.

² See also Cal. Fine R. 313.

³ Feet of Fines, Suffolk, 15 Edw. I ; see below, pp. 327-8.

⁴ See above, p. 127.

⁵ App. I, p. 478, No. 4.

John (de Pontissara), Bishop of Winchester (1282-1304).

William (de la Corner), Bishop of Salisbury (1289-1291; a chaplain of the pope).

Edmund, our brother (the Earl of Lancaster called Crouchback, second son of Henry III, buried in Westminster Abbey).

William de Valence, our uncle (titular Earl of Pembroke, fourth son of Isabella, widow of King John, by her second husband, the Count de la Marche; *d.* 1296).

Edmund Earl of Cornwall, our cousin (nephew of Henry III; *d.* 1300).

Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (called the 'Red', acted at first with and afterwards against Simon de Montfort. He married first Alice, a niece of Henry III, and in 1290 Joan, daughter of Edward I; *d.* 1295).

Robert Tibitol (Baron Tiptoft, who accompanied King Edward to the Holy Land; *d.* 1298).

William de Latimer (the first Baron Latimer; *d.* 1304).

Gilbert de Thornton (Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1290; *d.* 1295).

Robert de Hertford; Richard de Bosco; and others.

In the year 1294, a quarrel being forced upon the king by the perfidy of Philip IV, the king had to raise money for a war with France, and so we find the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's granting the king for that year a moiety of their benefices and goods according to the taxation last made:¹ for which the king granted protection to the prior for one year of his person and his goods;² a very necessary protection because, by the famous Bull '*Clericis Laicos*', no tax was to be levied on any property of the Church without permission from the pope on pain of excommunication, and any ecclesiastic paying such a tax was at once deposed.³ The next year the clergy, in consequence, refused further grants, whereupon the king declared that those who did not contribute to the temporal power should not enjoy its protection, and he closed the courts against them. Notwithstanding the papal prohibition, the clergy gave way and granted the king a subsidy of one tenth, but the king granted certain exemptions from paying this, in which the Prior of St. Bartholomew's was included.⁴

But this was nine months after Prior Hugh's death, for on the 11th March, 1294-5, John de Kensington, the canon of St. Bartholomew's already mentioned, brought news to the king of the prior's death and was granted letters of licence to elect another prior in his room.⁵

¹ i.e., the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, *cir.* 1291.

² Cal. Pat., 28th Sept., 22 Edw. I (1294).

³ Milman, *Latin Christianity*.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 10th Dec. 1295.

⁵ *Ib.*, 23 Edw. I, 11th Mar. (1295).

A portion of a coffin-lid (Fig. 1) of Purbeck marble was found, in the year 1843, when forming a sewer near the north entrance to the church, that is to say, on the site of the north transept, and close beside it were found a considerable number of glazed tiles. The slab was 2 ft. 9 in. in length, 2 ft. 10 in. in breadth, and 5 in. in thickness. It bore the head and part of the stem of a cross in bold relief, and in a sunken border round the edge the beginning and ending of an inscription in Lombardic characters; the whole being in the style of the thirteenth century :

* hWE : DE : hEN.
ALME : EIT : MERCI.

The stone was in the possession of Mr. W. Chaffers, junr., who

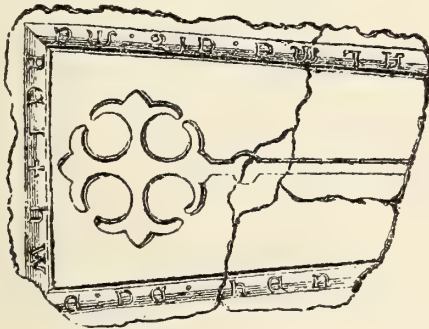


FIG. 1. A COFFIN LID FROM THE SITE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

communicated the find to the Society of Antiquaries at the time.¹ Mr. E. B. Price suggested that the inscription originally ran :

HWE : DE : HENDON : GIST : ICI : DIEU : DE :
SA : ALME : EIT : MERCI :

(Hugh of Hendon lieth here, God on his soul have mercy).² It must be observed, however, that Prior Hugh is not described as ' of Hendon ' in any of the known records, so that this suggestion must remain a mere surmise, but it is not unreasonable to assume that the stone was the lid of the coffin of Prior Hugh.

Prior Hugh must have presented to the Bishop of London for confirmation of their election at least five masters of the hospital, namely :

John de Eylesburye in the year 1270 ;
John de Walton in 1270-1 ;
John de Camberwell in 1280 ;
Geoffrey Eynston in 1281 ; and
Thomas de Whychester in 1285.

¹ *Archæologia*, xxx, 548.

² A newspaper cutting with a slight engraving of the stone signed by E. B. Price.

CHAPTER V
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
PRIOR JOHN DE KENSINGTON

1295-1316.

ALTHOUGH the priorate of John de Kensington commenced in the year 1295, he remained prior until 1316, and may therefore be considered as a fourteenth-century prior. The licence granted to him and the convent to elect is, as has been shown above, duly recorded ; but there is no record of the approval of his election. The first intimation that he was the new prior does not occur until eleven years later, when it is stated in the Rent Roll in the Bodleian of the year 1306 (in the first paragraph) that 'brother John de Kensington was then prior there'.¹

Neither is there any record on the Patent Rolls, as usual, of the return of the temporalities, but among the Ancient Petitions in the Record Office² there is a petition in old French by the prior and convent, the date of which must be either 1296 or 1297, and it may be translated as follows :

'Unto our Lord the King, whom God preserve, and to his council, sheweth the prior and convent of the poor house of St. Bartholomew London that Ralph de Broughtone, clerk, entered the house afore-said as escheator after the death of Hugh prior of the same place, last predecessor of the prior who now is, and there remained with horses and several grooms at the costs of the house, and went to their poor manors and fined their poor tenants and took possession of the increase of the cows and of the sheep ; and the offerings of their church of St. Sepulchre without Newgate he caused to be collected by divers lay persons. And before he would relinquish the ward of the house he charged them, by writing indented, to answer to the king for all these matters at what time it should be demanded of them. And for the reason that the prior of the same place had nothing separate from his convent, and that, before this time, in time of vacancy there was never but one serving man to maintain the king's estate, who had his maintenance with the convent without their having to make any manner of account of the profits to the king. Unto our Lord the King prayeth the

¹ App. I, p. 428. In *Feudal Aids*, ii, 434, occurs 'John Godefroi prior of St. Bartholomew's', apparently an error.

² Ancient Petitions, p. 312, E. 2, R.O.

aforesaid prior and the convent, who are his chaplains of his demesne chapel, founded by his ancestors, that by his grace they may of charity be relieved of the charge aforesaid and that he be willing to grant unto them the estate aforesaid and to maintain them therein.'

The king hereon instructed the exchequer to inquire what had been customary to be done heretofore and to let charges be levied accordingly; but, having to go to Flanders to avoid making the concession in person of the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297, he gave orders to the exchequer to respite until his return the demand made upon the prior for £6 7s. 11d., as he wished to show favour to the prior and convent 'out of reverence for St. Bartholomew, in whose honour the priory was founded'.¹

On the king's return the prior produced the charter of 33 Henry II (1187), which (as already stated²) granted that after the death of a prior no man, clerk or layman, should usurp the lordship of the place, or should interfere with their lands or men or chattels, except with the goodwill of the whole convent. The king thereupon wrote to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer³ that he recollected that it was contained in the charter of King Henry his father and in his confirmation thereof lately shown before him and his council, that it was granted to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, that no one ought to intermeddle with the lands, goods, or possessions of the priory in times of voidance without the special licence of the prior and convent; whereupon the king, wishing to be fully certified, ordered the treasurer and barons to certify him fully as to the truth of this matter. By the certificate it was considered, before the king and his council, that the custody of the priory ought not to pertain to the king by reason of the voidance thereof; and the king therefore ordered that the prior and convent be acquitted of the £6 7s. 11d. exacted from them by summons of the exchequer, and that they be permitted to hold the priory when it should be void hereafter and to receive the issues thereof in accordance with the tenor of the charter.

The same question came up again several times in later years. Thus in the year 1350, on the death of Prior Pekesden, who succeeded John de Kensington, the escheators again took possession; but the king, having inspected the charters, once more ordered the escheators to remove the king's hand, quoting the above case of Edward I.⁴

¹ Cal. Close, 25 Edw. I, m. 9 d, 23rd July (1297).

² See above, p. 103, quoting Mem. Roll, L.T.R., 37 Edw. III, and App. I, p. 481, Charter No. 8.

³ Cal. Close, 27 Edw. I, 22nd Apr. (1299).

⁴ Cal. Close, 24 Edw. III, 25th May (1350).

In the year 1361, on the death of John de Carleton, the king's letters patent especially entrusted the wardship of the priory to the sub-prior and convent, on the condition that they should answer to the king for the revenues accruing. The next year, the prior, not having so accounted, was distrained upon by summons of the exchequer; whereupon the prior declared that before his election he was ignorant of the charters and he therefore petitioned the king for redress; the king, being unwilling that the prior should be unjustly charged, commanded the barons of the exchequer (by writ of 5 November, 1362) to examine the charters and the memorials of the exchequer on the subject. On the morrow of St. Martin, in the following year (12 November, 1363), the prior appeared in person before the court, produced the charter of 1187, and also the above writ. The barons searched their memorials; found the release of 27 Edward I; considered the matter; and on the morrow of St. Hilary (14 January) decided that, as the charters had not been revoked, the prior should be discharged of the account. This is all set out at great length in the Memorandum Roll of 37 Edward III¹; on which is also entered the charter of 33 Henry I.

The matter was all gone into again at Michaelmas in the third year of Henry V when, on the 17th August, 1414, the king issued a mandate² to the escheators for the restitution of the temporalities of the priory, who replied that the property had not been in their possession because the prior claimed exemption.³ Thereupon the prior was ordered to appear before the barons of the exchequer to show cause why he ought not to account for the revenues to the king. This time the prior produced the first charter (33 Henry I), which granted that the church should be free from every earthly service as being the demesne chapel of the king; and that no person should intrude upon the possessions of the church without the consent of the prior and convent. He also produced the charter of Richard II, declared the release of Edward I, and referred to the inquiry of the thirty-seventh year of Edward III (as above). The various entries in the Memoranda Rolls were again examined and found to be as the prior stated. The prior, therefore, asked for judgment, but, as the court desired to consider the premises further, they reserved their decision for six months until the Easter following, when, on the prior appearing, their decision was further postponed until the following Michaelmas; and this process of postponement was carried on until

¹ Mem. R., L.T.R., 37 Edw. III, m. 41, No. xxiii.

² Cal. Pat., 2 Hen. V, part ii.

³ Mem. R., L.T.R., 3 Hen. V, Mich. Rot. LV (1415).

the king died in the year 1422. Even this event did not close the case, for the prior and convent declared that they wished to maintain their plea; so further days were fixed up to Easter 1424. The prior by his attorney had then appeared twenty times in eight years; surely a very striking instance of the law's delay!

Twenty-two years later, namely, on the 5th May, 1444, Henry VI issued Letters Patent,¹ at the request of the prior and convent, because certain enemies were disturbing them in connexion with their exemption, and because they feared the vagueness of the words in their charters. This grant of the king was that the sub-prior and convent might have the keeping of the priory during voidances and not be forced to answer touching the rents and profits by summons of the Exchequer, the production of these Letters Patent being sufficient warrant; and this finally settled the matter, which is not referred to again.

To return to the chronological order:

In the year 1303 Archbishop Winchelsey, who, in the year 1297, had headed the revolt of the clergy, which had resulted in their being outlawed by Edward I, exercised his right, as metropolitan, of visitation of the priory. The result of this visitation was that he deemed it necessary to issue injunctions, of which the following is a translation² (this is the only instance of the issue of injunctions in connexion with the priory, though there were several in regard to the hospital):

‘Robert, by divine compassion Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, unto his beloved sons the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew next Smethefelde London, for lasting memorial of the matter and regard to religion, sends greeting.

‘In visiting your monastery, your persons and property by our metropolitan right, we have found certain irregularities which are contrary to the honour of religion, for the correction and remedy whereof we do order and enjoin upon you as is hereunder written:

‘In the first place hereafter let not any release (or grant) at all of the goods of the monastery be sold for any cause whatever, unless the licence of the diocesan or metropolitan, or others whose consent can suffice, shall, in some case of necessity, have been first asked and obtained. And in such case let not the powers of such licence so granted be in any case exceeded in the sale of the grants, on any pretext whatever.

‘Also that no money be given to the brethren for their garments, but let the garments themselves, when necessity arises, be delivered unto those who need them by some one of the brethren to be

¹ Cal. Pat., 22 Hen. VI, 5th May (1444).

² Reg. London, Baldock, f. 6, Cant. and York Soc., Diocese London, vol. i, p. 34.

deputed for the providing of garments and clothes, and they shall forthwith give back and hand over the old garments or cloth to him delivering the new.

'Also that the brethren keep—better than they have been wont to do—silence according to the observance of their rule, at the fitting places and seasons, and that the prior, or the persons holding his place, impose upon any brother who markedly and frequently breaks the rule of silence and is convicted thereof, for every time when he shall so have broken silence, one day's Friday fast of bread and water, or mark one so convicted by punishing him according to the frequency of the fault committed. Also that the gates of the close and of the houses within it be more strictly guarded and kept shut at the due hours lest, by the frequent coming of seculars, as has been wont to happen, the brethren be disturbed in the divine offices.

'Also that, according to the resources of the monastery, the sick brethren in the infirmary be treated with (meat) dishes and, more freely than the whole brethren, with suitable cereal food.

'Also that the prior for the time being shall not walk alone in the garden or elsewhere in a lonely place, but let him take with him a fitting honourable companion when he shall desire to walk or stroll, so that if he fall he will have with him one to help him.

'Also we order and command and enjoin that these said injunctions and ordinances be read aloud openly and exactly four times in the year, to wit in every quarter once, in the presence of the whole convent, to the end that, being so often inculcated in the ears of the brethren, they may be the more retentively held in their memories.

'Now these aforesaid injunctions, ordinances, and decrees we will, order, and enjoin upon you, in virtue of your obedience and on pain of the greater excommunication to be strictly observed.

'In witness of all whereof our seal has been set to these presents.

'Given at Chatham on the 5th day of the Kalends of October.¹ In the year of our Lord the one thousand three hundred and third and of our consecration the tenth.'

It is interesting to see that there were no graver faults calling for correction than those indicated. The great stress laid in the first clause on the importance of not disposing of any possessions of the monastery without licence may indicate that such sales had been made, either to fulfil the demands of the king in 1296 and 1297 (so strenuously opposed by Winchelsea) or for some other cause.

There cannot have been much at fault with the discipline of the house, for, as has been seen,² the monk who was implicated in the robbery of the king's treasury at the abbey, the same year that these injunctions were issued, was sent to St. Bartholomew's for safe

¹ September 27th.

² See above, p. 8.

custody. And the rule and government of the priory under John de Kensington must have been good, for when, in the year 1306, Richard de Cerne, the prior of the Augustinian hospital of St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate, was canonically deprived, and when the canons had chosen a successor wrongfully and against the law of the general council of the order because the prior had been notoriously deposed, the bishop made choice of the sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's, Philip of London, to be prior of St. Mary Spital.¹ Subsequently (27 December, 1307) this Philip of London granted a corody, with the bishop's consent, to his predecessor at St. Mary's, the late prior Richard de Cerne. It consisted of the food of two canons in bread, beer, and kitchen dishes, and 40s. a year for other needs, and one room near the infirmary for his dwelling, so that the friends of the hospital might be hospitably entertained.

A further indication of the good government of the house is found in the fact that in the year 1308² a canon of St. Osyth's, Robert de Stratford, was sent by the Bishop of London to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's for penance. He had been convicted on grave charges which tended to the scandal of the order. On the second and fourth days of the week he was to have only bread, broth, and beer, and on the sixth day bread and water only. He was to be present at all canonical hours, day and night; to celebrate mass every day, and to be last in quire, chapter, and refectory. On the fourth and sixth days he was to receive discipline from the president in chapter. He was not to be allowed to go outside the bounds of the monastery, and was to be kept carefully from the conversation and intercourse of women. He was to be received kindly and the penance was to last until the bishop should ordain otherwise. The Abbot of St. Osyth paid 12*d.* a week for the expenses.

There must have been considerable works in progress during Prior John's time, for pardon was granted of the trespasses committed by one William de Wibusade in bequeathing to the prior and convent in mortmain without licence, about the year 1307, land with houses in St. Sepulchre's parish for the building and the maintenance of the church. The like was granted for a similar trespass by John de Honnesdone, chaplain, for a bequest of six shops with a garden in the same parish, also for the works of the church.³ This John de Honnesdone's will⁴ was dated in the year 1314. He bequeathed other shops

¹ Reg. London, Baldock, f. 6 d (transcript, Cant. and York Soc., London, i, p. 35).

² *Ib.*, f. 6 d (transcript, Cant. and York Soc., London, i, p. 77).

³ Cal. Pat., 14 Edw. II, 9 June (1321).

⁴ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 245 (1314).

to one Richard de Ewelle, who, dying the same year, left by will¹ two shops to the prior and convent, also for the maintenance of the church. The only work we know of likely to have been in progress at that time was the sacristy, as it seems too early for the commencement of the new Lady Chapel, which was not completed until 1335.

Prior John de Kensington caused an exact rental to be made of all the possessions of the priory, both in London and in the country. This was done by Roger de Luda, under the prior, and is dated on the feast of Easter, 34 Edward I (3rd April, 1306).² It must have been a work of great labour and expense, and Roger de Luda must have been a professional surveyor or lawyer to have accomplished the work. In 1323 Roger witnessed the release of the advowson of Hemel Hempstead by the prior; in 1327 he witnessed a grant of lands in Acton to the prior and convent, and in 1347 he appears as holding land in Tewin.³

Prior John had to appeal to the courts in regard to the possessions of the house on several occasions. In the year 1309 it is recorded, in the De Banco Rolls, that he was the plaintiff and Adam de Herewynton the defendant concerning land and rent at Acton (Middlesex), referred to above, which later, in 1327, Adam granted to the prior and convent. He also received several grants of land; thus in the year 1314, William Pypard of Little Stanmore was granted licence by the king for the alienation in mortmain to the prior and convent of a messuage and 182 acres in Little Stanmore.⁴ Fourteen years previously this William Pypard had lent the prior thirty marks against the prior's bond, probably in anticipation of this grant.⁵ In 1316 a similar licence was granted by fine of five marks to John Barnevyle to grant a further 198 acres and 7s. 6d. of rent in Little Stanmore.⁶

It was at this period that small chapels or altars, called chantries, were beginning to be endowed for the maintenance of a priest to pray for the souls of the founder and his friends.

In the year 1315, John son of Reginald de Grey (second Baron Grey of Wilton) desired to found a chantry in the chapel of his manor of Portepoll (or Portpool, now Gray's Inn Chapel). He therefore obtained licence⁷ for the alienation in mortmain of 30 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow and 10s. of rent in 'Kentisheton' and in the

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 249 (1314).

² More fully described p. xxi above; printed *in extenso*, App. I, p. 428.

³ See below, p. 159.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 7 Edw. II, 8 May (1314).

⁵ Cal. Close, 28 Edw. I, 29 Mar. (1300).

⁶ Cal. Pat., 10 Edw. II, 10 Oct. (1316).

⁷ Ib., 8 Edw. II, 10 May (1315).

parish of St. Andrew's, 'Holebourne', to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's to find a chaplain to celebrate daily (at Portpool) for the souls of himself, his ancestors, and all Christians. The Portpool manor house, owned by Reginald de Grey and his descendants, stood where Gray's Inn now stands; Gray's Inn Road was formerly called Portpool Lane. (The corps of the prebend of Portpool belonging to St. Paul's also lies in and about Gray's Inn Road.) At the time of the suppression in 1539, the convent was paying the benchers of Gray's Inn for the chaplain celebrating in the chapel there, with 20s. paid yearly to the master and benchers, £7 13s. 4d., and were receiving £10 from the 'Portepole' estate.¹ After the suppression an annuity was paid to Robert Urmeston, the treasurer of Gray's Inn, for 'a stipend of a priest singing in the chapel of Grays Inne, out of St. Bartholomew's'.²

A similar case occurred in the same year (1315), when Sir Nicholas Hosebond (or Husebond), a chaplain, and later a minor canon, of St. Paul's, obtained licence³ to alienate three messuages and eight shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's to find a chaplain, who was to be one of the canons of the priory, to celebrate daily in St. Paul's Cathedral for the souls of himself and others. The king granted the licence but pointed out that after inquisition made it was shown that it would be to the prejudice both of the king and of the citizens, because whenever there was an assessment in aid the king would receive no portion from this property and, whenever the tenants of lands and tenements in London should be summoned to the King's Court in pleas of land, the parishioners of St. Sepulchre's would be burdened more heavily than before. Sir Nicholas Hosebond died in the year 1347 and bequeathed to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's⁴ an annual quit rent of eight marks and 'two doves, for the most part white, shut in a wooden cage, which he had been accustomed to receive yearly from the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's' for the above property, after the Maundy supper in St. Paul's, for lighting the Easter taper on Easter Eve, on the condition that a minor canon was appointed to celebrate for the good of his soul and those of others.⁵

¹ Valor. Eccles. i, 407. See also below, p. 345.

² Cal. State Papers, xvi, No. 258, Aug. off. (1541).

³ Cal. Pat., 9 Edw. II, 24 Oct. (1315).

⁴ St. Paul's MSS. A, Box 66, Wills No. 32. Hist. MSS. Com., 9th Report, p. 47 a. Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 496.

⁵ This occurs in the *Statuta Maiora* (a list of obits observed at St. Paul's). See Camden Soc., N.S., xxvi, 96.

Between the years 1436 and 1471 these 8 marks were the subject of a lawsuit between the prior of St. Bartholomew's and the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.¹ The latter had distrained on the messuages that yielded the 8 marks for the sum owing, which was two years in arrear. The prior (Reginald Collier) said the tenements were outside the ownership of the dean and chapter. The latter pleaded the grant by Sir Nicholas under licence from the king. The prior pleaded it was not lawful for Sir Nicholas to bequeath the rent into mortmain because he was not a freeman of the city; but the jury's verdict was that Sir Nicholas was a freeman; that the dean and chapter were the lawful owners and were not dispossessed by the prior.

Prior John de Kensington on four occasions gave his consent to the election of masters of the hospital, namely of Hugh de Rothwell in the year 1300; Adam de Rothing in 1305; John Terefelde in 1309; and William de Acton in 1312.²

In a list of benefices of London made in the year 1303, and entered in the *Liber Custumarum*,³ occurs *Sanctus Bartholomaeus Magnus de Smethefelde*; whether this refers to the church of the monastery or to the parish chapel only is not clear, but in either case it is the earliest occasion met with of the term 'St. Bartholomew the Great'.

To the fact that Prior John had, in the year 1308, to provide a good horse and cart to carry the baggage of Edward II to Dover to meet his young bride, and to his being called upon in 1310 to lend victuals for the Scotch expedition, we have already referred.⁴

In 1307 the prior was ordered by Edward I, together with the Abbot of Waltham and the Prior of Holy Trinity, to proceed in the plea, in Court Christian, of the Abbot of Bileigh against the Prior of Prittlewell concerning certain tithes of his parish church.⁵

Prior John died in office in the year 1316, and on November 4 Roger de Hertford, a canon of the church, brought news of his death to the king, who granted letters of licence to the sub-prior and convent to elect his successor.⁶

John de Kensington, we may infer, was an old man when he died, seeing that the archbishop had enjoined, thirteen years before his death, that the prior should only walk with a companion in case he should fall.⁷ Eighteen years after his death, in the year 1334, a

¹ St. Paul's MSS., Box 70, 1782 (undated).

² These are the dates given in N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 533, 539, 545, 546.

³ Fol. 179 b; Riley, *Mem. Geldhalle*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 228.

⁴ See p. 4.

⁵ Cal. Close, 35 Edw. I, 18 June (1307).

⁶ Cal. Pat., 10 Edw. II, 4 Nov. (1316).

⁷ Above, p. 144.

chantry was endowed at St. Bartholomew's for a chaplain to celebrate daily at the altar of St. Bartholomew for his soul (as mentioned below).¹

PRIOR JOHN DE PEKESDEN

1316-1350.

As mentioned above, the king granted the sub-prior and convent licence to elect a prior on the 4th November, 1316. There is no entry on the Patent Rolls of the king's assent to an election, nor of the king's notification to the bishop that his assent had been given. There is, however, extant a letter from the king² to Walter Reynolds, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter of Norwich his treasurer, stating that he had given licence to choose a prior, but because he was abroad (probably in Scotland in connexion with the war there) he had given power to the archbishop and treasurer to give assent, and to receive fealty and to restore the temporalities. This may account for the absence of further entries on the Patent Rolls. We do not hear of John de Pekesden by name until the 8th December, 1320, but even then the prior is merely called 'John'.³ The name Pekesden does not occur until the year 1340, when he is called 'John de Pekesdene' in the Year Book.⁴ During the vacancy the question of corodies⁵ was raised. The king on the 28th November issued Letters Close⁶ to the prior and convent for one John de Heselarton, clerk, to receive the pension which the king said they were bound to grant to one of his clerks by reason of the new creation of 'the Abbot'. A month later the master and brethren of the hospital were called upon⁷ to admit Nicholas de la Marche and provide him with food and clothing, but in a fortnight's time the writ was changed for one to the prior and convent of St. Frideswide's, Oxford. But in the year 1345 the prior and convent were again requested by the king (Edward III) to provide maintenance in their house for Maude, late the wife of Thomas de Colby, for life.⁸ We also learn from the Husting Rolls that corodies had previously been imposed, for in the year 1329 a release of a corody is granted to the prior and convent by William Pippard and his wife, of Little Stanmore;⁹ and in the year 1376 there is recorded the surrender, by John Copeland,

¹ Below, p. 157.

² Hist. MSS. Com. Report, 4, p. 389, MSS. Ormesby-Gore at Brogyntyn, No. 109

³ Inq. a. q. d., 14 Edw. II, No. 12.

⁴ Year Book, 14 Edw. III, p. 318.

⁵ See p. 8.

⁶ Cal. Close, 10 Edw. II, 28 Nov. (1316).

⁷ Ib., 10 Edw. II, 28 Dec. (1316).

⁸ Ib., 19 Edw. III, 30 Aug. (1345).

⁹ Hust. R., No. 57, m. 116, 3 Edw. III.

vintner, and Isabella his wife (widow of Sir Thomas Lacy, Knt.), to the prior and convent, of a grant of two loaves of bread, called 'Besamitz', and two flagons of beer, formerly made to the said Isabella and Katharine her sister, daughters of Robert Sharpe; also of a house adjoining the priory.¹ In 1382, the year of Prior Gedeney's election, the king nominated John Hadham, clerk of the king's chapel, to a pension from the priory as 'by reason of the prior's new creation' they were 'bound for one of the king's clerks, until by them provided'.²

We have no record of any protest having been lodged against these demands for corodies until the year 1436, when the king had commanded the prior and convent to cause a corody to be given to one George Assheby,³ on the occasion of the appointment of a new prior (for William Coventry had resigned on the 20th January that year, and Reginald Collier had been elected prior). Whereupon the prior petitioned the king against this command, showing by his charters that the priory was free from all subjection and secular service, and therefore free from granting corody, or from the maintenance of any person at the command of the king. An action, therefore, arose and was heard in the Exchequer Chamber, and the arguments are fully set out in the Year Book of the fourteenth year of Henry VI.⁴ The king claimed against the prior for the reason that he was the founder of the place, and that it belonged to him to have a corody and a rent by reason of his prerogative; on the other hand the prior showed that Henry II founded the church as a 'free chapel',⁵ that he released to the prior all manner of services, and that they should be as free in the church as the king in his crown. The prior won the case, for, on 4th February, 1438, the king issued Letters Patent⁶ granting that the prior and convent should be for ever quit of any corody, for the reason that ambiguity and variety of opinion had arisen as to the interpretation of the words of the charter. We should, however, have thought that the fact of the tenure of their lands being in 'frankalmoine' was sufficient reason in itself for discharge of corodies.⁷

Although Pekesden did not take action to be quit of corodies, it was no doubt he who petitioned the king concerning the right of

¹ Hust. R., No. 104, m. 14, 107, 50 Edw. III.

² Cal. Close, 10 Mar., 6 Rich. II.

³ Pat., 16 Hen. VI, p. 2, m. 40 (1438) (now calendared).

⁴ Part VII, p. 11, No. 43. In French.

⁵ Also so called in Chanc. Inq. P.M., 13 Edw. I, n. 125 (1285).

⁶ Pat., 16 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 40 (as above).

⁷ See Giles Jacob, *New Law Dictionary*, 1750, reciting 'The New Terms of Law'.

the monastery to a proportion of the sea fishing at Yarmouth, for, though the petition is undated,¹ we are told it was made twenty years after the archbishop's visitation, which gives a date of 1322 or 1323. It is in French, of which the following is a translation :²

'Unto our lord the king sheweth the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew London, that whereas they hold the church of Little Yarmouth unto their own use, of the grant of the ancestors of our lord the king, to which church belongeth a profit which is called "Christ's dole", to wit that the church ought to have from each ship of the parish which is fishing in the sea its portion of the gains of the fishing, so much as falls to one of the fishers or mariners of the same ship, whether the same mariners be of the same town or of other land, of which profit the said church had been seized from the time whereof no memory runneth, as of right of the church, as was more plainly found at the last visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was twenty years sithence³ one John Fitz Aleyn of Kessingland, together with others of other parishes, have withheld their portion till now, to the hurt of the said prior and convent and the disherison of the aforesaid church—the said prior prayeth unto our lord the king that he will, for the sake of God, ordain such remedy in these cases that the said church lose not its heritage.'

This petition was granted, for it is endorsed :

'Let them have a writ framed in the chancery upon the matters contained in their petition against those who do them wrong.'

In the year 1325, following on the claim in regard to the Yarmouth fishing, the prior had next to claim release from tallage⁴ in the city. On the 5th February in his eighteenth year (1325) the king ordered a writ under his great seal to the barons of the exchequer⁵ stating that it had been shown him that the prior of St. Bartholomew's by his charters held all his lands and tenements in the City of London and the suburbs, in simple perpetual frankalmoign, quit of all tallage ; yet the assessors appointed in the thirty-second year of Edward I (1303) had assessed tallage on the prior amounting to £6 17s. 0d., for which he had been distrained on by the sheriff of London. Being unwilling for wrong to be done to the prior, the king directed the barons to view the charters and to examine the Memorial Rolls of the exchequer of such tallage, and if they found the prior and his

¹ Anc. Pet. R.O. 13270.

² See App. I, p. 498.

³ The archbishop's injunctions arising from this visitation are dated 1303.

⁴ A general word for all taxes. Tallage was applicable to all tenants on all demesnes ; but in the case of ancient demesne more tallage was levied on account of exemption from other tolls.

⁵ Mem. R. L.T.R., 19 Edw. II, Mich., m. 31 d (about 107 lines) (1325).

ancestors had held their possessions in frankalmoign, and had been quit of tallage, then they were to cause the prior to be quit therefrom and the distress to be released, without delay. The prior therefore came and produced the charter of Henry II, of the year 1187, which gave the list of the possessions (already described);¹ and of Richard I, of the year 1190, which gave a further list of possessions (also already described);² which, among other things, granted and confirmed unto the church 'which is his demesne church', in perpetual frankalmoign, all things that had been granted to 'his demesne canons'. He also produced the charter of the then king, Edward II, dated the 10th June of his fifteenth year,³ which confirmed all the gifts in the other charters to the prior and convent, and to the master and brethren of the hospital and their successors, quit of tallage.

The rolls having been examined in the matter of tallage, it was found that the claims from the prior on his rents were as follows :

				£	s.	d.
From the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in the ward of Vintry	.	.	.	1	0	
" canons	"	"	Tower	2	4	
" prior	"	"	Crepelgate	{ 1	0	
				{ 4	4	
" "	"	"	Cornhill	2	4	
" "	"	"	Walebrok	1	6	
" "	"	"	Queenshithe	1	8	
" "	"	"	Farndon	1	9	0
" "	"	"	Bradstrete	2	0	
" "	"	"	Lymstrete	1	4	
" "	"	"	Castle Baynarde	7	9	
" convent	"	"	Bishopsgate	2	0	
" prior	"	"	Colemanstrete	1	10	
" "	"	"	Aldresgate	17	6	
" "	"	"	Cordewaner St.	13	5	
" "	"	"	Bredstrete	12	6	
" "	"	"	Cheap	1	1	4
" "	"	"	Farndon	10	4	
" house	"	"	Bridge	3	4	
				£6	16	6

It was also found that the prior and convent were not taxed before the year 1303, but they recommended an inquiry before a jury of four men from any of the above wards, as to whether any other lands or tenements in the city or suburbs had been acquired since the granting of King Henry's charter. The jury were summoned and found that the only additional property was one tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which James de Mohun bequeathed in the

¹ Above, p. 101.

² Above, p. 104.

³ A clerical error of the exchequer scribe for seventeenth year (1324).

thirteenth year of the then king, 1319-20, worth 40s. net yearly. Accordingly it was determined that the prior should be released from the sum of money aforesaid.

(The charters of Henry II and Richard I are here entered on the Rolls.)

The prior was equally successful when, in the same year (1325), he claimed to be released from an aid for marrying the eldest daughter of Edward II. The same process was gone through as in the case of releasing from tallage.¹ The complaint of the prior to the king was that he had been distrained upon for an aid granted from each military fee to the king for marrying his eldest daughter, as if he held his lands and tenements by military service and not in frankalmoign. The king, again being unwilling that the prior should be harassed in the matter, commanded the barons of the exchequer to inquire if what the prior said was true, and if so, the sheriffs were to cease from distraining.² So the prior came before the barons and declared he had been distrained for 20s. by the sheriff of Essex and Hertford, and 40s. by the sheriff of Middlesex, and in proof of his claim, as above, he produced, as before, the charters of Henry II and of Richard I (which are again entered *in extenso* on the Memoranda Rolls). The barons found that the amounts claimed were as the prior said, and there can be no doubt that they were satisfied that the possessions were not held by military service but in frankalmoign, and that therefore the distraint was ordered to cease as the king directed, but the end of the entry on the Roll is not legible.

In the year 1341 the prior had, apparently, to make a further claim as to being charged with the lay instead of with the clerical subsidy; for in that year he obtained a grant from the king³ of an exemplification of a certificate of the Court of Exchequer, that it was found in the rolls of the taxation of the temporalities of the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln made in 1291, that the Prior of St. Bartholomew's held in Mentmore temporalities⁴ taxed at 29s. 10d. as spiritualities; therefore the prior had paid a tenth with the clergy and that it was not found that they had paid any quota with the laity.

It would also seem that the prior succeeded in obtaining exemption from payment of the subsidy of a ninth and fifteenth of his grain, wool, and lambs, granted to the king in the year 1341, for in the inquisition taken to assess this subsidy in 1342, there is written by

¹ Recorded in Mem. R. L.T.R., 1 Edw. III, Trin., m. 46 d and 47 (1327).

² Ib., dated 14 Feb., 18 Edw. II (1325).

³ Cal. Pat., 15 Edw. III, 20 Feb. (1341).

⁴ Lands and rents.

the assessors, against the valuation of 40s. 10d. for the ninth of St. Bartholomew's included in the Islington return¹ 'of which they have a writ of *supersedeas* altogether'; the meaning of which we assume to be that they could not have execution levied against them and were therefore in practice exempted from payment.

The hospital at this time is known to have been entirely exempted from paying this subsidy; for the king, in the year 1341, in spite of his great need of money for the war, issued 'letters close'² directing the collectors to stay altogether levying on the hospital, for the reason that they were so poor in rents that their goods hardly sufficed for the maintenance of the master, of the brethren and sisters, and of the poor sick people, women and children, and alms; and because at no time had they paid tithe to the pope or the taxation granted to former kings because of their poverty. In the year 1352 the king had to issue similar letters³ to the barons of the exchequer concerning the hospital, for the reason that 'hitherto the treasurer and barons had delayed to discharge those taxes' for the hospital.

In addition to these activities of the prior in upholding the rights of the monastery, he also directed his energies to beautifying and enlarging his church. Reasons have already been given for thinking that building operations were going on as early as the year 1307.⁴ Whatever that work may have been, it is clear that Prior John rebuilt the Lady Chapel and completed it by the end of the year 1335, because Stephen de Clopton, the janitor of the monastery, in his will⁵ dated the 6th January, 1336, bequeathed his shops in Aldermanbury 'for the maintenance of the work of the chapel of St. Mary newly constructed in the priory'.

About or before this time there are several records of money transactions, but whether they had any connexion with the building operations it is hard to say. Thus in the year 1321 the prior gave a bond for £10 to Thomas de Kent of London, tailor (*cissori*).⁶ And in 1323 there is a record⁷ that Henry Norman of Berkhamstead and three others acknowledged that they each for the whole owed the Prior of St. Bartholomew's £400, for which they gave bond. This was paid, half at the following Michaelmas, and half at the Christmas following. It is probable that this latter represents the

¹ Lewis, *Islington*, p. 11.

² Close, 15 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 37 d (from transcript), 1341.

³ Cal. Close, 26 Edw. III (1352).

⁴ See above, p. 145.

⁵ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 427.

⁶ Cal. Close, 14 Edw. II, 4 Feb. (1321).

⁷ Close, 17 Edw. II, m. 28 d (1323), Feast of St. Lucy, 13 Dec. (Cal. since published).

sale of some property of the monastery, possibly for building purposes, because at the same time¹ the prior and convent gave a release of their right in the advowson of the church of Hemel Hempstead and in the chapels pertaining thereto, to brother Ralph, rector of the house of Assherugge, the Augustinian College of Bonshommes in Buckinghamshire. There are eleven witnesses to this release; one is Roger de Luda, already referred to, and four of the others are the same as went bond for £400 mentioned above, namely Henry Norman of Berkhamstead; Thomas de Chetyngdon, Citizen of London; Ralph de Chetyngdon, his brother; and Roger Chaunteclere of London. The release was further secured by fine,² on the 6th May, 1324, by payment of 60 marks to the prior by the rector of 'Assherigg'. The bond was probably given to secure this payment, but there must have been something else besides the advowson sold at the same time, as the sum is so large, and it is likely that the object of the sale was the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel. The college already had possessions in Hemel Hempstead valued in the year 1291 at £50 14s. 3d.

As has been seen, the custom of founding chantries came in with the fourteenth century, or was very largely increased during that time. By far the larger number at St. Bartholomew's was founded before the commencement of the fifteenth century. Before a chantry could be founded an inquiry had to be held as to whether there would be any damage to the king's revenue, if the lands or houses for the endowment were conveyed to the prior and convent; if there was no damage then the king granted licence under the Mortmain Act of 1279.

In the year 1322 James de Mohun bequeathed³ to the prior and convent a messuage in the parish of St. Sepulchre (the same referred to above by the barons of the exchequer) for providing two chantries, one in the chapel of the Blessed Mary in St. Sepulchre's; the other in St. Bartholomew's. The king granted licence for this in the following April, wishing, as he says, 'to show the prior his special grace' (for which, by the way, the prior had to pay 40s.).⁴

In the year 1327 an inquisition⁵ was held to inquire if it would be any damage to the king to permit Adam de Herewynton, clerk (already mentioned in connexion with property in Acton),⁶ to grant

¹ Cal. Close, 17 Edw. II, 13 Dec. (1323).

² Feet of Fines, Herts, 17 Edw. II, n. 376 (1324). See also below, p. 365.

³ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 301, 13 Dec.

⁴ Pat., 16 Edw. II, pt. II, m. 14, 14 Apr. (1323).

⁵ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d., File 195, No. 11, 1 Edw. III, 6 Oct.

⁶ See p. 146.

to the prior and convent lands and rent in Acton for the finding of a chaplain to celebrate daily in the church of the priory for the welfare of Adam during his life and an anniversary for his soul after death. It being found that there would be no damage, the king granted licence (by fine of six marks),¹ and Adam made the grant by fine in the following year.² It consisted of a messuage, $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land, 107 acres, 4s. 1d. rent and the rent of 1 lb. of pepper in Acton,³ the prior paying 20 marks in silver; the agreement was made by 'command of the king'. These lands in Acton were held of the Bishop of London and his church as mesne lords. It was necessary, therefore, to have the confirmation of the bishop,⁴ and of the dean and chapter, to the grant. The confirmation by the dean and chapter of the confirmation by the bishop (Stephen de Gravesend) is among the MSS. at St. Paul's.⁵ The deed recites the bishop's confirmation, which provides for an annual payment of 2s. rent, and, at the new election of a prior, a relief according to the quantity and proportion of a knight's fee whereby the lands were held, and as the preceding tenants had held them. It is dated at Oreseth, the day before the Kalends of March (February 28th), 1327-8, and it is witnessed by master Robert de Radeswelle, 'our official', Master Richard de Brinchesle, 'our chancellor',⁶ seven others named, 'and others'. The bishop recites Adam de Herewynton's grant, which is dated at York the Friday next after the feast of St. Martin, 1 Edward III (November 13th, 1327). There are nine witnesses named, among whom are: Roger de Luda (already twice referred to); Richard de Cornhulle; Richard de Wodetone; Philip de Berdene; and John de Mundene; and four men who also witnessed the bishop's deed. The dean and chapter's confirmation was made in the form of a chirograph, and sealed by the dean and chapter, and the prior and convent, but only fragments of the seals now remain. Though the deed is clearly written on indented parchment, the month and the year cannot be deciphered, but the date must have been in the first half of 1328.

In the year 1327 also, licence was granted by the king⁷ to Henry le Hayward, to alienate in mortmain to the prior and convent a messuage in the parish of St. Sepulchre for a chaplain to celebrate daily

¹ Cal. Pat., 1 Edw. III, 5 Nov. (1327).

² Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 2 Edw. III, No. 11, 13 June (1328).

³ See below, p. 357.

⁴ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 570, quoting Reg. Lond. Braybroke, 226.

⁵ St. Paul's Lib., Box 41, No. 1509.

⁶ This name fills a gap in Le Neve's list.

⁷ Cal. Pat., 1 Edw. III, 6 Feb.

at the altar of St. Mary in the church for the soul of Alexander 'de Sharford', or Swereford, treasurer of St. Paul's (the great benefactor to the priory already referred to).

Four years later, in 1331, a further endowment was made by John, son of John le Blount of 'Beckeswade', to find two wax lights to burn at these daily celebrations by the grant of 30 acres in 'Little Stannemere'¹ (after licence granted by fine of 20s.).

This Henry le Hayward, described as of 'Westsmethefeld', and Roger de Creton, chaplain (also a great benefactor to the church, as will be seen), obtained licence,² in the year 1334, after an inquisition held at Smithfield,³ to alienate in mortmain a messuage and 110 acres in 'Iseldon' and 'Kentisshetown' to celebrate daily at the altar of St. Bartholomew for the soul of the previous prior, John de Kensington (as has been already stated).⁴

In the following year, 1335, the same two benefactors, Hayward (or Heyward) and Creton, after a further inquisition held in Smithfield,⁵ obtained licence⁶ to grant 158 acres and 4s. 6d. rent in Little Stanmore to the prior and convent to celebrate daily, also at the altar of St. Bartholomew, for the soul of 'John de Pekesdene'. The entry on the Patent Rolls does not say that he was the then prior, but we assume that the prior is indicated, though he was still living, and not some one else of the same name.

In 1341 John de Bredstrete bequeathed the reversion of eight shops for the maintenance of a chantry⁷ in this church; and in the following year William de Erthyngton bequeathed⁸ certain rents to the prior and convent and willed to be buried in the church, 'if so be that they would undertake to provide a chantry there for the good of his soul'; otherwise to the nuns of St. Elena (St. Helen's, Bishopsgate). As the prior and convent were fined 40 marks in the year 1374⁹ for not obtaining the king's licence for holding these tenements in St. Martin's Outwich, no doubt they did comply with the will.

There were at this time other bequests made for the good of the souls of the testators, but they were not specifically made for the endowment of a chantry priest; thus: In 1348 Roesia, widow of John de Knopwede, bequeathed¹⁰ shops and a garden in the parish of St. Botolph, 'Aldrichesgate', to keep the souls of herself, her

¹ Cal. Pat., 5 Edw. III, 22 Oct.

² Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., File 227, No. 17.

³ Cal. Pat., 232, 9 Edw. III, 3 Apr.

⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 451.

⁹ Pat., 48 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

² Cal. Pat., 8 Edw. III, 10 Aug.

⁴ See above, p. 149.

⁶ Ib., 9 Edw. III, 20 Apr.

⁸ Ib. i, 466.

¹⁰ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 508.

father and her mother in remembrance (no mention of that of her departed husband!). And in the following year William, son of Martin de Isyldon, bequeathed houses in the parish of St. Michael Cornhill for pious uses and for the good of the souls of himself and members of his family¹ (named). Chantries at this period were also founded at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in which case the chaplains were presented to the prior or sub-prior on appointment.²

The priors of St. Bartholomew's, in common with the heads of other monastic houses, were apparently loath to conform to the Mortmain Acts, and in consequence they were more than once challenged as regards their licences. Prior John was twice so challenged; on the first occasion he was in the right, on the second he was in the wrong. Thus in the year 1320 the escheator of the king had seized a messuage acquired in fee from Adam de Milkestrate in the parish of St. Benedict Wodewharf, on the pretext that it had been acquired since the publication of the statute of Mortmain (1279) and without licence. On complaint to the king an inquisition was held,³ when the prior was successful in proving that the property had been obtained by Prior Robert de Novo Loco (who died 1261)⁴ long before the Mortmain Act was published, and the king instructed the escheator⁵ not to meddle further with it and to restore the profits to the prior without delay.

The second case was the one referred to earlier in this chapter,⁶ when, in the year 1313, William de Wibusade and John de Honnesdone had wrongly bequeathed property to the prior and convent without licence, and in consequence the bequest of Geoffrey had, in the year 1321, been seized by the escheator. The king, however, granted pardon for these trespasses with restitution of the property.

In the year 1330 the prior made an exchange with the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, of 6s. rent in the parish of St. Sepulchre and 'Little Stanmere', due to the prior from the hospital, and of a release of the tithes of corn out of the demesne lands of the hospital in St. Sepulchre's, for 6 acres of meadow in Little Stanmore; but licence was here first obtained, it is stated, 'by the prior of the hospital'.⁷

In the year 1335 the prior had to obtain licence⁸ before he could

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 578.

² Above, p. 86; N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 575.

³ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., 14 Edw. II, No. 12, 8 Dec. (1320).

⁴ See above, p. 130.

⁵ Close, 14 Edw. II, m. 11, 28 Jan. (A.D. 1321). Also Cal. Close, 288.

⁶ See above, p. 145.

⁷ Cal. Pat. 13, 4 Edw. III, 15 Oct. (1330).

⁸ Ib., 9 Edw. III, 11 Oct.

appropriate the glebe and tithe of the church of 'Theydon Boys', of which he already held the advowson. The frequent application for licence to acquire in mortmain was a costly process (as the church authorities find it to-day), so, in the year 1337, the prior and convent obtained from the king licence to acquire in mortmain land and rent, not held in chief, to the yearly value of £20,¹ as before referred to.² Whilst the prior could thus acquire property without a fresh licence on each occasion, it was still necessary for the benefactor to obtain licence to grant, which necessitated a preliminary *inquisitio ad quod damnum*.

Thus in the year 1340, when Roger de Creton (the founder of the two chantries referred to above) and James of White Nottelee wished to grant a messuage in St. Botolph's parish and a messuage and three shops in St. Sepulchre's (held of the prior by the service of one clove gillyflower yearly), an inquest had to be held³ as to whether it would be any damage to the king to permit them to grant this property in part satisfaction of the £20 of lands and rents per annum which the priory had licence to buy under the king's Letters Patent; and this was followed by the king's licence⁴ to make the grant.

Another instance occurred in the year 1342, when an inquisition had to be held⁵ before John Darcy le Cosyn could grant 222 acres and 38s. of rent in 'Tewyngge Hertfordyngbery and Pansangre'. Licence was given him by the king a fortnight later,⁶ the priory acquiring the property under this licence.

All future grants were acquired under this annual licence and the grants were very numerous in the first half of the century.

Roger de Creton, the chaplain, continued making grants to the priory until his death in 1348; thus in the year 1344, after inquisition held, he and John de Affebregge obtained licence to alienate⁷ to the prior and convent two messuages in London; and he and Roger and Richard de Birton two messuages and three shops in the suburbs of London.

Also in 1347, after inquisition taken at 'Tewyng', Roger de Creton, with the same Richard de Birton, had licence to alienate in mortmain to the prior and convent 2 messuages, one carucate of land (65 acres of which were held by Roger de Luda by knight's service),⁸ 33 acres and 16s. rent in 'Tewyng'.⁹

¹ Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. III, 20 Oct.

² See p. 7.

³ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., 253/17, 14 Edw. III, 22 July.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 14 Edw. III, 20 Nov.

⁵ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., 262/16, 16 Edw. III, 25 Aug.

⁶ Cal. Pat., 16 Edw. III, Aug. 29.

⁷ Ib., 18 Edw. III, 16 Feb.

⁸ Ib., 21 Edw. III, 6 Oct.

⁹ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., 283/4, 21 Edw. III, 10 Aug.

And lastly, in 1348, Roger de Creton, who had a brother Robert also a chaplain, bequeathed to the prior and convent houses, &c., in the parish of 'St. Mary de Stanynglane', and in 'Wendageyneslane' ¹ and elsewhere in the parish of St. Sepulchre, in order that he might partake of all the spiritual good things done by the said prior and convent and their successors.²

Most of the events during the priorate of John de Pekesden have been alluded to already in the chapter on the monastery: such as the assembly of the barons in the hall of the monastery in 1321; ³ a call to raise men against the Earl of Lancaster in 1322; and the harrying of the prior to collect subsidies for the war in 1337.⁴

Towards the end of his priorate, the victory of Crécy, in the year 1346, must have raised the hopes of the monastery that the war would cease, but there was something worse than the war in store for them. In the year 1348 came the first visitation of the terrible plague known as the Black Death, which carried off about half the population of this country. The same epidemic ravaged the land again in the years 1361 and 1369, and seriously affected the revenues of the monasteries, because, many of their lands in consequence being unoccupied, no rent was forthcoming.

This prior obtained no new large privileges, but he consolidated and carefully nursed those he had, and when they were encroached upon, as we have seen, he fought for them. In the year 1321 he had to defend his Fair when served with a writ of *Quo Warranto*,⁵ to show 'by what warrant he claimed to hold a fair on the eve, the day and the morrow of St. Bartholomew, with the rights of fairs and soc and sac of his free tenants within the City of London and suburbs; and that all his goods and men were quit for all that they themselves bought and sold in markets, and in every passing over ways and bridges, from tolls, from ferry, and wayfarers' toll; from pontage and pavage,⁶ from wharfage and lastage,⁷ from stallage⁸ and supplying of straw; from escapes of murderers; and from work on forts, walls, dykes, bridges, and causeways; from toll for things carried and for horse loads or for carrying any goods, whether by land or by water; from aid to sheriffs and their officers, from castle-guard and wardpenny,⁹ escapes on the apprehension of a thief; from keeping watches and from every tax and from villein labour', &c.

The prior claimed that he and his predecessors had had the fair from time before memory, and that Henry II had granted by charter,

¹ Windagain Lane, 36 Farringdon St.

² Cal. Hust. Wills, 531, 2 Feb. 1348.

³ See above, p. 4.

⁴ See above, p. 5.

⁵ Plac. de Quo War., p. 469.

⁶ Paving of streets.

⁷ Carrying things bought at a fair.

⁸ Payment for erecting stalls at a fair.

⁹ Money paid to watch and ward.

which had been confirmed by Henry III, and again by Edward I, that all things that flowed from the rights to fairs should belong to the canons of the church; and as to the liberties and quittances, he pleaded that the charter of Henry II had granted that the canons should be free from every subjection and earthly service, including the obligations enumerated above.

It was argued for the king that the prior ought not to enjoy the fair and the liberties and the quittances, because he had not used them at the times aforesaid; therefore a jury of 12 men (all named) was summoned to inquire into the matter, and they reported that the prior and his predecessors had held the fair from time before memory, and that they had enjoyed the liberties and quittances from the time of the execution of the charters down to that day. But they said that the men of the prior and of his predecessors had not enjoyed the quittances from work on walls, dykes, bridges, and causeways, castleguard and wardpenny, from keeping watches and every other tax within the liberty of the city, for they said that the men and the tenants of the prior in the city and suburbs had been wont to contribute together with the citizens in all aids and contributions assessed upon the community of the city, as other freemen of the city. Therefore the prior was 'discharged without a day fixed, saving the king's rights, etc.' (that is, he proved his case).

Quite early in his priorate, in the year 1318, Pekesden had taken the precaution of obtaining from Edward II letters patent¹ inspecting and exemplifying the confirmation by Henry II (about 1176) of the grant by Henry I in the year 1133. The letters also inspected the charter of protection by the same king (Henry II) dated at Windsor probably in the same year; and the charter of protection given by Richard I at Rouen in 1190. (But for this *inspeximus* of King Edward we should have had no knowledge, as has been already said, of these two charters of Henry II.)²

In the year 1324 the prior obtained a charter from the king, dated at Westminster the 10th June, which inspected and confirmed the charter of 18 Edward I, dated at Westminster on the 10th July 1290, which inspected and confirmed the two charters of Henry III given in 1253,³ one of which inspected the charter of Henry II, which we have attributed to the year 1173.⁴

This charter of Edward II was granted by fine of 40s. in favour not only of the prior and convent, but also of the master and brethren

¹ Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. II, 6 June; also App. I, below, Charter No. 19.

² See above, p. 101.

³ App. I, p. 487, Charter No. 20.

⁴ App. I, p. 478, No. 4.

of the hospital, for which reason, no doubt, it was transcribed by Cok in his cartulary of the hospital.¹ It was witnessed by :

Walter Reynolds, the Archbishop of Canterbury (1314-1327),	(who crowned Edward III).
John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich (1299-1325),	(who had been the Chancellor in 1319-1323).
Stephen de Gravesend, Bishop of London (1319-1338),	(who tried to mediate between the king and his queen Isa- bella).
Adomar (Aymer) de Valence, Earl of Pembroke,	(who was at the battle of Ban- nockburn).
Edmund, Earl of Arundel,	(who joined Lancaster against Gaveston, and was captured and executed by Isabella and Mortimer in 1326).
Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Win- chester,	(probably the elder, who with his son was also captured by Isabella and executed in 1326).

The other witnesses were :

John de Clavering, and
Richard Dammony, described as 'steward of our hospice'.

In the year 1336 (on November 4th) one of the canons, Richard of Eggeswere, brought the above charter of 18 Edward I (1290) to the Court of Exchequer for enrolment,² a precaution which the master of the hospital (described as the prior of the hospital) had taken two years before in respect to the charter of 17 Edward II (1324) referred to above.

John de Pekesden, like John de Kensington, his predecessor, was evidently a careful man of affairs who had the confidence of all those with whom he was associated. It has been already seen in the chapter on the Order that in 1328, at the General Chapter of the Order, he was one of the nine superiors in whose hands was the chief authority of the whole chapter ;³ that in 1329 he was appointed one of the executors of the will of master Richard of Gloucester concerning St. Paul's and St. Mary's Spital ;⁴ and that in 1340 he was also executor to the will of Thomas Bacoun of Newton, Suffolk.⁵ In 1328 he was associated with the Bishop of London and the Abbot of Westminster in the induction of the new master of St. Thomas of Acon.⁶ In 1340 he was ordered (with others) by the pope to defend the benefices and possessions of the Bishop of Tusculum.⁷ He was

¹ Hosp. Cart., f. 40.

³ Above, p. 23.

⁶ Above, p. 14.

² Mem. Roll L.T.R., 10 Edw. III, Michaelmas.

⁴ Above, p. 10.

⁷ Above, p. 14.

⁵ Above, p. 10.

frequently employed by the pope in the matter of reservations, as in the years 1345, 1347, and 1349. In the latter year he was employed by him as examiner for the office of notary.¹

As regards the hospital, Pekesden had to approve the election of at least four masters during his priorate. In the year 1321, William de Actone, the master, we are told, had been deceitfully persuaded by one Simon Dowel or Doyle to resign the mastership,² and Doyle succeeded him. He was, however, deposed the following year by the Bishop of London and Actone was reinstated. In the year 1324 Actone again resigned; this time of his own free will. At his request, and at that of the brethren and sisters of the hospital, the bishop collated William le Rows or Rouse to the mastership.³ But whether the prior had any voice in these two elections does not appear. No doubt he would have had to approve the election of Thomas Litlington, alias London, in 1338, and of Thomas Willy in 1341; also of Laurence Cranden in 1342 and of Walter Basingboone, or Bassyngbourne, probably in 1346,⁴ who resigned in 1354.

After ruling the monastery as prior for 34 years, Pekesden died in May 1350, for on the 25th of that month licence was granted to the sub-prior and convent 'to elect a prior in the room of John Pekesden deceased'.⁵

PRIOR EDMUND DE BROUGHYNG

1350-1355.

On the death of Pekesden, the escheators seized the possessions of the monastery for the king (as mentioned above);⁶ but on the same day as the king granted licence to elect a new prior (May 25th) he issued letters close to the escheators of London, of Middlesex, of Essex and Hertford, and of Bedford and Buckingham, to remove the king's hand, quoting the decision in the matter by his grandfather in the year 1297.

Edmund de Broughyng, on whom the election fell, was one of the canons of the house. The king, having approved his election, granted his assent and signified the same to the Bishop of London on the 3rd June. On the 23rd of the same month, he issued a mandate to

¹ Above, p. 16.

² Reg. Lond., Baldock, f. 50. Visitation of Wm. de Gravesend. Printed by Cant. and York Soc. London, i, p. 230.

³ Hosp. Cart., f. 62, gives the date of accession 1327, or 19 Edw. II, which would be 1325-6; but the Pat. Roll, 16 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 4, shows that the year was 1322-3.

⁴ Cranden died 1346. Basingboone, the next master named, occurs as master in Close Rolls 11 Aug. 1350.

⁵ Cal. Pat., 24 Edw. III, 25 May.

⁶ See above, p. 141.

the escheator in Middlesex to deliver the temporalities to the new prior as his election had been confirmed by Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London, and he had done fealty to the king.

Edmund de Broughyng had been prior for barely five years when he resigned. During those five years there are but few events to chronicle.

In the year 1349, whilst Pekesden was still prior, Edmund de Grymesby, the king's clerk, had obtained licence to alienate in mortmain¹ to the prior and convent 100 acres of land in Acton, 5 in 'Kentiston', 3 in 'Iseldon', and 33 in Theydon Bois, in order to find a chaplain to celebrate in the conventual church every year on the anniversary of his death, and to feed five poor persons on the same day for ever. In his will, dated 10th October, 1353,² in which he is described as 'rector of the church of Barewe' (Barrow-upon-Humber), Grymesby bequeathed to the prior and convent his tenements in the parishes of St. Leonard's, St. Botolph Aldersgate, and in 'Fleterstreete'; also two shops in 'Wendegayneslane' in the parish of St. Sepulchre, and elsewhere, on condition that they maintained a chantry for the good of his soul; failing which the bequest was to go to the chantry at Grimsby, to the chaplain of which he left a missal and a gilt chalice. That the prior and convent accepted the bequest is clear, because these tenements are among the gifts for obtaining which without a licence the prior and convent were fined in the year 1374.³

There are numerous entries in the Close Rolls during the priorate of Edmund of bonds given by him and the convent which were apparently in connexion with grants to the monastery.

Thus, in the year 1350, the prior and convent gave a bond of £40 to the Edmund de Grymesby mentioned above.⁴ In 1352, the prior, with Jordan de Barton, gave a bond to Richard de Thorsby, clerk, for 40 marks;⁵ and, in 1354, the prior and convent gave the same man a bond for £20.⁶ In the same year they gave a bond to David de Wollore, clerk, for £40⁷ (which was cancelled on payment to one of the executors of David's will); and a deed is enrolled, dated February 6th of the same year, testifying that, although the prior and convent were bound to this David in £60, he grants that if they pay him £30 in the church on the morrow of Trinity following (June 9th) then the bond should be null.⁸ In the same year, 1354, the prior

¹ Cal. Pat., 23 Edw. III, 26 March.

² Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 683.

³ See below, p. 169.

⁵ Ib., 29 Dec. 1352.

⁷ Ib., 13 Jan. 1353-4.

⁴ Cal. Close, 8 Nov. 1350.

⁶ Ib., 3 Feb. 1354.

⁸ Ib., 21 Feb. 1353-4.

and convent gave a bond to Simon de Hathefeld of London, potter, for £100 (cancelled on payment);¹ and to John Mayn for £40 (cancelled on payment).² On the other hand, in the year 1350, John, son of John de Carleton (which was the name of the next prior), gave a bond to the prior³ for £10.

We have already described, when dealing with the monastery,⁴ how, in the year 1352, the vicar of Tudley was cited to appear before the prior to answer various charges preferred against him.

Prior Broughyng would have consented to the election of Stephen de Maydenhythe to the mastership of the hospital in the year 1354, but no further records concerning his doings have been found.

The licence to the sub-prior and convent to elect on their petition 'showing that the church was void by the cession of Edmund de Broughyng the last prior' was granted the 18th April, 1355,⁵ and it may be assumed that the date of his resignation was one or two days before.

PRIOR JOHN DE CARLETON

1355-1361.

The election, after the cession of Prior Edmund, resulted in the choice of Brother John de Carleton, who, like his predecessor, was a canon of the house. The king signified to 'Michael the elect and confirmed Bishop of London'⁶ the royal assent to the election on the 20th April, 1355;⁷ and two days later issued a mandate to the mayor 'to deliver the temporalities to John de Carleton who had done fealty to the king'.⁸

Immediately on the cession of Prior Edmund, the escheators of the various counties in which the priory had possessions seem to have again taken possession, but on the same day that licence was granted to elect (April 18th) the king issued letters close⁹ to the escheators to remove the king's hand in accordance with the decisions (already described) by the king himself in the year 1350 and by Edward I in 1299.

This John de Carleton, while a canon of the house, had in the year 1352 (as was shown in the chapter dealing with the monastery)¹⁰ been granted indulgence, owing to the Black Death, to choose a confessor who should give him plenary remission at the hour of death. It is

¹ Cal. Close, 9 June, 1354.

² Ib., 99, 19 Dec. 1354.

³ Ib., 1 Feb. 1350.

⁴ See above, p. 15.

⁵ Cal. Pat., 29 Edw. III.

⁶ Michael de Northbury elected but not then approved by the pope.

⁷ Cal. Pat., 29 Edw. III, 20 Apr.

⁸ Ib., 22 Apr.

⁹ Cal. Close, 29 Edw. III, 18 Apr. (1355).

¹⁰ See above, p. 16.

more than probable that he himself succumbed to this plague, for he died in the year 1361, when there was a fresh and virulent outbreak.¹

But few records of the doings of this man during the six years of his priorate have been found.

In the year 1355, ten days after his appointment, the king again granted licence, as he had already done in the year 1337, for the prior and convent to acquire in mortmain land and rent, not held in chief, to the value of £20 yearly.² Under this licence, in the year 1359, after inquisition held at 'West Smythefeld', on the 9th May, 1358,³ and another held at Little Perndon, Essex, on the 29th January, 1359,⁴ and a third in Benyngton, Hertfordshire, on the 18th January, by which it was in each case found that there would be no damage to the king, the prior and convent acquired the following properties :⁵

From Hugh de la More of Carleton, chaplain, 1 messuage, 150 acres, and 11s. 4d. rent in Hendon, and 1 messuage and 168 acres in 'Great Stanmere', Middlesex.

From John de Affebrigg, 20 acres of land in 'Great Stanmere'.

From Master Roger de Kempele—on March 6th of the same year—the tenant's interest in a messuage and one acre of meadow in 'Shortegrave' in the parish of Newport and 'Lanelegh' next Clavering, Essex; and 19½ acres in 'Tewyngg', Herts.

From Master Richard de Shamelesford, clerk, a messuage, a toft⁶ and 91 acres and a lane called Pakeswey, and 2s. 6d. rent in Theydon Bois and Theydon Gernon, Essex.

From Robert de Thorp a messuage, 60 acres of land, and 7s. rent in 'Tewyngg', which, in addition to the rents, was worth £3 14s. 1d.

In the year 1357 it is recorded⁷ that John de Burstall, citizen and vintner, and his wife Cecily, gave the prior and convent the sum of £200 (for which they gave their bond).⁸ In return for this the prior and convent granted to John and Cecily a quit rent or pension of

¹ There was a John de Carleton, prebendary of Totenhall, St. Paul's, in the year 1349; this is probably not our prior, but the cleric of the same name who, in 1365, was Archdeacon of Suffolk, in 1378 was Sub-Dean of Lincoln, in 1385 was Prebendary of Bromesbury, in 1387-98 was Archdeacon of Colchester, and in 1399 was Vicar-General of Norwich.

² Cal. Pat., 29 Edw. III, 30 Apr.

³ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., Ser. I, File 329, No. 12.

⁴ Ib., I, File 329, No. 1.

⁵ Ib., I, File 333, No. 15; Pat., 33 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16 (1359).

⁶ A homestead.

⁷ Cal. Close, 30 Edw. III, dated 'in the Chapter House', 20 Jan.

⁸ Ib., 24 Jan.

£12 a year for their lives, and to John a furred robe of the suit of their esquires (or 20s. in lieu) to be delivered yearly at Easter. Also a plot of land within the gates of the monastery, measuring 40 ft. by 24 ft., upon which they might build a house to dwell in, but which they might not demise without licence.

A further record of this prior is contained in an agreement which he, with the convent, entered into with Benedict de Fulham. The deed was sealed in the chapter-house on the 6th March, 34 Edward III (1360), and is now amongst the MSS. in St. Paul's Library.¹ By it Benedict de Fulham agreed that he was liable to pay rent to the prior and convent (who had power to distrain) for houses in the parishes of St. Augustine's the Little and of St. Antony's, which Idonea, daughter of Andrew Blund, granted to Prior Peter in the year 1251 (as previously mentioned).²

We have already referred to the fact that Pope Innocent VI issued a mandate to this prior in the year 1355 in reference to a priest of the hospital who was an apostate.³

Letters Conservatory for the bishop and clergy of London were addressed to Prior John in conjunction with the Abbot of Westminster and the Archdeacon of London, commanding them to enforce the decretal of Boniface VIII *Super Cathedram*.⁴

The last record of him is dated two months before his death, when an inquisition⁵ was held to inquire whether there would be any damage to the king to allow⁶ a grant to be made to the priory of the manor of 'Great Stanmere'; but the prior died before the licence was granted on the 16th January following.⁷

His death probably occurred on the 14th May (1361), for the Memoranda Rolls record that on the 15th of that month the revenues of the priory were entrusted to the sub-prior⁸ and convent, and licence to elect his successor was granted on May 16th.⁹

Stow, writing in 1598, mentions among the monuments in the church that of a John Carleton. If this refers to our prior, it may be one of the stone coffins in the stone screen in the north transept.

¹ MSS. St. Paul's, A, Box 2, No. 585.

² See above, p. 16.

³ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., Ser. I, File 340 d, No. 9.

⁴ Pat., 35 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 5 (1362); also Cal. Pat. 141.

⁵ Mem. R. L.T.R., 37 Edw. III, Mich., R. 23, m. 41.

⁶ Cal. Pat. 21, 35 Edw. III, 16 May (1361).

⁷ See above, p. 120.

⁸ Cal. Pap. Reg., 583.

⁹ Later, p. 347.

PRIOR THOMAS DE WATFORD

1361-1382.

The licence to elect granted on May 16th resulted in the election of Thomas de Watford, who, like his two predecessors, was a canon of the house. Signification of the election was sent to the Bishop of London on May 21st, 1361,¹ and on May 29th mandates were issued to the escheators to deliver the temporalities, the bishop having confirmed the election.²

In spite of the previous decisions the escheators had (as already seen)³ again taken possession during voidance, and the new prior was once more put to the trouble and expense of proving to the Court of Exchequer that he was not bound to account to the king for the revenues during the time of a vacancy.

Although this prior held office for twenty-one years, the records are far fewer than for a similar period in the first half of the century. Apart from the grants of Dr. Mirfield⁴ there are records of only one other addition to the possessions of the monastery, and three grants for the founding of chantries. The cause of this falling off was probably due in part to the Black Death scourge, and partly to the lessening of enthusiasm for the endowing of monasteries and for the founding of chantries consequent on the state of spiritual decay of the Church at that time. The endowment of chantries had been so much overdone that, in the year 1362, the prelates, clergy, and Parliament enacted that no chaplain should take more than 5 marks a year for celebrating mass for the good of souls. It would seem, however, that no priest could be found to perform the office for so small a sum; for it is recorded in the Guildhall letter books that when one Adam Fraunceys came to distribute in the same year money for masses for the soul of John de Oxenford, he could not get any chaplain for 5 marks; so, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, he gave 10 marks to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's on the condition that he should find two canons to celebrate. He distributed the rest of the benefactions in a similar way through St. Mary's Bishopsgate, Holy Trinity Aldgate, and other monasteries.⁵

Two other records of the endowment of chantries⁶ at this time are those of Henry de Yerdelee, 'fellmongere,' in the year 1368;

¹ Pat., 35 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 24, 21 May; and Cal. Pat. 19.

² Cal. Pat., 35 Edw. III, 29 May.

³ See above, p. 141.

⁴ See below, p. 173.

⁵ Riley, *Memorials*, 310, quoting Guildhall Letter Book G, cviii.

⁶ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 131.

and of James Andreu, draper, who, after making provision for a perpetual chantry at All Hallows, bequeathed his tenements in the parishes of St. Olave and St. Lawrence in the Old Jewry (subject to a life interest) to the prior and convent to provide two chaplains to celebrate for the souls of his father, mother, and others.¹

As regards records of additions to the possessions, in the year 1374, in part satisfaction of the licence to acquire £20 a year of land and rent, licence was granted to John Quyneld and Walter Lepere to give two messuages and 2 acres in 'Eggeswere' and 'Idelstree' (Edgware and Elstree), and to John Chishull, chaplain, William Stoteville, vicar of the church of St. Sepulchre, and to John Harpesfeld, that they might give 1 toft and 127 acres in Acton, worth 32s. a year,² to the priory.

This John Chishull was a great benefactor of the priory, and, as will be seen later,³ he bequeathed £10 for two pictures for St. Stephen's chapel on the south side of the quire; he was a friend of John Mirfield, whom he made one of the executors of his will. The will was executed in his 'lodging within the close', showing that he lived within the monastic precincts.

In the year 1377, in part satisfaction of the 'licence to acquire' (granted, it is here stated, at the request of Isabella the queen-mother), licence was granted to the same John Chishull, clerk, and to John Mirfield, to convey to the prior and convent rents of 27s. 5½d., and of one rose in 'Tewyng'; and to the same John Chishull alone to convey 186½ acres and 5d. rent in the same place and in Welwyn, Dache-worth, and Knebworth; and to both of them to convey the reversion of the manor of 'Tewyng' to the prior and convent after the death of Joan, wife of John Spendelove.^{4 5}

As the licence to acquire land and rent to the extent of £20 was still operative, it is not quite clear why, in the year 1374, the prior and convent had to obtain pardon from the king at a charge of 40 marks for not obtaining licence in mortmain for holding certain tenements and rents granted to them.⁶ Most of the grants mentioned in this pardon have been already referred to and may be thus briefly enumerated:

Edmund de Grymesby,⁷ clerk, 3 tenements and 2 shops in the city of London;

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 166.

² Pat., 47 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 5, 12 Jan.

³ Vol. II, chap. vi.

⁴ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., File 390, No. 16, and Pat., 51 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 8 or 9, 27 May (1377).

⁵ For further grants by Mirfield, see p. 182 below.

⁶ Pat., 48 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 22, 8 Apr. (1374).

⁷ See above, p. 164.

Henry Frere de Iseldon,¹ a messuage in All Hallows, Bread Street ;
 Thomas Bakon of Venton, Knight, houses in Golden Lane ; then
 a more or less void place ;
 Roger de Creton, the chaplain,² a messuage in St. Mary de Stanyng-
 lane ;
 William de Erthyngton,³ a messuage called his 'rent houses' in
 St. Martin Outwich ;
 William Martyn,⁴ a messuage in the parish of St. Michael, Corn-
 hill ;
 Richard de Ewell, clerk,⁵ two shops ;
 Peter of Newcastle under Lyne,⁶ 6 shops and rent in the parish of
 St. Bartholomew (his will speaks of the shops as being in the
 parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate) ;
 Thomas de Brauncestre,⁷ citizen, rent in the parish of St. Michael
 le Quern ;
 Agnes de Stanes,⁸ widow of above, rent in the parish of St. Mary
 Magdalen ;
 Beatrice de Stanes, wife of James de Stanes, rents out of various
 tenements to provide a canon to celebrate ;
 Raymund de Bordeaux, citizen and sadler, tenements in the parish
 of St. Benedict 'de Wodewharf'.

There are two records concerning the presentation to churches belonging to the priory at this time: thus, in the year 1361, the king presented 'Thomas de Frasthorp, parson of the church of St. Mary, Stanynglane', to the church of St. Martin Pomeroy, Ironmonger Lane ;⁹ and in 1370 the king nominated John Swyket of Feldallyng, chaplain, to the prior and convent for presentation by them to the vicarage of the church of Little Yarmouth, by reason of the voidance of the bishopric of Norwich.¹⁰

In the year 1379 there is a record in the Clerical Subsidy Rolls¹¹ of the religious houses that were assessed to the clerical subsidy granted to Richard II. As we said when referring to this in the chapter on the monastery,¹² it gives some idea of the relative sizes of the religious houses in London at this time. St. Bartholomew's heads the list in the amount of the subsidy paid. It was, with Holy Trinity, Aldgate, assessed at 500 marks, an amount larger than any

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 494.

² See above, p. 160.

³ See above, p. 157.

⁴ See above, p. 158.

⁵ See above, p. 146.

⁶ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 350.

⁷ Ib. i, 234.

⁸ Ib. i, 278.

⁹ Cal. Pat. 28, 35 Edw. III, 22 May.

¹⁰ Ib., 370, 44 Edw. III, 14 Feb. There are also records in 1366 of a recognisance given to the prior and convent by John Whitloc of 'Tytenangre' for £146 6s. to be levied in default of payment of his lands and chattels in Herts. (Cal. Close, 298), and in 1376 concerning a plea pending between the prior and Adam Rous, 'leche' concerning tenements in the parish of St. Mildred Poultry (Cal. Close, 374).

¹¹ Cleric. Sub., 42/4 a.

¹² See p. 3.

other monastery, though in numbers, as has been said, it was fourth on the list with 23 members of the convent, against 30 members of the college of St. Martin le Grand. The entry cannot be printed in full, but the following few particulars may be of interest :

	£	s.	d.
At St. Bartholomew's, assessed at 500 marks, there were the prior, 15 canons, 3 clerks of the priory, 1 clerk of the church, 1 of the refectory, and 2 others, 23 in all, who paid a total of	5	14	4
At Holy Trinity, Aldgate, assessed at 500 marks, there were the prior, 17 canons, and 7 clerks, 25 in all, who paid	5	12	0
At the College of St. Martin's le Grand (assessment illegible) there were the dean, 6 canons called <i>Magister</i> , 6 called <i>Dominus</i> , and 17 others, 30 in all and paid (without the dean, being illegible)	3	16	4
At the Abbey of the Nuns Minoreesses, Aldgate, assessed at £100, ¹ there were the Abbess and 26 sisters, 27 in all, who paid	3	13	4
At St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, assessed at £100, there were the prioress, 11 sisters called <i>Domina</i> , 8 chaplains, and 1 other, 21 in all, who paid	3	4	8
At St. Mary's, Bishopgate, assessed at £100, there were the prioress, 11 called <i>Canora</i> , 6 sisters, and 1 other, 19 in all, who paid	2	18	8
At the Clerkenwell Nunnery, assessed at 100 marks, there were the prioress, 15 called <i>Domina</i> , 1 sister, and 5 chaplains, 22 in all, who paid	2	16	8
At the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, assessed at 100 marks, there were the master, 6 brothers, 7 chaplains, and 1 clerk, 15 in all, who paid	2	4	4
At the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, assessed at 200 marks, there were the master, 3 brothers, 3 sisters, and 2 <i>Domini</i> , 9 in all, who paid	2	4	0
At the Carthusian Monastery (The Charter House), assessed at 100 marks, there were the prior, 10 <i>Domini</i> and 3 brothers, 14 in all, who paid	2	1	8
At St. Mary Graces (by the Tower), assessed at £100, there were the abbot and 7 monks, 8 in all, who paid	2	1	8
Elsing Spital paid	1	14	8
The College of St. Lawrence Pountney	1	9	8
The Benedictine Nunnery of Haliwell	1	7	4
The Hospital of St. Aicon paid	16	0	
St. Mary's Bethlehem (Bedlem) with 4 persons paid only	11	0	

In the same Roll are given the names of those in the convent of

Some are given in pounds, some in marks.

St. Bartholomew at that time, and the amount at which each was assessed, thus :

The Prior was assessed at £3.

Canons of the Priory.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Dom Andrew Halstede	@	30 4	Dom John Spaldynggs	@	30 4
„ John Rankdych	@	30 4	„ John Flete	@	30 4
„ Richard Heyton	@	30 4	„ Thomas Bury	@	30 4
„ William Gydeney	@	30 4	„ Thomas Kyng	@	30 4
„ John Dunmowe	@	30 4	„ John Bacayle	@	30 4
„ John de Watforde	@	30 4	„ William Pyrye	@	30 4
„ John Tyllysby	@	30 4	„ John Yongge	@	30 4
			„ Philip Shalden	@	30 4

Clerks of the Priory : ¹

John Meryfeld	@	4	William Clerk of the refectory ²	@	4
John Conyngton	@	4	John Theobald	@	4
William Burton	@	4	Dom John Hyshull	@	2s. 0d.
Thomas } Clerks of					
Nicholas } the church ³	@	8			

Of the above, William Gydeney (or Gedeney) became prior in 1382, and John Watford, or another canon of the same name, became prior in 1404. John 'Randisch' occurs in the will of John Chishull,³ to whom he owed £10. That debt Chishull bequeathed to the high altar. John Dunmowe was sub-prior in 1382 and John 'Yongge' in 1404.

The election of the successor of Prior Thomas in the year 1382 is set out at length in the Bishop of London's register,⁴ and it is thence that we learn that John de Dunmowe was the sub-prior, that John Watford was apostate and had gone abroad, so that he could not join in the election, and that there were then 21 canons in the convent. Their names are given: twelve are the same as in the above list; Halstede, Flete, and Watford had gone, but there are the following additional names: John Tebbe, Michael London, William Coventry (who became prior in 1414), John Langeley, Stephen Charlewode, John Huet, Thomas Denby, and another John Tebbe (possibly entered twice in error).

¹ *Clerici eiusdem prioratus*. Dom H. N. Birt informs me that these would be the vowed religious not yet priests.

² These, Dom Birt says, had nothing to do with orders, but with posts in the house.

³ App. I, p. 531.

⁴ Reg. Lond., Braybrooke, 264.

The Subsidy Roll¹ also gives the names of those at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The master was assessed at 30s.; the brothers Richard de Orewell, William de Wakeryng, and Thomas Lakenham were assessed at 20d. each; the chaplains, Dom John Lyberpole and Thomas Oxale, at 2s. each; and the sisters, Johanna Pertynhale,² Cecelia Albon, and Beatrix Squier, at 20d. each.

The John Meryfeld (or Mirfield) mentioned above among the *clerici* of the priory was not a clerk in holy orders, but a man of great eminence as a physician and surgeon. The first record of Mirfield in connexion with the priory is in the year 1362, for in the year 1390 an *inspeximus* and confirmation was granted by King Richard³ of an indenture of Prior Thomas de Watford, dated May 9th, 1362, which granted to John de 'Mirfeld' for life a yearly pension of £4 8s., with a chamber and latrine on the south side of the church near the great altar, at the yearly rent of 4s. for the chamber and latrine; and if the prior failed in paying the pension, then John Mirfield (or his attorney) should have sufficient food from the prior and convent to satisfy the amount due; with power, in default, of entry and distress upon the convent's possessions in London.

There is nothing to show that the grant of the pension by the prior in 1362 was made by order of the king by way of corody (though it may have been so, for in the year 1376 the king sent William Purcell, his esquire, to the prior and convent to have for life such maintenance in the house as Maude the wife of Thomas de Colby in her lifetime had at the command of the king).⁴ If the grant was not made by order of the king, then it may have been in anticipation of the grants ultimately to be made to the prior and convent by Mirfield, under his canonical vows,⁵ of rents in Tewin and the manor of Tewin; and in 1392 the manor of Wellhall, and various messuages in the City of London. The description of the position of this chamber 'on the south side of the church, near the great altar', indicates the second bay eastward of Bolton's window; and that this was the position is proved by the discovery in 1912 of the latrine, which still exists in the angle formed by the east wall of the south chapel and the wall of the church.

Sir Norman Moore, in his Fitzpatrick lecture, delivered before the

¹ See also another, Cler. Sub., 42/20.

² See below, p. 177.

³ Cal. Pat., 13 Rich. II, 4 Apr. (1390), for $\frac{1}{2}$ mark paid into the hanaper.

⁴ Cal. Close, 50 Edw. III, 16 Nov.

⁵ See p. 169, above.

Royal College of Physicians in 1905,¹ states that Mirfield studied at Oxford, and that the master to whom he so often refers in his writings was a layman, like himself; that he had commenced his medical studies before he entered the monastery; and that there he studied theology as well as medicine. It is also shown from certain passages in his books that he knew something of the patients in the hospital, though we assume that he may not have had the full run of the place owing to the strained relations existing between the priory and hospital at that time (as shown in Bishop Simon of Sudbury's ordinance of 1373).

The following particulars of Mirfield's writings are gleaned from the same source. There are three books or writings of Mirfield's extant at the present time. The first, with the title 'Florarium Bartholomaei' (of which there is a copy among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum), is a theological treatise, with one chapter only on physicians and their medicines. There is internal evidence to show that the book was composed not earlier than 1362 (the year when the grant of the chamber at St. Bartholomew's was made to him), nor later than the year 1369.² The authorship is only revealed by an acrostic of the initial letters of the chapters following Chapter LXII. The initials read as follows: *Johanni de Suthwelle per Johannem de Mirfeld: ora pro nobis beate Bartholomee ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Cristi. Amen. Explicit.*³

Sir Norman Moore considers the book to be actually in Mirfield's handwriting. The MS. in the Museum once belonged to the Augustinian College of Ashridge, Co. Bucks, to the rector of which Prior Pekesden released the church of Hemel Hempstead in 1323.⁴

The second book is Mirfield's great medical work, with the title 'Breviarium Bartholomei', written some time before the year 1387 (probably about 1380, says Sir Norman Moore). There are two copies, one in the British Museum, the other at Pembroke College, Oxford. The latter is the finer volume and is in its original binding; it belonged at one time to the Abbey of Abingdon, and after the suppression to Dr. Bartlett, who lived in Bartholomew Close.⁵ The index of the Oxford copy is headed with the words: *Incipit tabula libri Johannis Mirfeld quem ipse composuit et Breviarium Bartholomei vocavit; compilavit in monasterio sancti Bartholomei London eundemque*

¹ Abstract in *Lancet*, Nov. 18, 1905, pp. 1451-4; see also N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 608.

² Royal MSS. 7 f. xi, f. 136, Mus. Brit.

³ 'To John of Southwell by John of Mirfield: Pray for us, blessed Bartholomew, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ. Amen. The end.'

⁴ See p. 155 above.

⁵ See Vol. II, chap. vx.

*divisit in partes quindecim.*¹ Each part is devoted to a different subject, as fevers, different parts of the body, boils, bruises, fractures, medicines, &c.; and it was doubtless written in his chamber in the church. The British Museum copy is not so large as that at Oxford, and slightly varies in the text, but both copies belong to Mirfield's lifetime. By means of an acrostic in this copy the capital letters from folio 21B make the words *ora pro nobis Bartholomæe ait Johannes de Mirfeld ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Cristi.*²

Dr. Mirfield observes in this book that an injury on the right side of the head is likely to lead to paralysis on the left side of the body, and relates an interesting and amusing case of one of the canons of the priory treated by his master.³

Mirfield seems to make no direct reference in his writings to the Great Plague or to the social troubles of his time. The Black Death of 1348 made labour scarce, and a Statute of Labourers, passed to check the rise of wages in 1349, raised great discontent. The appearance of William Langland's *Piers Plowman* in 1362, and the preaching of Wycliffe, first a reformer then a protestor, four years later, both contributed to a feeling of unrest among the labouring classes. Finally the imposition of the poll-taxes of 1379 and 1380, for the continuance of the war with France, brought about the great revolt against the manorial system known as the Wat Tyler Riots of 1381. How the rioters were treacherously admitted into the City of London on the 13th June, when a reign of terror ensued; how they brutally murdered, because he was the Chancellor, Archbishop Simon of Sudbury; how, in the same way, because he was the Chief Commissioner for the levy of the hated poll-tax, they murdered Robert Hales, the Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell, as well as many others, and how the young king fearlessly parleyed with the rebels the next day in Mile End and again on the following day in Smithfield, is told in every History of England, but more precisely by Professor Oman in his *History of the Great Revolt of 1381*. The meeting between Wat Tyler and the king on Saturday, June 15th, in Smithfield, is where the revolt directly touches the history of St. Bartholomew's. The king's retinue, with the Mayor of London, William Walworth, were drawn up on the east side of Smithfield, immediately in front of the doors of St. Bartholomew's church, whilst Wat Tyler's men were

¹ 'Here beginneth the volume of the book of John Mirfield which he himself composed and called St. Bartholomew's Breviary; he compiled it in the monastery of St. Bartholomew, London, and divided the same into fifteen parts.'

² 'Pray for us, Bartholomew, says John de Mirfield, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.'

³ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 609.

in battle array on the west side. When Tyler, for his insolence in drawing his dagger before the king, had been struck down by Walworth, the accounts differ as to what was done with his body. Henry Knighton, a contemporary compiler, says in his chronicle¹ that he was 'rudely drawn by his hands and feet into the church of St. Bartholomew which was at hand', but the 'Anominal Chronicle of St. Mary's York',² written probably by an eye-witness, says that Tyler was 'carried by some of the commons to the Hospital for poor folks, by St. Bartholomew's, and was put to bed in the chamber of the master of the hospital', and this is probably correct. Neither the priory nor the hospital buildings were damaged by the rioters, so far as is known. The burning of St. John's, Clerkenwell, was due to hatred of the Prior Hales, and the sacking of the Temple and Temple Church was due to hatred of the lawyers. There was no general attack upon the monasteries.

There are several records concerning the fair during the priorate of Thomas de Watford, especially in the years 1373 and 1377, which are referred to in the chapter on Bartholomew Fair.³

As regards the relations between the priory and the hospital,⁴ at this time there had been discord for a long while between them over the articles of the composition of Bishop Eustace, made in 1224. As they were willing, in the year 1373, to submit themselves to a new ordinance, Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London (whose tragic end in 1381 has just been referred to), drew up new articles for them. Simon's ordinance, as is shown in the chapter on the Hospital, left many of Eustace's provisions unaltered, but modified or reversed others in favour of the hospital.

The ordinance was dated the 11th April, 1373, and was executed in triplicate—one copy for the priory, one for the hospital, and one for St. Paul's. Two of the copies are now in the library there. The deed is also transcribed into the episcopal registers and into the hospital cartulary. (To the deed at St. Paul's, No. 644, have been added at the end four letters concerning the election of William Wakering as master of the hospital in 1387.)

Stephen de Maydenhythe, the master of the hospital, died in 1373, two months after this ordinance was sealed. Licence to elect his successor, and consent to the election of Richard de Sutton, would have been obtained from Prior Thomas de Watford, as the ordinance made no variation in this respect from that of Bishop Eustace. But

¹ Chron. H. Knighton, R. Ser. ii, 138.

² Oman, *Great Revolt*, p. 203.

³ See below, p. 302.

⁴ See chapter on the Hospital, p. 83 above.

whether the prior had to intervene in what subsequently took place does not appear. Richard de Sutton, soon after his election, got into trouble with one of the sisters (Joan Pertenhale) and proceedings were taken against him in 1375¹ by a commission consisting of the Dean of St. Paul's, the Chancellor, and another. Apparently he got the Commissary General of the Court of Canterbury to intervene, and against this the commissioners appealed² to the pope. Richard de Sutton thereupon obtained licence from the king on the 17th January, 1376, to go to Rome to defend himself.³

On the 4th March following, the proctor of the dean appealed to the bishop for Apostolic letters, on behalf of three of the brethren and a sister of the hospital, that the tithes of bread and drink, and the *anniversaria* might be restored, alleging that Sutton the master and Thomas de Watford, the prior, had withheld the same unjustly for three years by an agreement between them. He stated that neither they nor he had dared to appeal before for fear of imprisonment. Sutton had apparently started for Rome when this appeal was made. It would seem that Sutton was reinstated, for we are told that on the 4th December, 1386, he resigned at St. Martin's le Grand 'in the cloister of the free chapel there'.

Prior Thomas de Watford, when first made prior, served as collector for the diocese of London of the tenth granted to Pope Innocent IV by the clergy of Canterbury,⁴ and in the same year (1362) he was collector of the tenth granted to the king. The latter was in arrears, so the king issued a *mandamus*⁵ to the Bishop of London to procure from the clergy of the diocese the payment which had not been collected by the Prior of St. Bartholomew's (which perhaps is the reason why he does not occur again in that capacity).

It was during his priorate that the canons' house at Canonbury was rebuilt or added to, for there is a stone on the south side of the house with the date 1362.

Prior Thomas died on the 4th January, 1382, and was buried, we are told, in the church on the 8th of the same month.⁶ In the same year one John de Guldeford willed to be buried at his feet.⁷

Licence to elect his successor was granted on January 6th of that year.⁸

¹ Reg. London, Braybroke, p. 282.

² St. Paul's MSS., Box 54, No. 36, 8 Feb. 1375.

³ Pat., 49 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 1.

⁴ Bodleian Charters and Rolls, Oxford, No. 75.

⁵ Reg. London, Sudbury, p. 88, 36 Edw. III, 14 June (1362).

⁶ Ib., Braybroke, p. 264.

⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 234, 10 Aug.

⁸ Cal. Pat., 5 Rich. II.

PRIOR WILLIAM GEDENEY

1382-1391.

The *congé d'élire* resulted in the election of William Gedeney, who was a canon here in the year 1379, and at the time of his election was the cellarer.¹ The king signified to Robert de Braybroke, Bishop of London, his assent to the election on the 14th January, 1382.² The announcement of his election was made to him in the chapel of the infirmary of the priory.³ The royal mandate to restore the temporalities was issued on the 10th March following.⁴

The few records extant concerning this prior are these :

In the year 1383 he obtained licence from the king to appropriate in mortmain the church of St. Martin Pomeroy;⁵ and in 1384 the king nominated the prior's chaplain, William Smogger, for presentation to the vicarage of Lowestoft, then in the king's gift⁶ by reason of the temporalities of the Bishop of Norwich (Henry Despenser) having been seized by the king the year before. There is a further record, in the year 1389, in connexion with one Geoffrey Ashwell, who owed £4 2s. od. to one Thomas Driver, called Newchapman, who had killed some one at Idlestre (Elstree) and fled the country. The debt was therefore due to the king, and as Geoffrey could not pay he was committed to the Fleet prison, but why this matter should be found 'in a certain process concerning William Gedeney, prior of St. Bartholomew's, and others',⁷ as stated in the record, does not appear.

In the year 1390 the king, as mentioned above,⁸ granted an *inspeximus* and confirmation concerning the grant by Prior Thomas de Watford, in the year 1363, of a pension and a chamber in the church. We do not know what necessitated this confirmation. It may have been that Gedeney was not inclined, or was unable, to continue the pension granted by Watford, and so Mirfield obtained the *inspeximus* for his own protection.

The most important record of Gedeney's priorate is that, in the year 1383, he obtained from King Richard a charter, dated 28th January, in his sixth year. It granted no new privileges, but merely inspected and confirmed the charter of Edward II, dated the 10th June,

¹ Reg. London, Braybroke, p. 264.

² Pat., 5 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 4, 14 Jan. (1382); also Cal. Pat., p. 65.

³ His election is set out *in extenso* in Reg. London, Braybroke, p. 264, and will be printed in full by the Cant. and York Soc.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 5 Rich. II.

⁵ Ib., 7 Rich. II, 10 Dec.

⁶ Ib., 382, 7 Rich. II, 5 Mar.

⁷ Mem. R., L.T.R., 13 Rich. II, f. 9 d (marked ij).

⁸ See above, p. 173.

1324.¹ For this *inspeximus* the prior paid £10.² The main interest in it to us is the many men famous in history who witnessed it; they were :

William, Bishop of Canterbury, primate of all England. (Archbishop Courtenay, who proceeded against Wycliffe for heresy in 1377, when he was summoned to St. Paul's, and crushed the Lollards at Oxford in 1382, and at Leicester in 1389.)

Robert, Bishop of London, our chancellor. (Robert de Braybroke, who succeeded Courtenay as Bishop of London in 1381. He held the Great Seal of England from September 1382 to March 1383.)

William, Bishop of Winton. (William of Wykeham or Wickham, Bishop of Winchester from 1367-1404; he remodelled Winchester Cathedral, and founded Winchester College and New College, Oxford.)

John, King of Castile and Leon. (John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III and head of the house of Lancaster; he was father of Henry IV, grandfather of Henry V, and great-grandfather of Henry VI. He assumed the title of King of Castile and Leon after he married, as his second wife, Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon.)

Edmund, Earl of Cambridge. Described with John of Gaunt as 'our most dear uncles'. (Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III. He was a founder of the House of York. He was the great-grandfather of Edward IV and his brother Richard III, and great-great-grandfather of Edward V.)

Richard, Earl of Arundel. (The brother of Thomas Arundel the archbishop, whose place as archbishop was held for a time by Roger Walden.³ The earl conspired against the king and was executed on Tower Hill in 1397.)

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. (Sir Henry Percy, the first earl and father of Hotspur who was slain in the battle of Bramham Moor.)

Hugh de Segrave, our Treasurer. (Sir Hugh Segrave, the Treasurer of England from 1381 until his death in 1385.)

John de Montacute, steward of our hospice. (The third Earl of Salisbury, who was beheaded at Cirencester by the anti-Lollard mob.)

There were other witnesses not named.

In the year 1382 there was a disastrous earthquake in London when much damage was done to its buildings. St. Paul's Cross was so nearly ruined that Archbishop Courtenay had recourse to indulgences to raise the funds for its repair. Among the 'Political songs and

¹ App. I, pp. 487-8, Charters Nos. 20 and 23.

² The Cal. says 10 marks. The charter says *per finem decem librarum solut.*

³ See below, p. 186.

poems relating to English History ' ¹ occurs the following account of this earthquake :

' For sothe this was a Lord to drede,
So sodeynly mad mon agast ;
Of gold and selver thei tok non hede,
But out of ther houses ful sone thei past.
Chaumbres, chymeneys, al to-barst,
Chirches and castelles foule gon fare ;
Pinacles, steples, to grounde [h]it cast ;
And al was for warnyng to be ware.

The rysyng of the communes in londe, ²
The pestilens, ³ and the eorthe-qwake,
Theose threo thinges, I understonde,
Beoth tokenes the grete vengauce and wrake
That schulde falle for synnes sake,
As this clerkes conne declare.
Now may we chese to leve or take,
For warnyng have we to be ware.'

Whether it was the effect of this earthquake that rendered it necessary, in 1405, to rebuild the bell tower of the church, or whether it was the effect of the settlement in the north-west pier of the crossing, we do not know.

The records several times refer to the prior in connexion with the hospital, thus : in the fourth of the Bishop of London's letters, dated 24th January, 1386/7 (which was referred to as being entered at the end of copy No. 644 of Simon of Sudbury's ordinance at St Paul's), ⁴ the prior is commanded to induct the new master, William Wakering, and ' to assign to him a stall in the quire as was usual ', the prior having on the 4th of the same month presented the new master to the bishop. ⁵

In the same year (1387) Gedeney and Wakering were together witnesses to the will of John Royston. ⁶ He bequeathed £10 to the fabric of the cloister, and £20 to Dom John Rankedych to be expended round and about the high altar. These two gifts suggest that the work of restoration was commenced, or in contemplation, earlier than the year 1405, which is the date indicated by the pope's grant of indulgences.

Royston also bequeathed to the prior 26s. 8d. and his ' best cloth with the tun ' ; to the master of the hospital he bequeathed 13s. 4d.

¹ Political Songs, Rolls Series, No. 14, vol. i, p. 250.

² The Wat Tyler riots.

³ The Black Death.

⁴ See p. 176, above.

⁵ Reg. London, Braybrooke, p. 285 d.

⁶ App. I, p. 531 ; Courtenay, 2 June, 1387.

and his second best cloth with the tun; the mark of the 'tun' was probably due to the last syllable of the testator's name—'Roys-ton'.

The records of the Merchant Taylors' Company show that the prior was one of their fraternity of St. John Baptist.

In the year 1390 one John Bathe bequeathed to the prior (mentioning him by name), and to the convent, all his lands and houses in various streets in the city.¹

In January the next year (1391) the prior resigned. He apparently continued to remain a canon of the church, for as such, in the year 1393, he was appointed 'papal chaplain with the usual privileges'.² Three years before, in 1390, Philip Sihalden, a canon of St. Bartholomew's, had received a similar appointment, as did John Tebbe³ in 1392 and John Yong⁴ in 1394. These last two appear as canons of the house in the lists referred to already in the years 1379 and 1382 respectively.⁵ Licence to elect a successor was granted to the sub-prior on January 12th, 1391, but Gedeney probably lived to 1395 or 1396. On the 15th April of the latter year one John Newport directed in his will⁶ that a trental (30) of masses should be said in one day for the soul of this prior.

PRIOR JOHN EYTON *alias* REPINGDON⁷

1391-1404.

Apparently neither John Rankedych, who had already been passed over for Gedeney, nor any other of the canons was able or willing to take the position of prior; the convent therefore had to go outside for their choice. This caused delay, and it was not until the 22nd March that the king signified 'to Robert de Braybroke, Bishop of London, the royal assent to the election of John Eyton *alias* Repyngdon, canon of the Augustinian priory of Repyngdon'⁸ (or Repton) in Derbyshire. The temporalities were restored on the 5th April.⁹

This prior is mentioned by name in a note in the hospital cartulary, wherein John Cok says that 'Prior John Repyngton and the convent ought to release to the master and brethren of the hospital, as promised by the mouth of the prior, but not yet done', certain quit rents (named) worth 25s. in return for which the hospital had released to the priory 50s.¹⁰ by charter dated the 4th year of Henry IV (1402-3).

In the years 1392 and 1393 one Simon Wynchecombe appears in

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 284.

³ Ib. iv, 282.

⁴ Ib. iv, 288.

² Cal. Pap. Reg. iv, 278.

⁵ Above, p. 172.

⁶ App. I, p. 531.

⁷ Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* 100, says S. T. P.

⁸ Ib. lxxv says he was Prior of Repyngdon.

⁹ Cal. Pat., 5 Apr. (1391).

¹⁰ Hosp. Cart. 15 d.

the Patent Rolls as executor, with the canon John 'Rondych', of the will of John Royston Esquire; and in each case Simon is described as 'Prior of St. Bartholomew's Smithfield'.¹ We consider this to be a pure error, as in the following year (1394), in the same Rolls, occurs 'John' Prior of St. Bartholomew's,² and Simon Winchcombe cannot have been acting temporarily as prior because he was neither a priest nor canon. He was the senior sheriff of the city in the year 1383, and in his own will³ he is described as an 'armourer'. He left to his servant six complete suits of armour and implements of his craft as armourer; he made bequests to the priory and to the hospital, and provision for two chantries; Alice, his second wife, was to have by way of dower such share of his goods as of right and by the custom of the City of London she ought to have, 'and no more'!

The records during John Eyton's priorate are as follows:

On the 28th June, 1392, licence was obtained⁴ by the prior, by payment of £40 to the king, for alienation in mortmain by John Mirfield (the physician already referred to) and by Robert Brian to the prior and convent for maintaining certain charges as John and Robert should order, of three messuages in the parish of St. Andrew, two shops in that of St. Nicholas Shambles, a messuage in that of St. Mary le Bow, and another in that of St. Sepulchre, held of the king in burgage.

On the 16th September in the same year an inquisition was held at Barnet⁵ to say if it would be any damage to the king to allow John Mirfield and John Harpesfelde to assign the manor of Walhale (Wellhall, Herts.) to the prior and convent, and on the 20th September licence to assign was granted accordingly.⁶ But on the same day the king announced⁷ that this grant was in full satisfaction of the licence granted in the year 1337, to acquire £20 a year of lands and rents; and this fact is noted against the entry of the licence which had been made when it was regranted in the year 1355.

This manor of Wellhall, and also that of Stanmore, had been held of the Abbot of St. Albans, among other services by the service of doubling the rent of the manors as a relief after the death of every tenant, which relief was now extinguished by the acquisition in mortmain. It was therefore mutually agreed that on every voidance of the priory the abbot should receive from the prior and convent

¹ Cal. Pat., 16 Rich. II, 19 May and 29 June (1392), 19 May (1393), and in consequence inadvertently so called in the *Vict. Hist. of London*.

² *Ib.*, 18 Rich. II, 22 Oct.

³ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 340, 26 Aug. 1386.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 16 Rich. II.

⁵ Chanc. Inq., a. q. d., File 417, No. 9.

⁶ Pat., 16 Rich. II, pt. 1, m. 5, 20 Sept. (1392).

⁷ *Ib.*

5 marks from the manor of Great Stanmore and 24s. from that of Wellhall.¹

In 1399 it is recorded in the Patent Rolls that all the goods of John Coldham of Clavering and of three others (named) were forfeited for their outlawry in not appearing at the Husting Court, in a plea of 8 marks, at the suit of the prior, John 'Repyndon'; but a grant of pardon by the king was made to them on the same day.²

There are various records in the 'Regesta' at Rome of mandates issued by the pope between the years 1398 and 1402, in connexion with the appropriation of a perpetual vicarage,³ an indulgence,⁴ an excommunication,⁵ a reservation of a benefice,⁶ and the rehabilitation of a Cistercian monk.⁷ Most of these records have been already referred to in the chapter on the monastery.⁸

It was during the priorate of John Eyton, viz. in 1401, that the burning of heretics commenced. As the burnings took place in Smithfield immediately in front of the priory church, some account of the matter may be given here.

The year 1401 was that in which the statute *De haeretico comburendo* against the Lollards was passed,⁹ whereby any persons found preaching the Lollard doctrines should be taken and presented to the bishop, and if they maintained their opinions they should be committed to secular hands and both they and their books should be burnt.¹⁰

The first to be condemned and executed in accordance with this statute was William Sautre or Chautris. He was a parish priest of the church of St. Osyth (or St. Scithe) the Virgin, afterwards known as St. Benet Sherehog in the ward of Cheap in London. He had, as early as 1399, when he was parish priest of St. Margaret's, Lynn, been charged with heresy before Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich. The charge was under eight counts;¹¹ the first that he said he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross. The second, third, and fourth were on the same subject. The fifth concerned the worship of angels, the sixth going on pilgrimage, the seventh the canonical hours, and the eighth he affirmed that, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, the bread remained of the same nature that it was before, neither did it cease to be bread.

¹ Cal. Pat., 16 Rich. II, 28 Sept. (1392).

² Ib., 396 and 533, 22 Rich. II, 16 Apr. (1399).

³ Cal. Pap. Reg., 156 (1398).

⁴ Ib., 148 (1399).

⁵ Ib., 226 (1399).

⁶ Ib., 464 (1402).

⁷ Ib., 517 (1402).

⁸ Above, pp. 13-16.

⁹ 2 Hen. IV, cap. 15.

¹⁰ Capgrave, *Chron.*, R. Ser., 277.

¹¹ Fox, *A. & M.*, 9th ed., i, 586 et seq.

Three months later he publicly recanted; but not long after he returned once more to his first conclusions. He was now charged before Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, being steadfast, he was condemned at St. Paul's, as a relapsed heretic, to be publicly degraded. This was done on the 26th February, 1400/1. It consisted in taking from him, first, as priest, the paten and chalice, and his chasuble; secondly, as deacon, the book of the New Testament and his stole; thirdly, as sub-deacon, his alb and maniple; fourthly, as acolyte, the candlestick and taper; fifthly, as exorcist, the book of conjurations; sixthly, as reader, the book of the Divine Lections; seventhly, as doorkeeper and sexton, the keys of the church door; and finally, as a clerk, the tonsure was erased, and a layman's cap placed upon his head. He was then handed over to the civil authority, by a special decree of the king and council of the same date—26th February—addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to be burnt 'in some public or open place within the liberties of the city'.¹

Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum² is a book of sermons attributed to Prior Eyton labelled '*Sermones Dominicales Prior. St. Barthol. Homiliae*'. The first leaf is missing, but on the dorse of folio 17, at the conclusion of a sermon and in a different hand is written:

'Explicit liber sermonum dominicalium compo itus a quodam priore Sancti Bartholomei Londoniis cuius animae propicietur deus amen qd. Gosselyn nomen prioris Repoun.'

(Here ends the book of Sunday sermons composed by a certain Prior of St. Bartholomew, London, on whose soul may God have mercy, quoth Jocelain, the name of the prior is Repoun.)

The index to the Lansdowne MSS. describes the volume as 'written in the fifteenth century, in which is contained the Sunday sermons of John Repoun or Repynton Prior of St. Bartholomew's London', and there is no reason to doubt that this description correctly describes the first 17 of the 339 folios of which the book is composed. But the rest of the book consists of sermons written (by a curious coincidence) by a man with the same surname, Philip Repington, Bishop of Lincoln, 1405-19. Copies of his works are at Caius College, Cambridge, No. 246 (492), also at Pembroke College, Cambridge, No. 198, but none of these copies contains the first 17 folios of the Lansdowne MSS. described above.

John Hovingham, Archdeacon of Durham, refers in his wills (June 12th, 1417) to sermons written by the late Prior of St. Bartholo-

¹ Fox, *A. & M.* i, 590.

² No. 406.

mew's, which were probably those of John Repyngdon. Hovingham willed to be buried in the conventual church, and mentioned that Roger Walden had been his benefactor.¹

It was during John Eyton's priorate that Roger Walden first appeared in connexion with St. Bartholomew's. His connexion with the priory was so intimate, the chapel that he built was so important, and his influence, as we believe, on the great alterations made in the quire was so great, that it is necessary to give his history somewhat fully.

Roger Walden is said to have been of humble origin, some say the son of a butcher² of Saffron-Walden in Essex, but the date of his birth is not known. The first record of him that we have is in the year 1374, when he was rector of Kirkby Overblow in Yorkshire.³ He early became a chaplain of the king, and eventually he was his favourite. King Richard never seems to have missed an opportunity of giving him any ecclesiastical preferment that happened to be in his hands. By the extraordinary number of prebends and other benefices here enumerated, it seems evident that, while he discharged conscientiously and well high offices of State, his income was provided by the Church.

From the year 1382 to that of 1385 he was parson of Fenny Drayton. He was then presented to the church of Burton in Kendall.⁴ In March 1387 we find him as Treasurer of Calais, deputed to buy oxen to victual that town.⁵ In May for £100 the king granted 'the king's clerk, Roger Walden' a ship captured at sea.⁶ On the 24th June he was instructed to survey five ships of Spain captured at sea and brought to Sandwich;⁷ and on July 22nd (all in the same year), the temporalities of the bishopric being in the king's hands, King Richard made him Archdeacon of Winchester,⁸ a position he held till 1395.⁹ About this time he was also dean and rector of the Isle of Jersey.¹⁰ In June 1389, the temporalities of the bishopric of Salisbury being in the king's hands, he granted Walden the prebend of Bedminster Prima;¹¹ and on the 17th October he granted him the prebend of Thame, in the cathedral of Lincoln.¹² Walden also held a prebend of Exeter (date not known). In 1390 the king granted him the deanery of the king's free chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand.¹³ In the previous

¹ Wylie, *Hen. V.* i, 92.

³ Hook, *Lives*, iv, 529.

⁵ *Ib.*, 10 Rich. II, 20 Mar. (1387).

⁷ *Ib.*, 24 June, 1387.

⁹ Le Neve, iii, 26.

¹¹ Cal. Pat., 12 Rich. II, 20 June, 1389.

¹³ *Ib.*, 13 Rich. II, 21 Jan. (1390).

² Chron. Adam de Usk, 38; 152.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 8 Rich. II, 10 May (1385).

⁶ *Ib.*, 5 May, 1387.

⁸ *Ib.*, 22 July, 1387.

¹⁰ *Ib.* iii, 23.

¹² *Ib.*, 118, 13 Rich. II, 17 Oct.

December (1389) Walden had, in his capacity of Treasurer of Calais, caused an Italian ship, bringing cargo from Spain to London, to be attacked at sea, and the crew to be taken to Sandwich as pirates. This resulted in a claim by the London merchants which was heard before the Bishops of Durham, St. Davids, and others; surely a remarkable prize court!

In March 1391 the king presented Walden to the church of Holy Trinity, Gloucester.¹ In the June following, he presented him to the church of Fordham (near Colchester), by reason of the lands of the late Earl of Pembroke then being in his hands.² On October 21st, 1391, Walden is still described in the Patent Rolls as Treasurer of Calais.³ In May 1394 he succeeded to the prebend of Piper Minor in Lichfield.⁴ In September there is a ratification by the king of Walden's estate, as parson of the parish church of Stayndrop, Durham, as prebendary of Horton, Salisbury, and as prebendary of Caistor, Lincoln.⁵ In August of this year he went to Ireland in the king's retinue.

In 1395, on the death in September of John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, the king's favourite and Lord High Treasurer of England, Walden was raised to the dignity of Treasurer by the king;⁶ and was also made Dean of York the same year.⁷ The year 1389 is probably that when Roger Walden and his brother became high bailiffs of the king's castle and city of Guynes in Picardy.⁸ In 1397 they are described as 'late holding that office', and at that time they were both made governors of the castle and town of Porchester,⁹ an appointment revoked by Henry IV six weeks after he had come to the throne.¹⁰ In February of the same year Walden was given the prebend of Willesden in St. Paul's¹¹ (which, however, he only held for eighteen months), and the prebend of Knaresborough in Yorkshire.¹²

In 1397 Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for supposed high treason with his brother and others, was banished and, at the king's request, was translated to St. Andrews, whereupon (also at the king's request) the pope appointed Roger Walden, then the Dean of York, to succeed him; and he received the temporalities 21st January, 1398.

When Arundel, who had gone to Rome, came back with Henry

¹ Cal. Pat., 14 Rich. II, 2 Mar. (1391).

² Ib., 14 Rich. II, 12 June (1391).

⁴ Le Neve, i, 618.

⁶ Jones, *Index Mem. R.*, and Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* ii, 218.

⁷ Le Neve, iii, 124.

⁹ MSS. St. Paul's, No. 2086.

¹¹ Le Neve, ii, 451.

³ Ib., 15 Rich. II (1391).

⁵ Cal. Pat., 18 Rich. II, 3 Sept. (1394).

⁸ Cal. Pat., 13 Rich. II, 27 Dec. (1389).

¹⁰ Cal. Pat. 97, 1 Hen. IV, 19 Nov. (1399).

¹² Ib. iii, 196.

of Lancaster, Walden was pronounced an intruder and, on the 21st October, 1399, Arundel was restored.¹ Walden, being deposed, was then placed under arrest² by the new king, Henry IV, as a sympathizer with King Richard, and went with the dukes of Exeter, of Surrey, and d'Aumale, to Westminster under the surety of the abbot. On the 17th December Walden was present at a dinner at the abbot's house. After dinner the three dukes, and others, went into a side council chamber and the plot to restore King Richard was arranged.³ On the failure of the rising at Kingston, Roger Walden, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the Abbot of Westminster were committed to the Tower.⁴ On February 3rd these three, with five others, were tried in the Tower and Walden alone was set free.⁵ The Bishop of Carlisle and the abbot were sent back to prison; the other five were drawn to Tyburn, hanged, and beheaded.⁶

When Walden was arrested, the French Chronicler says: ⁷

'Now Walden had a stepmother ⁸ (*une belle mère*) who dwelt at St. Bartholomew's; but the people of the new king left neither to mother nor son robe nor plate, but cleared the house of everything.'

His other possessions were also seized, but on the 23rd February he had full restitution from the king 'of all his manors, lands, rents, and possessions, with the exception of his goods in the custody of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury',⁹ (referring, no doubt, to the jewels which Walden had removed to Rochester).¹⁰

After this narrow escape Walden lived in retirement for four and a half years until, by the death of Braybroke in August 1404, the bishopric of London became vacant. At the instance of Archbishop Arundel, the pope, by his bull of proviso dated the 10th December 1404, raised Roger Walden to the vacancy.¹¹ There were, however, other candidates whom the king preferred to the old favourite of

¹ Le Neve, i, 22.

² Chronique Traison de Richart II, Williams's trans., 75, 227 (Eng. Hist. Ser.).

³ *Ib.*, 77, 229.

⁴ *Ib.*, 100, 258.

⁵ Eulogium, iii, 387, R. Ser. Chron. de Traison, 102, 259. Cal. Letter Books, Guildhall, i, 2. He claimed exemption as Archbishop, but being overruled he pleaded not guilty.

⁶ Chron. de Traison, 259. See also Waurin's *Chron.* (R. Ser.), vol. iv, book v, p. 22. Carte, *Hist. Engl.* ii, 646. Ramsay, *Lanc. and York*, i, 21. Chron. Wm. Gregory, Camd. Soc., 103.

⁷ Chron. de Traison, 75, 227.

⁸ Brandon, J., *Coll. Chron. Belg.* 63, says *avia* (grandmother).

⁹ Cal. Pat., 1 Hen. IV, 23 Feb. 1400. Richard had given Roger the furniture, &c., which he sent to Saltwood but these were seized by Arundel. Chron. Adam de Usk, 38, 152.

¹⁰ Eulogium, iii, 385.

¹¹ Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 219.

King Richard; but eventually, Walden having diplomatically declared that he would not accept the post without the king's assent, licence was granted him to accept the position (by Letters Patent dated the 24th June 1405).¹ He was finally installed on the 30th June as bishop of the see by Prior Chillenden of Canterbury. It is recorded that, that being the day of the feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul, he followed the custom for the bishop with all his canons to walk in procession, wearing garlands of red roses.² The temporalities were returned on the 28th July.

Walden only enjoyed this last dignity for six months, for he died at his palace of Much Hadham, Herts, on January 6th, 1405/6, according to Bishop Arundel's register, on January 2nd (*quarto nonas Ianuarii*) according to the St. Albans Chronicle.³

Whether Walden was buried at St. Bartholomew's or at St. Paul's it seems impossible to say with any certainty, as there is evidence in favour of both places, but the balance favours St. Paul's. In his will⁴ dated at Hadham on the 31st December, 1405, and proved on the 20th January following, Walden says (as translated from the Latin):

'I bequeath my body, when I shall have passed away out of the light, to be borne to burial within the church, either within the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, or in a certain new chapel which I have newly caused to be made in the convent church of the canons of St. Bartholomew next Smethfelde, according to the choice and ordinance of the most reverend father in Christ my lord Thomas by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when I was lying beneath the feet of men and in the dust, raised me to the head of the Church in London.'

On the 11th January Archbishop Arundel issued instructions to the prior and chapter of Canterbury to celebrate obsequies and mass of requiem for the soul of the bishop, whom he describes as 'devoted to the priestly ministry, not elate in prosperity, of honest life and always patient in adversity'.⁵ As the archbishop paid him this honour, it would be reasonable to assume that he exercised the option left him by Walden, in favour of the greater honour, and ordained that he should be buried at St. Paul's. We have the contemporary testimony of an eye-witness, one John Prophete, Clerk of

¹ Cal. Pat., 6 Hen. IV, 24 June.

² Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. ix, 127 a. Wharton, *Hist. Epis. London*, 150.

³ Chron. Mon. St. Alb. 3. J. de Trokelowe, *Chron. Annales*, 417. Gough, *Sepulch. Mon.* vii, 19.

⁴ Vol. I, App. I, p. 534.

⁵ Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 282, ex Reg. Arundel, i, 148.

the Privy Seal and Dean of Hereford,¹ that this was so, for he thus describes the burial at St. Paul's :²

'Reverend lord on the fourteenth day of the present month of January, my lord of Worcester,³ buried with great honour, in the church of St. Paul, London, the body, clad in its pontifical robes, of the venerable father and lord Roger Walden, late as you know Bishop of London ; who, while yet he moved among men with a certain singular affection, used, as I hope, most tenderly to love your soul.

'And, among others now weeping tears of affection for so great a man dead, and now most devoutly mourning his loss, I was present, not slightly sorrowful, and I had, together with my lord and certain others standing by, looked on the bared face of the dead man, the thin veil having been removed, then almost as if sleeping, but more beautiful than customary. Many indeed think, truly recognizing his conversation, that among the others of his order the bishops of this realm for long past there has not died, than the aforesaid, one who was more devout, in adversity more patient, in prosperity more temperate, or more lovable to man, or more amply stayed with every good quality and virtue ; whom, dying happily, all who come up blessing with loud voice, wonderfully commend his firm hope and faith and most devout contrition. Now these things I have thought should be inserted in this present letter in this form for the increase of your consolation, to the end that sighing, mourning, or lamentation should not sadden you too greatly, but rather that, lessened by ripe restraint, sorrow may sink to rest and may be more fitly subdued to the offering of prayers which edify the rather to salvation.'

Further evidence in favour of the burial having been at St. Paul's is that one John Drayton, goldsmith and citizen, in his will dated 27th September, 1456, left his lands and houses to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, to find two priests to say mass daily, one in the church of All Saints, Tottenham, and the other in the chapel of All Saints in St. Paul's, where he says 'the corpse of Roger Walden, late Bishop of London, was buried'.⁴ Mass was to be said for the repose of the souls of King Richard, Anne his consort, John Watham (whom Walden succeeded as Treasurer), John Walden, Esq., his brother, and Idonia, John's wife, and others, and the founding of this chantry at St. Paul's we know was carried out.⁵

¹ Harl. MSS., 431, p. 97, Art. 108.

² Translated from the Latin.

³ Bishop Clifford, translated to London 1407, and one of the supervisors of Waldepe's will.

⁴ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 754, quoting Stokesley, 124.

⁵ *Liber Cantuariarum Eccles. St. Pauli Lib. St. Paul.*, W.D. 26, p. 5 ; MSS. St. Paul's, Box 7, deeds relating to possessions of Walden's Chantry in St. Paul's : Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep.* ix, 7 b.

Further, Walden in his will bequeathed the manor of Elmeden in Essex, with the reversion of the manor of Bonhunte, if his brother John Walden died without a son, to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, on the condition that they should find three canons to celebrate for his soul and the souls of those to whom he was beholden, in the chapel which he had newly erected at St. Bartholomew's. As the manors of Elmeden and Bonhunte appear nowhere among the possessions of St. Bartholomew's, the founding of this chantry evidently was not carried out; in fact, we learn from certain articles drawn up by his principal executor, Robert Scott, of provisions in the will that had not been properly executed,¹ that John Walden had given Elmeden to two of his servants, and Bonhunte (or Bonham) to his wife Idonia. Moreover, although Roger Walden had bequeathed the residue of his estate for the health of the souls of himself, King Richard, and Queen Anne, still no chantry was founded at St. Bartholomew's; it is therefore not an unfair assumption that the real reason was that Walden's body had not sepulture in the church.

Wylie, in his *History of England under Henry IV*,² takes the view that Walden was buried at St. Paul's on January 14th, as John Prophete says. He also says, without naming his authority, that the body lay for a day or two in his new chapel at St. Bartholomew's before its removal to St. Paul's.³

The evidence, on the other hand, that Walden was buried at St. Bartholomew's is strong. For in the first place, John Stow, in the year 1598, when enumerating the monuments at St. Bartholomew's, next to that of Rahere gives that of 'Roger Walden, Bishop of London 1406'. Francis Godwin, writing in the year 1616, says of Walden⁴ *sepultus iacet in prioratu St. Bartholomaei iuxta Smithfeldiam*'. Weever, in 1631, says,⁵ when writing of St. Bartholomew's :

'Here sometime lay entombed the body of Roger Walden Upon his monument this epitaph was inlaid in brass :

'Hic Iacet Rogerus de Walden episcopus Londinensis qui cum in Utraque fortuna plurimū laboravit ex hac vita migravit, 2 die Novem. an. dom. 1406.

*Vir cultor verus Domini, iacet infra Rogerus
Walden : Fortuna cui nunquam steterat una.
Nunc requiem tumuli Deus omnipotens dedit illi.
Gaudet et in celis plaudet ubi quisque fidelis.*⁶

¹ Stow, *Charters*, p. 624.

² Wylie, *Hist. Eng.* iii, 123.

³ As also the *D.N.B.*

⁴ Godwin, *De Praesulibus Angliae*, p. 246.

⁵ Weever, *Funeral Mon.* 434.

⁶ The false quantities in these lines are so in Weever.

'Here lies Roger Walden, Bishop of London, who, after toiling much in good and bad fortune, departed this life on the 2nd day of November,¹ 1406.

'A man, a true servant of the Lord, lies below, Roger Walden, for whom fortune had never remained constant; now Almighty God has granted him the repose of the tomb. He rejoices and in the heavens sings praises where are all the faithful.'

Stow is accurate in his statements about St. Bartholomew's. Weever is not, but the evidence of the two together cannot be ignored. It must, however, be remembered that the parish chapel, which was Walden's All Saints' chapel, had been destroyed by Henry VIII before Stow's time, and therefore we may assume that Walden's monument was also then destroyed; for in the year 1544, the king especially mentions in his grant to Rich that 'a certain chapel, called the parish chapel', had been taken away. However, Fuller in 1695, Newcourt in 1708, and Le Neve-Hardy in 1855,² all agree with Stow and Weever; but the fact that the investigation was not very deep is evidenced by Le Neve's quotation of Liber Lambeth as his authority for the burial at St. Bartholomew's. In doing so he has wrongly copied from Wharton, who quotes Liber Lambeth as his authority for the Walden arms, not for the burial.³ The balance of the above conflicting evidence is seemingly in favour of burial at St. Paul's.

All the contemporary writers seem to agree in praising the character of Roger Walden. Adam of Usk wrote of him that he 'was a modest man, pious and courteous, in speech of profitable and well-chosen words'. They all took occasion to moralize on the fickleness of fortune.

Thus Walsingham: ⁴

'Dom Rogerus de Waldene debitum naturae solvit; qui varia fortuna vectus, expertus est sub breve tempore quam sit—

Inconstans, incerta, volubilis ipsa,

Errans, instabilis, vaga, quae, dum stare putatur,

Occidit, et falso mentitur gaudia vultu.'

(Roger Walden paid the debt of nature, having been borne along by varied fortune, experienced in a short time how inconsistent, unsteady, flighty, roving, unsettled, and wavering she is; how, whilst she seems to stand, she is falling, and joys are changed by her feigned looks.)

¹ A palpable error.

² Le Neve, ii, 294, quoting 'Liber Lambeth'.

³ Rev. Claude Jenkins, the librarian of Lambeth Palace, found this error, and that by the 'Liber Lambeth' 'MS. Lamb. 555' is indicated.

⁴ Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* (R. Ser.) ii, 272.

In this connexion the preamble of his will, evidently written by himself, is worth quoting here (given in English from the Latin):¹

'In the name of the most Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and Holy Ghost, Amen. I Roger Walden, by the kindly mercy of God permitting, Bishop of London, undeserving and unworthy, knowing and feeling that the continuance of human life, so long as it is shipwrecked in the raging sea of this world, is all oftentimes tossed by the whirl of storms, and in the exile to which, for its trial, it is duly exposed, is ever made bare to sorrow and to toil; nor is there an end of its wretchedness until the spirit, an exile from its native land, leaves its wretched but too dear place of sojourn and seeks again its native abode where it hopes to enjoy its native land after exile, joy after grief, rest after toil; and whereas for those making their way thither it is necessary first to set their house well in order in accordance with the order the Lord gave to Hezekiah when appointed to die: Therefore whilst to me from the Lord there is granted a healthy soundness of reason and memory, I settle, order, and make this my will of my goods in the form which follows.'

His arms are variously given as 'sable, two bars, and in chief three cinquefoils, argent';² as 'argent, on a chevron gules, cotised azure, between 6 martlets gules, 3 wings of the field';³ and as 'gules, a bend azure (gy. argent intended) and a martlet or'.⁴

There is no record when the Waldens came to St. Bartholomew's, but we have seen⁵ that his '*belle mère*' was here in the year 1400. We learn from Robert Scott, referred to above, that Roger Walden had bought a nine years' lease of two places within the close, so it is probable that there were two families of Waldens living there. There were certainly two John Waldens; one, described as '*clericus*', died in the year 1404, and desired in his will⁶ to be buried 'within the chapel of my lord, lord Roger Walden'. He left all his goods to Catherine Hunt, his mother, and to William Hunt, his brother. (It would seem that his mother had married again and that William Hunt was only his half-brother.) What relation he was to Roger Walden does not appear; he was possibly a cousin. The other John Walden Roger describes in his will as 'his brother John' and bequeathed him the Manor of Tottenham. This John Walden died in 1417. His wife's name was Idonia, the daughter of Johanna Lovetoft. Idonia's mother, Johanna Lovetoft, who also willed in 1397⁷ to be buried in

¹ Lambeth Lib. Reg. Arundel, pt. i, f. 227 d.

² MSS. Lambeth, No. 555, *In campo nigro fasciolas duas in summo scuti quinque folia tria argentea*, quoting Wharton, *Hist. Epis.*, p. 151.

³ Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*, quoting Rawlinson's MSS.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ See above, p. 187.

⁶ App. I, p. 532.

⁷ Ib., p. 532; C.C.L. 401 b, Courtenay.

the Walden Chapel, left her son-in-law John Walden a silver bowl and cover and her daughter her best cup and two best mazers. She left her third best mazer to one Isabella Walden, but what relation she was does not appear. The year before, on the 15th April 1396, John Newport¹ also willed to be buried 'within the chapel of the venerable lord, lord Roger Walden, Treasurer of England'. The chapel, therefore, could not have been built by Walden later than 1395, the year he was made Treasurer, and to about that date we may attribute Roger's advent. From February 1400, when his confiscated property was restored to him, to June 1405, when he was installed Bishop of London, Roger Walden lived a retired life, and it is a fair assumption that he was during that period more closely connected with St. Bartholomew's than during any other, and that it was he who instigated the great restoration which we attribute to about the year 1405. More especially does this apply to what the pope described as the rebuilding of the high altar, which involved remodelling the presbytery, and building, or rebuilding, the founder's tomb. The new transcript and translation of the Book of the Foundation, which we also attribute to Walden, was probably completed before the death of King Richard.² That Walden's interest in St. Bartholomew's was continued to the last is seen by the fact that at the time of his death the prior and convent had two vestments of his, which he bequeathed to them in his will. At the same time he bequeathed to the Archbishop of Canterbury a book of pastorals of St. Gregory, and to Christ Church, Canterbury, a cope for the quire of red cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls on the orphreys, in which were contained pictures of Archbishops of Canterbury; and on the back, on a shield-shaped hood, the martyrdom of St. Thomas. And he bequeathed to St. Paul's his best frontal for the high altar.

Walden's brother John in his will, dated on St. Luke's Day 1417,³ also wished to be buried in his brother's new chapel. He directed that 140 masses by divers chaplains should be celebrated on the day of his funeral. He left to John Coventry, the prior, 40s., to each canon priest 20s., and to each novice 6s. 8d. He bequeathed his largest silver cup and cover, with his arms on the knob, to the sole use of the refectory in perpetual memory of himself. He had considerable possessions in Essex.⁴ His widow Idonia survived him and married again. Her second husband was John Rote, who had served as sheriff in the year 1381, and him also she survived. She left two wills, one made in the name of Idonia, widow of John Rote, and dated

¹ App. I, p. 531.

² Above, p. xxiv.

³ App. I, p. 534.

⁴ Morant, *Essex*, ii, 497, 570, 582, 612.

18th February, 1420/1, which was enrolled in the Court of Husting, in the year of her death, 1425 :¹ the other will, made in the name of Idonia Walden, is dated the 17th January, 1424/5, and is entered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In both she willed to be buried in the same chapel as John Walden, her first husband.² In the first will she left a tenement in the parish of St. Bartholomew to maintain a chantry in the Walden chapel for the repose of the souls of Roger Walden, late Bishop of London, and of John Rote and John Walden, her former husbands. In default of the prior and convent accepting the bequest, the property was to go to the minister of the house and church of the friars Holy Trinity at 'Houndeslowe', Middlesex. We have no record as to whether this chantry was founded, but inasmuch as at the time of the suppression the brethren of Hounslow had possessions outside the north-east corner of the parish, it is probable that the chantry was not founded and that the tenement therefore went to the Hounslow house.³ In the later will she directed—as her first husband had done—that 140 masses should be celebrated for her soul on the day of her death, and that with the residue of her property, not otherwise bequeathed, provision should be made for her soul and for those of her late husbands.

Prior John Eyton died in 1404, so he did not see Roger Walden enthroned as Bishop of London. Licence was granted to the sub-prior and convent to elect a successor on the 14th August of that year.⁴

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 442.

² App. I, p. 535.

³ See Vol. II, chap. xii, Bounds.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 5 Hen. IV, 417.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

PRIOR JOHN WATFORD

1404-1414.

THE *congé d'élire* on the death of John Eyton resulted in the election of John Watford, a canon of the house who, like William Gedeney, was on the list of canons in the year 1379.¹ The king gave his assent to the election on the 29th August, 1404.² Robert Braybroke had only died the previous day, and, as Roger Walden was not installed until the 30th June following, the see was vacant; the signification of the royal assent was therefore addressed to the guardian of the spiritualities of the bishopric. The temporalities were restored on the 13th September.³

Though John Watford was one of the canons when William Gedeney was elected in the year 1382, he did not vote on that occasion, for the reason, as we learn from the episcopal register (where the election is recorded in full),⁴ that he was apostate and had gone across the sea, but to what place the convent did not know; they had believed that he intended to remain abroad.

It is however recorded in the Close Roll of 1383⁵ that instructions were sent to the mayor and sheriffs of Lincoln and others to 'arrest brother John Watford, canon of the priory of St. Bartholomew in the suburbs of London, wherever found . . . and to deliver him to the prior and convent for chastisement according to the rule of their order, as they had signified the king that the said John, despising the habit of the order, is wandering about the country in secular habit, to the peril of his soul and the scandal of the order'. There seems reason for the assumption that this John Watford was the canon elected prior twenty-one years later, in 1404, but no record has been found as to how he became reconciled to his order.

In the year 1407 he was summoned as prior by the archbishop to Convocation from the London diocese at St. Frideswide's, Oxford. There were also summoned the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, the

¹ See p. 172.

³ *Ib.*, 13 Sept. (1404).

⁵ Cal. Close, 6 Rich. II, 20 June (1383).

² Cal. Pat., 5 Hen. IV, 29 Aug. (1404).

⁴ Reg. London, Braybroke, p. 264.

Archdeacons of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, 10 abbots, 19 other priors, 4 masters—including the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital—and all the clergy of the diocese.¹

The next year (1408) Arundel summoned another Convocation of the whole province, which was held at St. Paul's. It included the archbishop, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln, and Salisbury; the Abbots of St. Albans, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Peterborough, Bury St. Edmunds, and others; also the Priors of Merton and '*S. Bartholomei extra muros London*'.² The Convocation was called to consider the best means of dealing with what was called the 'cursed schism' that had lasted for thirty years or more (that is to say, Lollardism).

One result of the Convocation was the renewed persecution of the followers of Wycliffe, and on the 1st March, 1409, the second victim, John Badby, a humble smith of Worcester, was burnt at the stake before the gates of St. Bartholomew's. Capgrave, a contemporary chronicler, says :³

'He held this conclusion that the sacrament of the altar is not Christ's Body . . . and when he would not renounce his opinions, he was taken to the secular hand for to be 'spered in a tunne' in Smithfield and to be burnt. The prince Henry⁴ had pity on the man and counselled him to forsake this false opinion; but he would not. Wherefore he was put in the tunne, and when the fire burnt he cried horribly. The prince commanded to withdraw the fire, came to him and besought him greatly; but it would not be. Wherefore he suffered him to be burnt into ashes.'

William Gregory, also a contemporary, gives the additional information that—

'The Prior of St. Bartholomew's brought the Holy Sacrament with 12 torches and brought it before him (Badby) and it was asked him how that he believed. And he answered that he wit well that it was holy bread and not God's own blessed body.'⁵

The year before this, viz. in 1408, the schism in the papacy had become such a scandal that the college of cardinals summoned, on their own authority, a full and independent general council at Pisa, without the sanction of a pope or emperor.⁶ Its opening meeting was on Lady Day 1409. It declared the two popes, Gregory XII and

¹ Reg. Lond., Walden, Bp. Clifford, f. xxxiii. See above, p. 11.

² Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 308, quoting Reg. Lond. Arundel, i, 71.

³ Capgrave, *Chron. of Eng.* (R. Ser.), p. 297. See also Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* (R. Ser.) ii, 282; Fox, *A. & M.* i, 595 (9th ed.).

⁴ Afterwards Henry V.

⁵ *Chron. W. Gregory*, Camden Soc., p. 105.

⁶ Milman, *Lat. Chris.* viii, 108 (4th ed.).

Benedict XIII, to be deposed. It then elected a new pope under the name of Alexander V. In the previous December King Henry had announced his intention of sending many representatives of the Church of England to this Council of Pisa, including the two archbishops, four Dominican, two Cistercian, two Augustinian, and two Cluniac abbots.¹ Passports are said to be extant which were issued on this occasion for Bishop Nicholas Bubbewyth (then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had succeeded Roger Walden for one year, as Bishop of London in 1406) and for John, Prior of St. Bartholomew's.²

The prior evidently took an active part in the work of the Council, for the General Chapter of the Augustinian order, held at Northampton, granted a subsidy 'to the Prior of St. Bartholomew, London' 'from every pound of spiritual goods taxed, and likewise temporal, on account of his great labour and the expenses which he had beyond sea in the election of Pope Alexander'.³

Alexander V, who was pope only from the 26th June, 1409, to the following May, on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24th) made the following important grant of indulgences, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer:⁴

'Grant during ten years of the same indulgence and remission of sins as is gained by those who visit St. Mark's, Venice, on Ascension Day, to penitents who on Holy Thursday,⁵ Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, and on the Assumption from the first to the second vespers of that feast, visit and give alms for the repair and conservation of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Bartholomew in West Smythfeld in the diocese of London, the Pope having learned that through the malice of the times the monastery is in great part destroyed in its houses and buildings; that its said houses are greatly ruined with age; that its tenements in the city of London, which ten or twelve years ago were wont to bring in more than 100 marks a year, hardly bring in to-day, on account of the penury of men, half that sum; that the monastery, a short time ago, through the enmities of a certain powerful enemy, lost 60 marks out of which (marks) (*quarum occasione*) the prior was and is bound to find two priests for the celebration of masses for the soul of a certain person deceased, and to minister to them the necessaries of life; that on account of the frequent impulse of the sea and its floods many goods of the monastery within the parish of Sowthton

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, viii, 567, *De ordinationibus super conciliis Pisae*, 10 Hen. IV.

² Wylie, *Hist. Eng. under Henry IV*, iii, 367.

³ Blomfield, *Deanery of Bicester*, pt. II, p. 168: 3s. 5d. was the share paid by the Prior of Erdbury, as appears in the accounts of Prior Richard Parantyn.

⁴ Cal. Pap. Reg., vi, 151, 1 Alexander V, 6 Kal. Sep. Pisa (24 Aug. 1409).

⁵ Maundy Thursday, not Ascension Day. Walsingham says: '*Scilicet Die Coenae Domini Die Parasceues sive Sancto Sabbato Paschae*,' *Hist. Anglic.*, Rolls S. 28. i, ii, 282.

of Jernemuth¹ in the said (*sic*) diocese have been and are so much annihilated that for several years the prior has received from them little or nothing; that the same prior has rebuilt the cloister, bell tower, high altar, and chapter-house of the monastery church, at no small cost, whence he has many creditors; that the monastery requires several reforms which cannot be carried out for want of money; and that the monastery, being situate in a very famous place of the realm, very many resort thither from the realm and from divers other regions, to its grave burden.'²

We may assume that Prior John Watford, being in Pisa for the great council in the spring, was personally instrumental in obtaining this grant from the new pope. The reasons for which funds were required, it will be seen, were to rebuild the houses destroyed; to restore those fallen into decay; to make up the revenue lost by the reduction of rents and the loss of the 60 marks; to reinstate the losses in South Town, Little Yarmouth, and to pay off the debt incurred by the restoration and alteration of the fabric of the church.

We are led to suppose, by the wording of the grant, that the prior who is described as having received little or nothing in the way of revenue from South Town for several years, and who had done the rebuilding, was the then prior, John Watford. If that is the intention, seeing that Watford's priorate did not commence until August 1404, we cannot attribute the work in the church to an earlier year than 1405; but there are indications, as we have already shown,³ that work was commenced under John Eyton, if not under William Gedeney, and that it was merely completed by John Watford.

The work on the high altar referred to consisted of the re-modelling of the east end of the quire and the rebuilding of the clerestory.⁴ The rebuilding of the bell tower involved the reconstruction of the north and probably the west arches and part of the great north-east pier of the crossing, but, as mentioned later,⁵ there are indications that the tower was not rebuilt over the crossing but was erected as a separate bell tower on the north side of the church. With the roof off the quire and crossing, with the apse and clerestory demolished, and at least two of the great arches of the crossing down, it is no wonder that some 200 years later (in 1603)⁶ John Stow should have written 'this priory of St. Bartholomew was again new built in the year 1410'.

¹ Jernemuth = Little Yarmouth.

² This grant is also referred to in Capgrave, *Chronicle*, p. 297.

³ See above, p. 180.

⁴ See chapter on the architecture, Vol. II, chap. i.

⁵ *Ib.*, Vol. II, chap. vii, Tower.

⁶ Not in the 1598 edition.

The rebuilding of the cloister included at any rate the east walk, but not necessarily the other alleys; in fact, thirteenth-century work remained in the south walk up to the end of the eighteenth century.¹ The rebuilding of the chapter-house involved, as we know from excavations made in 1912, the rebuilding of the west wall, with its central doorway and two side arched openings in conjunction with the reconstruction of the east walk of the cloister.² We also know that a considerable amount of twelfth and thirteenth century work remained.

All this work must have entailed a large expenditure, and the obtaining of this grant of indulgence was the prior's method of paying off the debt incurred and of raising money to carry out the other objects mentioned above; but that it was not so effectual in its purpose (to say nothing of its morality) as the appeal made to the Christian public for the equally great restoration of the nineteenth century, is clear; because, whilst in the latter case every account was paid when due, in the fifteenth century the finances of the priory were so crippled that twenty-four years later, in the year 1433, the whole income and expenditure was, at the request of the prior, taken over and managed for three years by the commissary of the Bishop of London.³

What is exactly implied by 'the malice of the times', to which the partial destruction of the houses and buildings is attributed, is not clear, for we have no record of damage by the Wat Tyier rioters, but in 1404 the House of Commons had pleaded for the confiscation of the revenues of the higher clergy. The great prevalence of Lollardism in London probably withdrew many oblations from the altar and so diminished the funds available for the necessary repairs of the buildings; damage done by the earthquake of 1382 could hardly have been described as 'malice of the times'. The visitations of the Black Death and the protracted 100 years' war with France are sufficient to account for the reference to the 'penury of men' which had caused so great a fall in the rents in the city. Who was the powerful enemy to whom is attributed the loss of 60 marks, or which chantry was affected thereby, we have no evidence; we have already referred to several wills in which provision was made for two priests to celebrate for the soul of the testator,⁴ to any of which this remark might apply. Of the inroad of the sea at Yarmouth we have no other record, though the prior in the year 1322 had successfully contested his right to the dole of fish there, and thus secured that particular revenue.⁵

¹ Vol. II, chap. viii.

² See Vol. II, chap. ix, Chapter House.

³ See below, p. 204.

⁴ See above, p. 168.

⁵ See above, p. 151.

Neither have we exact knowledge of the several reforms needed by the monastery, though we are inclined to think that 'the very many' who resorted to the monastery 'from the realm and from divers other regions to its grave burden' rendered necessary an enlargement of the guest quarters; and that it was to effect this that Prior Bolton, in the sixteenth century, removed the prior's house to the south-east end of the church.

In pursuance of this grant a further indult was granted at the same time¹ for the prior to choose six priests, secular or regular, who might hear the confessions of such penitents as are referred to in the first grant, and give them absolution, enjoining a salutary penance, except in cases reserved to the Apostolic see. No doubt this grant was made in view of the increased number of penitents likely to arise by the publication of this grant of indulgences. It is noteworthy that friars are not mentioned as being eligible for choice as confessors, but seven weeks later (on the 12th October) Pope Alexander, himself one of the order of Friars Minor, issued a bull investing the four orders of friars with full and uncontrolled power of hearing confessions and of granting absolution in every part of Christendom, without the consent of the parish priest: a bull which caused universal discontent.

John Wakering, who we have seen was made master of the hospital in the year 1387,² outlived John Eyton the prior, and died in the same month and year as Bishop Roger Walden, viz. in December 1405. His successor, Thomas Lakenham, whose election was approved by Prior John Watford in 1406, died on the 31st August, 1412. His successor, Dom Robert Newton, was not appointed until nine months later, on the 13th June, 1413, and then not by election in the usual way but by the Bishop of London, Richard Clifford, the friend of Roger Walden.

By the ordinance of Bishop Simon of Sudbury in 1373, it was agreed that neither the seal of the hospital, which was wont to be kept under three keys, nor the disposal of the property should be in the hands of the prior. But the prior was accused, in February 1413, of trying to avoid this agreement by prolonging the vacancy by actions in the ecclesiastical courts, as thereby, being the custodian of the temporalities during a vacancy, he would for a longer period secure the custody of the keys and the disposal of the property of the hospital. What the real object of the prior may have been in this seemingly unreasonable delay in presenting the master-elect to the bishop for confirmation, we do not know; if the assumption is correct that the

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. vi, 151.

² See above, p. 180.

prior was the apostate of earlier days it may not be unpardonable to think it had some connexion with his desire to satisfy the 'many creditors' referred to by the pope at the expense of the hospital; but as the Hospital Cartulary says that 'the right of mastership' devolved on the bishop, it is probable that the prior was considered to be in the wrong, and for that reason Bishop Clifford intervened as he was empowered to do by Simon's ordinance. Seven years later, in 1420, to avoid the recurrence of such a trouble, the bishop ordained, as was shown in the chapter on the hospital,¹ that in future the brethren should, after the election, go straight to the Bishop of London for confirmation, and not through the prior.

The record of this accusation against the prior comes down to us through a dispute as to whether the matter appertained to the ecclesiastical or civil court, and it forms an interesting example of such disputes, which were constantly occurring.

The king on this occasion issued a writ of prohibition, addressed to the ecclesiastical court,² in which a suit was already pending upon Simon of Sudbury's agreement, commanding the ecclesiastical court to cease to entertain the suit, on the ground that it did not belong to the jurisdiction of that court to discuss the agreement, but that it belonged to the cognizance of the King's Court.³ The prior, here called John Waterford, repeated his declaration, notwithstanding the prohibition; so a further writ was issued to the sheriffs to hold John the prior to bail to come and show why he had disobeyed. The prior still did not give way, so, on the 5th June, the king issued a further writ to the sheriffs to distrain John the prior by all his lands in the city at the king's pleasure, and to account to the king for the proceeds; also that the sheriffs should make the prior appear before the justices at Westminster within 15 days from Holy Trinity (June 18th-July 3rd). But on the 13th June the bishop appointed the new master, and so we assume the dispute was ended.

John Watford seems to have been a man of a somewhat quarrelsome nature, if the following entry, written in French in a formulary among the MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge,⁴ refers to him, as it probably does; because, although the MS. is undated, it is written in an early fifteenth-century hand. (There is nothing to

¹ See above, p. 184.

² As already stated above, p. 89; see also Hosp. Cart., f. 56 d, 14 Hen. IV, 2 Feb. (1413).

³ The ecclesiastical courts exercised jurisdiction over the conscience of litigants, the King's Court over their persons or property. The keeping of an agreement would seem to belong to the former court, but the remedy for its breach to the latter.

⁴ MS. Deeds, 3, 53.

indicate the nature of the original document concerning the dispute.¹)

‘For the protection of the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, impropriators of the church of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, against whom, on refusing to give up to the parish a vestment room called the Cruddes within the church, the parishioners had conspired to forbid any greater offering to be made at any burial, anniversary, churching or wedding than one penny, and had by threats and force of arms hindered the same prior and convent from prosecuting their rights by due course of law.’

The prior and convent of St. Bartholomew’s, besides being the patrons of St. Sepulchre’s,² were also interested in the oblations, tithes, profits, &c., of the church,³ so that the prior would seem to have been ill-advised in withholding the vestry room.

There is no record of any property being acquired during the priorate of John Watford, but we learn from a grant made by the king in the year 1412 that a tenement in Smithfield had, in the time of King Richard, been forfeited to the Crown, because one Alan, who granted it to the prior and convent, had done so without licence.⁴

There is a record in the Regesta at Rome⁵ that the successor to Pope Alexander V, John XXIII, granted indulgences to a number of persons to have portable altars; among them was ‘John Yonge, Augustinian canon of St. Bartholomew’s’. A portable altar was a small thin stone, bound in a wooden frame and consecrated. It could be carried about, and thereby it enabled a priest to say mass or other divine service where he would, though it were in an unconsecrated place, and it could be done without prejudice to any other church or chapel. This John Yonge appears in the list of canons of the year 1379, and in the year 1413 he is styled sub-prior in the will of Margaret Goodchepe,⁶ who appointed him executor of her will and residuary legatee. Yonge may have wished for such a portable altar when visiting the various manors and other possessions of the priory.

He was not elected prior when John Watford retired in 1414, and in the following February (1415) he obtained from Pope John XXIII ‘dispensation to hold any benefice with or without cure, wont to be governed by secular clerks or Augustinian canons, even if a parish church or a perpetual vicarage, and to resign it simply or for exchange’.⁷

¹ Communicated by Sir A. E. Shipley, Master of Christ’s Coll.; Cat. of MSS. Cambridge Lib., p. 120, No. 158; p. 76.

² See above, p. 77.

³ See above, p. 232.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 13 Hen. IV, 12 May (1412).

⁵ Cal. Pap. Reg., vi, 10, 3 Kal. Nov. (Oct. 30).

⁶ App. I, p. 532.

⁷ Cal. Pap. Reg., vi, 466, 6 Kal. March (24 Feb. 1415).

John Watford had apparently contemplated retirement as early as the year 1406, for, on St. Bartholomew's Day in that year, Pope Innocent VII granted him 'dispensation, in the event of his resigning his priory, to hold a benefice with cure, wont to be served by secular clerks, even if of lay patronage, and to resign it, even simply, and hold instead a similar or dissimilar benefice'.¹

In the year 1412 Watford again made provision for retirement; for he obtained 'dispensation to hold, for three years only, with the priory (which had cure, was conventual, and was independent) a benefice with cure, wont to be governed by secular clerks'. Within the three years he was to resign the priory.² Not content with this dispensation, however, he obtained in addition an indult to exchange within the same term whichever of the two he preferred for another benefice compatible with the remaining one, and to retain for life, with such remaining one, the one obtained by exchange, even if wont to be governed by secular clerks.³

The prior resigned in July 1414, within the allotted period. It is recorded that he received as prior the attorneys of the Abbot of Osney on July 1st⁴ of that year, and on July 13th licence was granted by the new king, Henry V, to John Yonge, the sub-prior, and convent, to elect a prior 'in the place of John Watford resigned',⁵ so the resignation took place between those dates.

After his resignation Watford received, in 1415, a further dispensation to hold a benefice with or without cure, and to resign it as often as he pleased. He was still styled an Augustinian canon of St. Bartholomew's.⁶

Stow, writing in the year 1598, in his list of monuments, mentions a monument to a John Watforde, which probably refers to this prior.

PRIOR WILLIAM COVENTRY

1414-1436.

The licence granted on the 13th July to elect a prior in the place of John Watford resigned, resulted in the election of William Coventry, a canon of the house.⁷ John Yonge, the sub-prior, was his senior, for he was a canon in the year 1379,⁸ and William Coventry not until

¹ Ib. vi, 76, 9 Kal. Sept. (24 Aug. 1406).

² Cal. Pap. Reg. vi, 277, 9 Kal. Apr. (24 Mar. 1412).

³ Ib., 392. Id. Dec. (13 Dec. 1412).

⁴ Cal. Pat., 2 Hen. V, 1 July (1414).

⁵ Ib., 2 Hen. V, 13 July (1414).

⁶ Cal. Pap. Reg. vi, 466, 2 Kal. Mar. (28 Feb. 1415).

⁷ Cal. Pat., 2 Hen. V, 28 July (1414).

⁸ See above, p. 172.

1382, but only four days later he obtained a similar dispensation to that of Watford.¹

On the 28th July the royal assent to Coventry's election was signified to Richard Clifford, the Bishop of London;² and on the 17th August the king issued a mandate to the Mayor of London (who was always the escheator for the city) and to the escheators of Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, for the restitution of the temporalities.³ But the escheators replied that they had not been in possession of them because the prior claimed exemption.⁴

William Coventry was prior for over twenty-one years. The most important record we have during his priorate is the ordinance made in the year 1433, by Robert Fitzhugh, Bishop of London, by the consent of the prior, for the better management of the church and priory: ⁵ to this we have already alluded.⁶

There are several instances in which, owing to the burdens placed upon them, or to mismanagement, the monasteries got into financial trouble; thus Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in the year 1532, surrendered to the king because the house was so much involved in debt and its revenues and profits had come, in effect, to nothing.⁷ And Burton Abbey, in Staffordshire, in the fifteenth century, was insolvent and put into commission for seven years,⁸ having for long been impoverished by the many claims on its hospitality. St. Bartholomew's at the same time was in much the same condition, and by this ordinance of the Bishop of London was also put into commission, though the period was for only three years. At the end of that time, however, the house was still so poor (as will be seen⁹) that in the year 1440 the prior and convent obtained exemption from paying and collecting subsidies.

It is more than probable that the insolvency was brought about by claims on hospitality, as well as by the great building operations at the commencement of the century, for (as will be seen presently¹⁰) a debt was contracted for beer amounting to £293 (fully £1,500 of our money), which was settled by compromise in the year 1439, though the acquittance was subsequently disputed. The Bishop's ordinance seems to have made no provision at all for entertaining guests.

The ordinance was made, the bishop says, for the advantage of

¹ Cal. Pap. Reg. vi, 466, 6 Kal. March, 1415.

² Cal. Pat., 2 Hen. V, 28 July, 1414.

³ Ib., 2 Hen. V, 17 Aug. (1414).

⁴ MSS. St. Paul's Lib., Box 25, n. 645, 11 Hen. VI, 1 May (1433).

⁵ See above, p. 199, and App. I, p. 493.

⁶ Hibbert, *Diss. of the Monasteries*, p. 17.

⁷ See below, p. 216.

⁸ See above, p. 141.

⁹ See below, p. 212.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 150.

the church, for the restoration of the position of the priory, and for the reformation of defects found by the bishop on his regular visitation; and particularly in reference to the temporalities and spiritualities of the monastery, which had been disposed of and managed in an extravagant and irregular manner. The bishop emphasizes that the ordinance was made, not only with the consent and assent, but also at the special request and instance, of the prior and convent.

The ordinance provided:

- (1) That the rents and profits, both spiritual and temporal, should be collected for a period of three years by Master John Druell, the commissary of the bishop, under the supervision of Walter Shirington, the chancellor of the king for the Duchy of Lancaster.
- (2) That as the total revenue did not exceed the sum of £500 a year, out of which had to be paid yearly £107 for fees, annuities and corodies, and £58 for rents, these amounts should continue to be paid out of the revenue.
- (3) That as the debts of the priory in arrear far exceeded the true yearly value, it was ordered and agreed that the prior and convent should be satisfied with a fixed reasonable sum for the support of themselves and their servants from the above revenue, viz.,

	£	s.	d.
For the prior, his chaplain and servants	20	0	0
„ each canon himself and attendants £5, say 15 canons ¹	75	0	0
„ each clerk that served in the church £10 8s. 4d., say three clerks ¹	31	5	0
„ a certain Dom Rd. Sutton, ² Chaplain, for his support	10	3	4
„ the convent for pittance	1	13	4
„ the infirm and ailing canons, the rent of the infirmery	2	4	0
„ repairs to the church and priory, and not more without reasonable and necessary cause first shown	40	0	0

£180 5 8

Add annuities and rents above 165 0 0

- (4) That the debts of the priory be paid from the residue 154 14 4

£500 0 0

¹ These were the numbers in 1379.

² In a return of benefices in London in 1420 there were five chaplains returned as enjoying salaries here, viz. John Galby, John Sutton, John Bernande, Richard Sutton, and Thomas Gardener: Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 35096; and above, p. 34.

- (5) That, during the three years, the prior and convent were not to interfere with the receipts, management, and disposition of the goods of the priory without the consent of the chancellor and commissary; nor were the latter to interfere with the observance of religion without the consent of the prior and convent.
- (6) That in order to protect the priory from any alienation of its revenues, goods or jewels, the common seal of the priory, together with the jewels, except those that were in daily use, should be placed in a locked chest with three different keys, of which the prior was to have one, the sub-prior one, and the chancellor or commissary the third.
- (7) That Master John Druell in the presence of Walter 'Shirington' should give a full account of the receipts and payments at Michaelmas and Lady Day each year.

The ordinance was sealed by the bishop and by the prior and convent in triplicate: one copy to remain in the possession of the bishop (this is probably the copy now at St. Paul's, another in that of the prior and convent, and the third in that of the chancellor and commissary. The ordinance, which was to last for three years, was dated at the chapter-house of St. Paul's the 1st May, 11 Henry VI (1433).

This Walter Shirington has already been referred to¹ in connexion with the missing volume of the Tanner MSS. at the Bodleian. The injunctions of Walter Shirington there mentioned we consider to be this ordinance of Bishop Richard.

Shirington was a wealthy man and lived within the precincts of St. Bartholomew's, for in his will he directed that his household should be kept together 'at St. Bartholomew's' for a year and a day after his death. Besides being the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he is described as the king's clerk. In the year 1420 he was prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, and later a canon of St. Paul's. At the time of his death, he had in an iron chest at St. Paul's no less a sum than £3,233, of which £319 was in groats, the rest in gold.² He began building a library at St. Paul's upon the west walk of the cloister, which enclosed the Pardon Church Haw; he also commenced the building of a chapel near the north door of the cathedral.³ In the year 1446 he obtained a licence to found a perpetual chantry, either there or at St. Bartholomew's: in either case it was to be called 'Shirington's Chaunterie'.⁴ After his death, in 1448, his executors completed the

¹ See p. xxxiii.

² There is a list of these bags at St. Paul's: App. to vol. ix, Rep. Hist. MSS. Com., p. 58 a.

³ Dugdale, *St. Paul's* (Ellis), p. 92

⁴ Cal. Pat., 24 Hen. VI, 12 Mar.

building of the library and of the chapel, known as 'Shirington's Chapel', where the chantry was founded; the advowson of this the executors gave, in the year 1457, to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.¹ He willed, however, to be buried at St. Bartholomew's:

'I Waulter Shirington preest unworthy . . . my wreched body to be beried in Waldon's Chappelle within the priorie of Saint Bartilmew on the northside of the auter in a Tombe of marbil there to be made adjoining to the wall on the northside aforesaide of the length of two poules fete² for men to knele and leve upon the same tombe for to here masse atte the saide auter. Item y wel that myne obit be do in the saide church of Saint Bartilmew with placebo dirige and commendacions.'

The existing tomb of Chaucer at Westminster, which was presented to the Abbey by Nicholas Brigham in the year 1556 (as stated on the tomb), in many points corresponds to this description of Walter Shirington's tomb and dates from Shirington's time, but it cannot be his because Chaucer's measures more than two Paul's feet and it was evidently built for a south and not for a north wall. It has been suggested that the tomb may have come from some other monastery.³

The will mentions the chest within St. Paul's, and another in his chamber in 'Ivelane'. He directed that there should be distributed at the end of his three days' obit. 20*d.* to the prior, 10*d.* to the sub-prior, 8*d.* to every canon, 6*d.* to every chantry priest, and 10*d.* among the clerks; 7*s.* to the high altar, and £7 to be given amongst the poor at St. Bartholomew's. He also left 7 marks, or an ornament of the same value, to the cathedral churches of Wells, Lincoln, Chichester, Lichfield, and St. Patrick's, Dublin. The will is dated 16th January 1447/8, 26 Henry VI, and was proved 14th February, 1448/9.⁴

To return to the records: in the year 1426, Walter Honyngton, the vicar of St. Sepulchre's from the year 1407 to 1449, obtained by petition from the pope confirmation of the letters of the previous Bishop of London (Richard Clifford) which had been granted under the circumstances recounted in his petition as follows:⁵ Considering that St. Sepulchre's had more than 2,000 parishioners, and that it was a long, wide, and scattered parish, and that single-handed neither he (Walter Honyngton) nor any other vicar could exercise the cure without the aid of a chaplain, and seeing that the oblations, tithes, and other emoluments of the church commonly amounted to £60

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 8, Queen Anne's Bounty, p. 634 a (13).

² Paul's feet.

³ Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 276.

⁴ App. I, p. 535.

⁵ Cal. Pap. Reg. vii, 474, 9 Martin V, 7 Kal. May (1426).

a year, of which the vicarage had not been endowed with a sufficient portion, the bishop had warned and required the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, to which the church was annexed, to assign to the vicar and his successors an adequate portion of the income; and that upon the prior and convent neglecting to do this the bishop himself had, as the result of a visitation, assigned (by sealed letters dated at Fulham 1st February, 1422¹) a portion of £20 of the money to be paid annually on behalf of the prior and convent by the parish clerk or whoever else collected the oblations. Seeing that the vicar had already received the pension for four years without opposition from the prior and convent, the pope confirmed the bishop's apportionment. (A further award was made by Bishop Stokesley in 1531.²)

Among the less important records in Prior Williams's time are those from the Clerical Subsidy Rolls showing that the prior was a collector of the second of the two tenths granted to the king from the clergy of the province of Canterbury, both in the year 1414³ and in that of 1416.⁴

In the wills are records of various small legacies being left to the prior and to the canons. In the year 1415, Richard Brigge, Lancaster King of Arms, who willed to be buried here, left 20s. to the prior, 3s. 4d. to each canon that was a chaplain, and 1s. 8d. each to the other canons.⁵ Richard Banks, in the same year, who also willed to be buried at St. Bartholomew's, left the prior 100s.⁶ Margaret Deyster, in the year 1419, left the prior 13s. 4d. and the convent 40s.⁷ Idonia Walden (already referred to) left the prior (who is called John Coventry in error) 20s. and to the canons that were novices 3s. 4d. each.⁸ Katharine Lancaster, widow of Richard Brigge referred to above, in 1436 left 20s. to the prior, 3s. 4d. to each priest, 1s. 8d. to each canon not a priest, and 1s. to each clerk.⁹ She also bequeathed 3s. 4d. for the support of the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in the church. This is the first mention we have found of any guild here. In 1374 the guild of the brotherhood of Holy Trinity was founded in the adjoining parish of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, with 53 brethren and 29 sisters.¹⁰ They were the proprietors of the 'Saracen's Head' Inn and the 'Falcon on the Hoop' brewery. One William Martyn, who dwelt in the close in the year 1537, willed that his patent of

¹ Probably an error for 1420/1, as Bishop Clifford died in Nov. 1421.

² See below, p. 232.

³ Ib., 42/104, 4 Hen. V.

⁴ Ib., p. 534.

⁵ Ib., p. 535.

⁶ Cler. Sub., 42/89 a, 2 Hen. V, 1 Oct.

⁷ App. I, pp. 532, 534.

⁸ Ib., p. 532.

⁹ Ib.

¹⁰ Founded at first as a guild of Corpus Christi: see Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, pp. 66-72, and Stow, p. 160.

brotherhood of the Chapel of St. Bartholomew should be given to the Charterhouse to pray for his soul;¹ otherwise we have met with no reference to guilds at St. Bartholomew's.

In the year 1432 Prior William Coventry acted as executor to the will of Richard Gray.²

In the year 1419 (September 27th) King Henry V granted to the prior and convent and to the master and brethren of the hospital Letters Patent³ inspecting and confirming no less than nine different charters or Letters Patent which will be found enumerated in the appendix.⁴ This *inspeximus*, being addressed to the hospital as well as to the priory, was entered by Cok in the cartulary of the hospital.⁵

Five years later, on the 8th June 1424, the priory was put to the needless expense (as it seems) of obtaining from King Henry VI further Letters Patent inspecting and confirming this *inspeximus* of Henry V, in which all the nine charters are set out again at full length. This time the prior and convent only, and not the hospital, were addressed.⁶

But even this long list of confirmations did not satisfy the lawyers, for in the year 1429 the prior had to obtain Letters Patent⁷ inspecting over again the first charter of King Henry I (1133). What necessitated this repetition, seeing that the charter was inspected in 1419 and in 1424, we do not know.

In the year 1420, the year after the hospital had obtained this *inspeximus*, they obtained, as already mentioned,⁸ from the Bishop of London, Richard Clifford, a new ordinance granted, the bishop says, on the petition of the master and brethren of the hospital, in order that divine worship might be increased, and that causes of dissension and strife might be removed. It revised the ordinance made by Simon of Sudbury in the year 1373, but in only three matters. It provided first that the brethren must still obtain licence to elect from the prior, but that, after election, they were to go straight to the bishop for confirmation; but the prior was still to be asked to induct after confirmation.⁹ Secondly, that only one of the brethren need attend to offer the wax candles at the high altar of the priory on St. Bartholomew's Day; and that even that one brother need not join the procession.¹⁰ And thirdly, that there should be one wax candle only, weighing six pounds, instead of two weighing four pounds each.¹¹

¹ App. I, p. 540.

³ Cal. Pat., 7 Hen. V, 27 Sept.

⁵ Hosp. Cart., ff. 72-9.

⁷ Pat., 8 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 8, 8 Oct.: App. I, p. 488, Charter No. 26.

⁸ See above, p. 83.

¹⁰ Ib., p. 90

² Ib., p. 533.

⁴ App. I, Charter No. 24, p. 488

⁶ App. I, Charter No. 25, p. 488

⁹ See above, p. 84.

¹¹ Ib., p. 90.

In the year 1425 the hospital, in order, as the master says, to keep in memory the agreement between the hospital and priory, obtained from Pope Martin V a confirmation and recital of the ordinances of Bishop Eustace made in 1224, of Simon of Sudbury in 1373, and of Richard Clifford in 1420;¹ and the master's successor in the year 1453 obtained from Pope Nicholas V a confirmation of Martin's deed.² John Cok remarks in the hospital cartulary that the prior of St. Bartholomew's most falsely had this bull cancelled '*per breve pre-munire facias*'.

Three times during his priorate Prior William had to grant his licence to the hospital to elect a master. In the year 1415, on the resignation of Dom Robert Newton, Dom John Bury, rector of the church of Missenden, Bucks, was created master by means of a composition by the Bishop of London. When Bury died in 1417 the election of John White, canon and rector of Paternoster church, apparently followed Bishop Simon's ordinance in the usual way. (A note in the hospital cartulary against the entries of the election of these two rectors states that they were at once professed to the Augustinian order.) Before Dom John White retired in 1423, the new ordinance was in force, and in accordance therewith Dom John Wakering, *alias* Blakberd, was presented for confirmation direct to the bishop.

Sir Richard Whittington, before he died in 1423, began to rebuild St. Michael's Paternoster church and to transform it into a combined college and hospital, whence it was called Whittington's college; there John White retired from the hospital in that year (1423), and in 1424 he was one of the five chaplains of the college.³

As regards his successor at the hospital, John Wakering, John Cok in his cartulary⁴ speaks of his renowned deeds and of his remarkable sagacity and discretion. One of his renowned deeds was to recover from the executors of Sir Richard Whittington, who had rebuilt more than half of the hospital,⁵ a valuable cross, an antiphonar, two large breviaries, a psalter and a large Bible, all of which belonged to the hospital.⁶

Another of the renowned deeds, which more closely concerns the priory, was the arrangement he came to, in the year 1433, concerning the water supply.⁷ The water came from the estates of the priory in

¹ See above, p. 83; also Hosp. Cart., f. 58.

² N. Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* ii, 18; Cal. Pap. Reg. viii, 642.

³ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, p. 491.

⁴ Hosp. Cart., f. 63.

⁵ Holingshed, *Chron.*, p. 540 a, 60; Rapin, *Hist. Eng.*, p. 504, n. 1.

⁶ Hosp. Cart., f. 63.

⁷ For particulars, see Vol. II, chap. xi, Water supply.

Islington, and the overflow from the priory had always served the hospital; but now the financial position of the priory was such that they could not do the necessary repairs to the pipes and conduits, so Wakering arranged that the master and brethren should be allowed access to the conduit head, and should be allowed to carry out the repairs to the pipes at their own charge, and that they should in future have half the water supply, which should be brought direct to the hospital.

Three years after this, in January 1436, the prior resigned, and on the 26th January licence was granted for the sub-prior and convent of the priory, here called the 'free chapel',¹ to elect a prior in his room.

PRIOR REGINALD COLLIER

1436-1471.

The convent elected a canon of the house, Reginald Collier, to succeed William Coventry resigned. Twelve years before he had committed a fault of some importance, for on the 10th November, 1424, Pope Martin V issued a mandate² 'to the Bishop of London to absolve Reginald Colyer, Augustinian canon of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield', from excommunication which he had incurred, enjoining a salutary penance. He had left the monastery without leave of his superior, and was then living in the world without abandoning his habit; but he was desirous to return to the monastery. The mandate was also to dispense him on account of irregularity contracted, if any, and after temporary suspension to allow him to receive and hold dignities, &c., wont to be governed by canons of the monastery. He was thus made eligible for the office of prior.

No entry has been found in the Patent Rolls of the royal assent to the election, but it must have been given, because in the register of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's³ is recorded the confirmation of the election on the 7th February by Master David Pryce, the custodian of the spiritualities of the diocese during the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Robert FitzHugh in the previous month; and the issue of the mandate to Henry Frowyk, the Mayor of London, to deliver the temporalities to the prior, is duly chronicled,⁴ 'whose election as prior', it says, 'has been confirmed by the guardian of the spiritualities of the bishopric of London and whose fealty the king has taken'. A like mandate was issued to the escheators of Bucks, Essex, Herts, and

¹ Cal. Pat., 14 Hen. VI, 26 Jan.

² Cal. Pap. Reg. vii, 375, 7 Martin V, 4 Id. Nov.

³ St. Paul's Reg. W. D. 13, f. 156 d-157, 7 Feb. 1435-6.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 14 Hen. VI, 13 Feb. (1436).

Middlesex, so it is possible that the escheators had again taken possession during voidance, in spite of the case having been gone into so fully in the year 1415.¹ And although, as already said,² in 1444 the king granted Letters Patent exempting the convent from the burden of the escheators for all time, yet after the confirmation of the election of the subsequent priors orders were issued to the escheators to restore the temporalities.

The first act recorded of Prior Reginald is in the Guildhall Letter Book L, when on the 20th June, 1436, in the chapter-house, he and the convent granted to Thomas Knolles, grocer, permission to convey superfluous water belonging to the priory by pipes to the gates of Newgate and Ludgate, for the relief of poor prisoners there. A brick arched passage in Giltspur Street by Cock Lane was exposed a few years ago running through Smithfield to the priory, and after the Zeppelin raid in 1915 another portion was exposed in the centre of the close, about 5 ft. below the surface, where was originally the conduit head. This may have been the passage through which the water-pipes were conveyed.

Other records of Prior Reginald (or Reynold, as he was often called) are numerous, as his priorate extended over 35 years; thus, on the 13th March, 1436/7, Prior Reginald was cited to Convocation by the archbishop³ to meet at St. Paul's on the 1st May following, together with 15 bishops, 11 abbots, and 20 other priors and masters of hospitals, among the latter being the master of St. Bartholomew's. The prior was again cited to meet at St. Paul's on the 14th October, 1439, but he is called Prior John, apparently confusing him with John Wakering, the master of the hospital.

The record of the year 1438, in which the king granted that the prior and convent might be for ever quit of any corody, has been already dealt with.⁴

In the year 1440 the king granted Letters Patent, exempting the prior and convent from collecting or paying subsidies, which may be thus translated: ⁵

'Whereas the prior and convent of the house or priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield have made supplication to us to the effect that their possessions have diminished to such an extent that they do not suffice for the maintenance of the said house, nor to pay the annuities granted to certain persons, nor for the repairs of the church of that priory: we of our special grace grant to them that they may be altogether quit for ever from the collection and

¹ See above, p. 142.

³ Reg. Lond., Gilbert, p. 79.

⁶ Pat., 19 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 15, 30 Dec.; App. I, p. 489, Charter No. 27.

² See above, p. 150.

⁴ See above, p. 150.

levying of all tenths and fifteenths and all other subsidies to be granted to us in the province of Canterbury; and if they refuse to pay the same they shall not incur any damage or loss. Witness the king at Westminster 30th December.'

On the 14th November 1449, however, Convocation granted the king a fourth of a tenth of the possessions of certain persons that had been exempted by royal letters from the collection of tenths. The Prior of Thoby (an Augustinian priory at Mountnessing, Essex) was the collector; and it is recorded in the Memoranda Rolls¹ how on the quinzaine of St. Michael (October 14th), in the 29th year of King Henry VI (1450), when the Prior of Thoby came to the Court of Exchequer to account for his collection, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's also came, complaining that he was unjustly wronged and harassed in his goods and chattels by the Prior of Thoby (who had apparently distrained him for payment). For the Prior of St. Bartholomew's the king's letters of 30th December, 1440, were produced; and for the Prior of Thoby it was argued that eight days before this fourth of a tenth was granted, viz. on the 6th November 1449, King Henry in Parliament, by an act of resumption, made void all privileges and franchises granted since the first day of his reign (1st September 1422), to any abbot, prior, dean, chapter, master, warden, or brotherhood, and therefore the king's letters to Prior Reginald were made of none effect. There were various adjournments, and the hearing still remained without a day fixed when Edward IV seized the crown (4th March, 1460/1); but some years after that event Prior Reginald was constrained by the sheriffs to appear to give account of the fourth of the tenth, which presumably he had never paid, and he then produced Letters Patent of the 6th year of Edward IV (7th September 1466)² pardoning him and his convent for, among other things, all actions and demands which the king or others could bring against them: provided that the pardon should not extend to any one attainted of high treason, or to any adherent to his chief enemy Henry, 'lately in fact but not in right King of England.'³

The prior also brought to the court a writ from the king to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, dated the 12th December 1466, in which the king said that as on the 7th September he had pardoned, remitted, and released to Reginald Collier the prior, he now commanded them not to harass and oppress the prior contrary

¹ Mem. R. K.R., 30 Hen. VI, Roll 42.

² Recited in full in the Mem. R. above.

³ The Wars of the Roses had commenced eleven years before this, viz. in 1455, two years after the close of the Hundred Years' War with France.

to the meaning of his letters. And the prior therefore pleaded that, as neither he nor any one of the convent had been attainted of high treason, nor was any one of them a rebel against the king, nor an adherent of the late King Henry, so he asked for judgment; which we may assume he obtained.¹

Other monasteries than St. Bartholomew's were also exempted from paying subsidies. The Cistercian monastery of St. Mary Graces and the Benedictine nunnery of Clerkenwell were exempted in the year 1435,² or earlier. St. Bartholomew's is again referred to in the Subsidy Rolls in the year 1478,³ together with the abbots and convents of Westminster and of Waltham, as being still exempt. In 1517 the prior was exempted by Henry VIII from payment of two tenths to the Crown; the plea then being Prior Bolton's expense for the so-called rebuilding of the conventual church.⁴

In the year 1449 the prior took the precaution, though for what particular cause does not appear, to obtain a writ from the king under his great seal, directed to the sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire, concerning divers liberties, franchises, and releases granted by various kings of England, among which it had been granted that the prior and convent should be quit of toll, ferry-toll, wayfarers' toll, pontage, pavage, wharfage, cartage, stallage, and forage; and from every custom on land and in harbours of the sea; and from shire and from hundred pleas, as well as all suits of shires and hundreds whatsoever. The king strictly enjoined the sheriff that he should allow the prior and convent to use their liberties, &c., according to the charters, and not to molest or grieve them in any way. The prior by his attorney brought this writ to the Exchequer Court on the 24th May following to be enrolled among their memorials.⁵

In the year 1465 the prior had to obtain an *inspeximus* from Edward IV, granted by Letters Patent dated November 15th in his fifth year.⁶ It is addressed not only to Reginald Collier and the convent, but also to the master and brethren of the hospital. The *inspeximus* simply recites and confirms the charter of 6 Richard II,⁷ which was the last on the list of the charters confirmed by Henry VI

¹ This entry in the Memoranda Rolls is 'the process had and adjudged by the Barons' referred to in the Clerical Subsidy Roll concerning Prior Thoby's collection—42/217, 28 Hen. VI, 14 Nov. (1449). The fact that the Mem. Roll of 1450 contains records of 1466 is accounted for by the custom being the same then as now, to add subsequent proceedings to the first entry.

² Cler. Sub. R. 42/159, 12 Hen. VI.

³ Ib. 43/242, 18 Edw. IV.

⁴ See below, p. 227.

⁵ Mem. R. L.T.R., 27 Hen. VI (1449). Rot. 7 Pasch. Record (it occurs on the lower half of the dorse of Roll 7, which, counting from the top, is the 89th membrane).

⁶ Cal. Pat., 5 Edw. IV, 15 Nov., and App. I, p. 489, Charter No. 28.

⁷ See above, p. 209.

in 1424, to which reference has already been made.¹ This *inspeximus* cost the priory 10 marks paid into the hanaper.²

The master and brethren of the hospital had already been granted an *inspeximus*, in the year 1439, of the above charter of Richard II, which is identical with this one to the priory. It is dated 9th December, 18 Henry VI. It is entered by John Cok in the cartulary of the hospital, but we have failed to find it enrolled among the Letters Patent. It is at the end of the entry of this *inspeximus* that Cok wrote:

‘Scriptum per fratrem Iohannem Cok cum tremulenta manu in vespere vite sue septimo die (?) Septemb. anno domini millesimo quadragentesimo sexagesimo sexto et anno regni Edwardi quarti sexto : per ff. Iohannem Cok.’

Thus, although this unenrolled *inspeximus* was granted to the hospital in the year 1439, it was not entered in the cartulary until 1466, a year after the similar *inspeximus* was granted to the priory and the hospital by Edward IV.

In the year 1453, ‘to preserve peace, concord, and amity, and to pacify law suits and quarrels’ between the priory and the civic authorities, an agreement,³ supplementing that of 1377, was entered into and dated the 27th October, 32 Henry VI. Briefly stated, it provided that pickage and stallage for the booths of the fair, within the priory gates, should go to the prior, but that without the gates in Smithfield, and in the adjoining streets, they should go to the mayor and commonalty. The latter were to have the right of examining all weights and measures and things exposed for sale anywhere in the fair, and they were to take half the toll and half the forfeitures. The fees of the court of pie-powder were to be equally divided between the priory and the city; but the prior was to have half the fines.

Among other records of less importance there is among the early Chancery proceedings at the Public Record Office,⁴ in the year 1445, an entry of the action brought by John Spenser, brewer, of London, against Reynold the prior of St. Bartholomew’s, to upset an alleged acquittance which he held for beer supplied to the monastery, amounting to £293 15s. 5d.⁵ The prior claimed that the acquittance was given in full on the 23rd June, 1439, on payment of £60, after it had been read to Spenser the brewer in English, in the prior’s chamber,

¹ See above, p. 209.

² An office in the Court of Chancery.

³ More fully set out in chapter on the Fair, below, p. 305.

⁴ Early Chanc. Pro., 23 Hen. VI, 10 July (1445): Bundle 13, No. 38, Bundle 10. No. 348 (pp. 116, 199 of the list); transcript in App. I, p. 499.

⁵ Briefly mentioned above, p. 204.

in the presence of the prior, the sub-prior, John Venys, three of the canons, a clerk of the exchequer, and two others: the brewer claimed that the acquittance was a forgery. Presumably the case was settled in favour of the prior, for five years later Spenser's widow, Margaret, petitioned Kempe, the archbishop and cardinal of York, that a servant of the prior should be subpoenaed to give evidence before him, because the servant 'knew the truth of the forged acquittance'; but there is no record that the petition was complied with.

The widow Margaret made various bequests to charitable objects in her will, but St. Bartholomew's is not mentioned; neither is there anything to indicate whether Spenser's brewery was the one of the sign of the Cock in Long Lane, which is referred to later.¹

The amount of the bill for which the acquittance was disputed seems very excessive, especially when it is remembered that it would have been fully £1,500 in our money. But that the bill should have been settled for £60 or anything like it points to its having been a gross overcharge; there seems to have been considerable argument, as nine persons witnessed the settlement. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the number of guests entertained by the monastery must have been very large, that the drink provided for them would have been beer, that the drink of the canons at each meal was beer, and that the bill had probably been running for several years owing to the financial difficulties of the monastery.

In the first year of Reginald Collier's priorate commence the records in the episcopal registers² of the ordinations, which were regularly held in the priory church; and also, though not so frequently, in the church of the hospital. Particulars of these ordinations have already been given in the chapter on the monastery.³

In the year 1441 there is an acquittance, by the dean of the church of St. Martin (le grand), of £4 sterling to Reginald the prior in full payment of all arrears of a certain yearly payment of 20s. for the church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, the nature of which is fully explained in the chapter on the parish.⁴ There is also a record at St. Margaret's, Westminster, that Raynold 'Colyer', Prior of St. Bartholomew's, was a member of the Guild of the Assumption in St. Margaret's, Westminster,⁵ his name appearing in the list of arrearages (of 3s.) in the accounts of the fraternity of St. Mary within St. Margaret's.

¹ See Vol. II, chap. x, brewhouse.

² Reg. Lond., Gilbert, p. 131.

³ See p. 12.

⁴ Vol. II, chap. xii.

⁵ The Rev. H. F. Westlake supplied this reference.

In the year 1443 there is the record at Lambeth, referred to in the chapter on the order,¹ in which the archbishop gave licence to a canon, who had been imprisoned, to serve the cure of a parish church in the diocese of Canterbury until he was restored to his house. And in 1458 there is the record that the Anglo-Premonstratensians held their general chapter here.²

In the year 1463 there is, among the Harleian MSS.,³ an indenture of lease in English by 'Reynold' the prior to 'William Hastyngs Lord Hastyngs Knyght' of 'an house with two solars⁴ thereupon bielded', 'in the parish of seint Benet in Paulys wharfe', and a parcel of ground for sixty years, 'yielding therefore yerely a Red rose if it be asked', 'goven the XX day of Juyn, in the third yere of the reigne of King Edward the fourth'. (Hastings was a devoted Yorkist and held many offices from the king. He was at the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471, the year the prior died. As he opposed the Duke of Gloucester, on the accession of Edward V, he was beheaded.)

The only occasion on which this prior had to grant the hospital licence to elect a master was on the death of John Wakering, in the year 1466, after he had been master for 44 years. John Nedham, Bachelor of Laws, was elected in his place in the same year, and, as the entry states, 'in the 19th week after his profession.'⁵

Provision for a chantry for the soul of Prior Reginald was apparently made more than 25 years before his death, since one Sir William Estfeld, Knt., an alderman of the city, in the year 1445, bequeathed the reversion of some quit rents in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, to the prior and convent of St. Mary Overy, 'whensoever the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew should make default in maintaining a chantry for the soul of Reginald "Colyer" the prior, the soul of the testator, his late wives and others, in manner prescribed.'⁶

In the next year, 1466, there is a record in the Husting Rolls that the prior granted an annual rent to one William Andrew, for the purpose of founding a chantry in St. Sepulchre's.

In 1471 the prior died, for on the 27th June of that year the royal licence was granted to the sub-prior and convent of the monastery and 'royal free chapel' of St. Bartholomew 'of the order of St. Augustine' to elect a prior 'in the place of Reginald "Colyer", deceased'.⁷

¹ See above, p. 19.

³ Harl. MS. 3881, Art. 15.

⁶ Hosp. Cart., f. 63.

⁷ Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. IV, 27 June (1471).

² See above, p. 12.

⁴ A 'solar' was an upper room.

⁶ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 511.

SMITHFIELD JOUSTS AND TOURNAMENTS.

As Smithfield was immediately outside the west doors of the priory church, it has been impossible to avoid some reference to what was being enacted there; and as the famous jousts and tournaments seem to have come to an end in the time of Prior Reginald Collier, they may be briefly referred to here: they do not seem to have lasted more than 120 or 130 years.

The royal jousts, which began at Smithfield in the reign of Edward III, were continued by Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and Edward IV. The first example of a royal joust mentioned by Stow is in the 31st year of Edward III (1357), when, besides King Edward, the kings of France and Scotland were present. But Adam Murimuth, in his continuation of the chronicle of Robert de Avesbury,¹ says that in the year 1343 'there were fine tournaments at Smethfeld', where the pope and twelve cardinals for three days held against all who held knighthood. (Who were the thirteen champions for the Church we are not told, but he says later that they were all dressed alike.²) The same author also refers to the tournaments held there in the year 1353 as being 'customary'. In the year 1374 Edward III had the bad taste to bring Dame Alice Perrers (as 'Lady of the Sun') to the royal joust, which that year lasted for seven days.

Trials by combat (which were only abolished in the year 1819) and challenges to combat were also fought out in Smithfield. In January 1442 such a challenge was carried out here within lists before the king (Henry VI) between Sir Philip la Beaufe (or Boyle) of Aragon and Sir John Ansley (or Astley). It is depicted in the Hastings MSS.³ with an onlooker on the roof of one of the houses (as would occur to-day, were a similar sight to be seen). A church with a tower, apparently to suggest St. Bartholomew's, is depicted in the background (pl. VIII).

The last record met with of the use of Smithfield for such purposes is in the year 1467, when the Bastard of Burgoine challenged the Lord Scales, brother to the queen, to fight with him both on horse-back and on foot. The kings and nobles were present, and the fight lasted three days.⁴

Encroachments on the open space of Smithfield, which commenced on the west side as early as the year 1417,⁵ reduced the space available

¹ R. Ser. No. 93, p. 146.

² *Ib.*, 230.

³ Ordinances of chivalry of fifteenth century belonging to Lord Hastings, 277 b. See *Archaeologia*, lvii, 36.

⁴ Stow, *Survey*, p. 143.

⁵ *Ib.*, 142.



TRIAL BY COMBAT IN WEST SMITHFIELD, 1442
(see p. 218)

for such displays; and the building of the central meat markets in our own time has still further restricted what was once a fine open space.

PRIOR RICHARD PULTER

1471-1480.

Reginald Collier's successor was Richard Pulter, who, like so many of his predecessors, was a canon of the house. Signification of the royal assent to his election¹ was made to Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London, on the 7th July, 1471, shortly after the battle of Barnet, when Edward IV regained the throne. On the 18th July a mandate was issued to the Mayor of London, John Stokton, for the restitution of the temporalities to the prior—'whose election as prior the bishop had confirmed, and whose fealty the king had taken'.

The only mention of this prior to be found in the records occurs in the year 1473 in a conveyance of lands, &c., late belonging to Sir Robert Danvers 'with warranty against Richard Prior of St. Bartholomew's',² but none of the places mentioned in the deed was ever a possession of the monastery.

In 1476 Sir Hugh Fenne thus refers to him, though not by name, in his will:³ 'The priour of Saint Bartholomew owes me 18 poundes thirteen shillings and four pence for lede, I will he have 15 poundes for tithes *pro Decimis oblitis*' [*sic*]⁴—from which it would seem that some considerable repair of the roof had been necessary and that the monastery was still unable to pay all its debts.

Prior Richard died, probably in the month of April of the year 1480; for on the 18th of that month licence was granted to the sub-prior and convent 'to elect a prior in the place of Richard Pulter deceased'.⁴

PRIOR ROBERT TOLLERTON

1480-1484.

The choice again fell on a brother of the house; for signification was made to Thomas Kempe, the Bishop of London, of 'the royal assent to the election of Robert Tollerton, brother of the monastery, as prior'.⁵ And on the 13th May a mandate was issued to Bartholomew James, Mayor of London, and the other escheators, for the

¹ Cal. Pat., 11 Edw. IV, 7 July (1471).

² Add. Charters, Mus. Brit. 38861, 24 Oct., 13 Edw. IV.

³ App. I, p. 537.

⁴ Cal. Pat., 20 Edw. IV, 18 Apr. (1480).

⁵ Ib., 3 May (1480).

restitution of the temporalities to the said Robert, whose election the bishop had confirmed and whose fealty the king had taken.¹

No record has been found of the doings of Prior Robert. He saw the death of Edward IV, the murder of Edward V by his uncle, and the accession of Richard III. He (or his successor) was called upon to grant licence to the brethren of the hospital to elect a master, which resulted in the election of John Barton, but we have found no record of the event. The prior died in 1484, probably in the month of April, as licence was granted² on the 26th³ of that month to elect a prior because of the vacancy caused 'by the death of Robert Tollerton'.

PRIOR WILLIAM GUY

1484-1505.

On the 4th June of the year 1484 the king signified to Thomas Kempe, who was still the Bishop of London, the royal assent 'to the election of William Guy, brother of the monastery', as prior;⁴ and issued the usual mandate for the restitution of the temporalities on the 23rd June.

Of the twenty-one years of William Guy's priorate—all lived during the reign of Henry VII—there are remarkably few records.

In the year 1489 the king granted a charter of confirmation in favour of William Guy, the prior, and also of the master and brethren of the hospital, for which £10 was paid into the hanaper. It merely confirmed previous charters, as shown in the Appendix.⁵

Among the ancient deeds at the Record Office there are receipts given by 'William Prior of St. Bartholomew's' to the Prior of the Charterhouse. Two of these are for a quit rent issuing out of a tenement in St. John Street without the Bars, Smithfield, at 'le two Elmys', in the parish of St. Sepulchre, dated the 25th June 1489,⁶ and the 25th June 1504; three of them are for rent of tenements in the parish of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, dated the 25th June in the years 1501, 1502, and 1504;⁷ and one for rent issuing out of a tenement in the parish of St. Nicholas in the Shambles (de Macellis), also dated 'the morrow of midsummer' 1504.⁸

¹ Cal. Pat., 20 Edw. IV, 13 May.

² Pat. 1 Rich. III, pt. 2, m. 5, 26 Apr. (Cal. since published, p. 389).

³ Not 24 Apr., as Harl. MSS. 433.

⁴ Pat. 1 Rich. III, pt. 4, m. 6, 23 June (1484) (Cal. since published).

⁵ App. I, p. 489, Charter No. 29; also Charters Nos. 16, 4, and 1.

⁶ Cat. Anc. Deeds, R.O., vol. ii, No. 2173, 2204.

⁷ Ib., 2056-8.

⁸ Ib., 2216.

One slight reference to this prior is noted in the chapter on the Fair,¹ where the court of aldermen referred 'to the unkind disposition' of both the prior and of the master of the hospital, concerning some matter of the Fair.

There were several wills of interest made during William Guy's priorate which relate to the priory; notably that of Thomas Peerson, in 1485, who left small sums for a light to burn before nearly every figure of a saint in the church, and also mentions each figure by name.² Alice Hoole, in 1494, bequeathed to the prior and convent a silver-gilt chalice and a corporas cloth with crimson velvet border, with two branches of gold, &c.; she willed to be buried under the image of St. Bartholomew 'standing at the cloister door'.³ Edward Hungerford willed to be buried in his chapel of St. Anne, which was next to that of St. Bartholomew (that is, in the north ambulatory of the quire).⁴ All these wills are referred to later when describing the church, but in none of them is there any mention of Prior William Guy.

In the year 1504, one John Brampton, of the parish of St. Mary Matfelon, bequeathed to the priory⁵ 'that they may pray for my soule fowre thousand brike (bricks) to be delivered to them at their place', from which we may assume that there were building operations then in progress or contemplated. (Brampton also left 1,000 bricks to the Charterhouse to have his soul more in remembrance, which may indicate that he owned brickfields in or near London.)

In the year 1487 the prior must have granted the brethren of the hospital licence to elect a successor to John Barton as master, which resulted in the election of Thomas Crewker, who outlived the prior.

It has been asserted that William Tyndale, the reformer and the great translator of the New Testament, was ordained at St. Bartholomew's in the year 1503. As this date is within the priorate of William Guy it may be referred to here.

George Offer, the biographer of Bunyan, in his memoir on Tyndale prefixed to the verbatim reprint of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament of 1526,⁶ states that Tyndale's 'ordination took place at the conventual church of the priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield on the 11th March, 1503'. Now in the Episcopal Register at St. Paul's⁷ there is an entry on December 17th, 1502, that a William

¹ See p. 306.

² App. I, p. 537; see also Vol. II, chap. vi, images.

³ App. I, p. 538.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib. Mr. J. Challenor Smith drew my attention to this will.

⁶ Published by Bagster.

⁷ Reg. London, Hill.

Tyndale, of the diocese of Carlisle, was ordained sub-deacon at St. Bartholomew's on the 24th September, 1502; that a William Tyndale was ordained deacon at St. Thomas the Martyr on the 17th December following; and that a William Tyndale was ordained priest on the 11th March following, viz. in 1503. Although these dates of promotion from the sub-diaconate to the priesthood seem to follow very closely upon each other, in those days they often followed more closely still, and as a William Tyndale also made his profession in the monastery of the Observants in Greenwich in the year 1508, the entries probably all refer to one and the same individual.

Offer says that William Tyndale was born at Hunt's Court, Nibley, about the year 1477, which would make the above dates for his ordination possible.

On the other hand, in the biographical notice prefixed to the Doctrinal Treatises of Tyndale published by the Parker Society,¹ it is stated that Tyndale, the translator, was born about the year 1484; and Anderson in his *Annals of the Bible* states that he was born in that year or in 1485 or 1486.² Tyndale was also known under the name of William Hychins or Huchens, and under that appellation he appears in the Register of the University of Oxford³ from May 13th, 1512, to July 2nd, 1515, in which latter year he took his M.A. degree from Magdalen College. All this is against the William Tyndale ordained in 1503 being Tyndale the translator. Certainly the William Tyndale professed at Greenwich was not the translator, because, if so, he must have deserted his monastery, and we should have heard of it. Anderson says there were at least four William Tyndales at this time.⁴ It is therefore probable that the William Tyndale ordained in 1503 was not the translator; and as a careful search through the episcopal registers up to the year 1522, when he preached at Gloucester, reveals no other William Tyndale as having been ordained here, it is probable that William Tyndale the reformer and translator was not ordained at St. Bartholomew's.

William Guy died in the year 1505. Licence to choose a prior 'because the monastery was destitute of a pastor by the death of Brother William Guy the last prior'⁵ was granted on the 3rd August in that year.

¹ p. 14.

³ Vol. i, published by the Oxf. Hist. Soc.

⁴ *Ib.*, vol. ii, App., p. i.

² p. 27.

⁵ Cal. Pat., 20 Hen. VII, 3 Aug. (1505).

CHAPTER VII

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

PRIOR WILLIAM BOLTON

1505-1532.

WILLIAM BOLTON was elected to succeed William Guy as Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and the royal assent was granted on the 21st August, 1505:¹ six days later the temporalities were restored, with the profits arising therefrom during the whole time of the vacancy,² and on the same day a mandate was issued to that effect to the escheators of London, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire.³

William Bolton is the best known of all the priors of the monastery. From the year 1477 to the year 1481 he held the prebend of *Sanctae Crucis*, Lincoln; and from 1481 to 1488 that of *Consumpta per mare* in St. Paul's.⁴ We may assume that, as he held a prebend in the year 1477, he was born somewhere about the year 1450, which would make him 55 years of age when elected Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and 82 when he died.

On the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, his name appears in the Pardon Rolls but with no particulars, and so again in 1513.⁵ He was, together with Thomas Crewker, the master of the hospital, cited to Convocation in 1509,⁶ and again in the year 1529.⁷

Bolton was a member of Gray's Inn in the year 1520, and so occurs in a list of 'eminent members of Grays Inn' compiled by Segar (Harleian MS. 12).⁸ The Lord Abbots of Westminster, Furness, and Battle, and the Abbot of St. Mary Graces, were members in the same year. In the same list are at various times five archbishops, many bishops, dukes, earls, barons, and knights (including Sir Walter Mildmay), so it was a position of some distinction. As already stated, the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's had to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in Gray's Inn for the soul of John de Grey, the founder.⁹

Prior Bolton was a builder of some eminence, and as such he was employed both by Henry VII and Henry VIII. The man who

¹ Cal. Pat., p. 429.

² Ib., 441.

³ Ib., 442.

⁴ Le Neve, ii, 200, 381; Newcourt, i, 637; Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 244.

⁵ L. and P., For. and Dom., Hen. VIII, sec. ed. No. 438 (4 m. 21).

⁶ Reg. Lond., FitzJames, x.

⁷ Ib., Tunstall, 165 d, 166.

⁸ Quoted in *Gray's Inn*, by W. R. Douthwaite, 1886.

⁹ See above, p. 147.

superintended the work of a building in those days was called 'master of the works' or 'clerk of the works', and was usually a clerk in holy orders. Henry VI employed as clerk of the works his chaplain, William Cleve.¹ The Duke of Buckingham, in the year 1520, instructed his chancellor to 'inquire for some sufficient prest to be mayster of our workes'²: the master of the masons was the architect.

Bolton was in charge of the work at Westminster Abbey when Henry VII died in the year 1509; for in his will (pl. IX),³ dated 31st March 1509, the king, who made provision for the completion of his chapel there in case it should not be finished before he died,⁴ directed 'that the said chapell be desked and the windowes of our said chapell be glased with stores (stories), ymages, armes, bagies (badges), and cognoisauncs, as is by us redily divided and in picture delivered to the Priour of Sainct Batilmews beside Smythfeld Maistre of the work of our said chapell'.

Sir Reginald Bray, K.G., is generally considered to have been the architect of Henry VII's chapel. He helped Abbot Islip on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone in 1503, but died a few months afterwards. He was intimately connected with the Richmond family and carried out great alterations to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, for the king. Inasmuch as Bolton was employed by the executors of Lady Margaret (the Countess of Richmond), and also by the king, it is not unlikely that he took charge of the work at the abbey after the death of Sir Reginald Bray in 1503; that is, two years before he was prior of St. Bartholomew's.

Lady Margaret died in 1509, the same year as her son, the king. Two years later Bolton was employed for the erection of her monument in the south-eastern or Lady Margaret's Chapel at Westminster, where it now is. It was he who advised as to the designing of the tomb and who engaged Pietro Torrigiano, and others, to carry out the work. This is shown in the following entry in the executors' accounts of the Countess of Richmond: ⁵

'Item to the prior of Saint Bartilmews for his counsell in devisynge the seide tombe, and for his labour and costis and expensis in

¹ Strickland, *Lives*, iii, 244 (quoting from acts of the Privy Council). See also A. H. Thompson, *Medieval Building Documents*, address to Som. Archaeological Society, July, 1920.

² Cooper, *Lady Margaret*, p. 260.

³ Exchequer T. R., R. O. Will, King Henry VII, dated 31 Mar. 1509. He died 21 Apr. that year.

⁴ The king left £5,000 in cash with Abbot Islip for the completion of the work, with instructions to his executors to give more if required.

⁵ C. H. Cooper, *Countess Richmond*, Appx. Exors'. Accts., p. 201; see also *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 370.

The finishing of the King
Chapell ymagines grate
and closure

partie and remainyng of rewe in the Rolles of our Chancery
And if our said Chapell and towne and our said
wif ymagines grate and closure be not fully accomplisshed and
fully finisshed accordyng to the premisses by us in our lif tyme
we then wol that not willy the same Chapell towne ymagines
grate and closure and any of them and al other thynges to
them belonyng with al expes and assaye after our decesse as
goodly may be don bekyng our executors hooly and perfyfly
finisshed in any behalve after the maner and forme before
reherced and puryng to that that is becomyn and don of them
But also that the said Chapell be deseyd and the windowes of
our said Chapell be glased with stoves ymagines unnes bagges
and cognossaunce as is by us redily shewed and in picture shewed
to the honour of saint Bartolomew beside Southwell maister of
the work of our said Chapell and that the walles dones windowes
arches and vault and ymage of the same our Chapell withyn and
about be painted garnisshed and adorned with our armes bagges
cognossaunce and other conment paining in as goodly and rich
maner as such a work comyth and as to a kinges werk apperteyneth
And for the more sure pformance and finisshing of the premisses
and for the more redye payment of the money necessary in that behalf
we have shewed in redy money before the hande the sone of &c. &c.

FROM THE WILL OF KING HENRY VII

(see p. 224)

surveyinge and countrollynge the werkmen of the same tombe at diverse and sondry tymes and ffor sendynge for diverse werkmen ffrom beyende the sea for makynge of the seide tombe.'

On page 105 of the accounts is a note 'M^d the thinge allowed yet for his labour prior of Seint Bartilmew's is no.'. Whether he was ever paid anything for his labour does not appear, but it will be seen by the following entries that he had been given £40 for outgoing, but that he only expended £9 8s. 2d., the balance being handed back to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

'Item paieide to the prior of Seint Barthilomew's the first day of August ffor my ladys tombe in Westminster, bi a bill XL li.'¹

'Also the seide bisshop chargeth hymselff gratis upon this accompt of xxx li x s x d of the rest of a somme of XL li which was delyverde to the prior of seint Barthilmews apon a prest towarde the making of my ladies tombe, as it appireth in the last accompt, of which XL li the seide prior expendit abowt the seide tombe but ix li viii s ii d as it appireth by his bill of pacellis.'²

There was paid 'to M. Erasmus for the ephitaff on the tomb xx s'. He was the Lady Margaret professor at Cambridge, and Bolton must have been acquainted with him.

Lady Margaret, on the advice of Bishop Fisher, instituted the foundations bearing her name at Oxford and Cambridge, and she also founded Christ's and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge. Among the records of the latter college is a letter to the 'Prior of Sent Bartylmew's', signed by Bishop Fisher, asking the prior to deliver unto the bearer for Lady Margaret's poor folk at Hatfield £104. In a postscript, in his own hand, the bishop adds:

'And I pray you do so moch to se Peter's work for my ladyes tomb and when ye have oones seen I will comm my self thyder'³ (pl. XLVII b, Vol. II, p. 59).

In the chapel of Christ's College there is a window opening into the church on the first-story level from a chamber known as Lady Margaret's Prayer Room, which, as restored by Bodley (in wood), so closely resembles Prior Bolton's window at St. Bartholomew's as to suggest that it and possibly the whole chapel is Bolton's work.

In 1513-14 he built for the king storehouses and coin houses in the Tower of London,⁴ and one of the king's payments in 1538 refers to

¹ C. H. Cooper, *Countess Richmond*, 199, App. Exors'. Accounts, 2-4 Hen. VIII (1510-1513).

² *Ib.* 200, 4-6 Hen. VIII (1512-1515).

³ 'The Eagle,' St. John's Coll., Cam., vol. xxxi, p. 145, A.D. 1910, where is a facsimile of the letter.

⁴ L. and P., For. and Dom., Hen. VIII, sec. ed. Nos. 3162, 3307, 3363, 3410, p. 1511.

'tiling the houses of ordnance there which the Prior of St. Bartholomew's heretofore caused to be made'.¹

But the principal building for the king was at New Hall, near Chelmsford, in Essex, which must have been largely rebuilt by Bolton. This is shown by the following entries in the King's Book of Payments:

March 1517.	'To the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for the king's business at Newhall . . .	£1,000'
April 1518.	'To the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for Newhall . . .	£2,000' ²
October 1518.	'To the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for the buildings at Newhall . . .	£1,000.'

In 1519 there were monthly payments of £200 each, the sum 'occasionally being £400. In July 1519 occurs: 'To the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for the lead glass and finishing of New Hall, £200';³ but on the 27th June, 13 Henry VIII (1522), a further payment of £1,000 occurs,⁴ perhaps for decoration, for the king celebrated the feast of St. George there in 1524. New Hall originally belonged to the Earl of Ormond; then to Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, a grandfather of Anne Boleyn, from whom Henry VIII procured it by exchange and, says Camden, having been at great charge to enlarge it, gave it the new name of Beau-lieu.⁵

A fragment of an enamelled sixteenth-century terra-cotta tile was found on the site of the farmer's house, No. 47 Bartholomew Close, in the year 1910, which is considered by the quality of the enamel and the Della Robbia-like blue tint to be North Italian work between the years 1510 and 1520. As this was the only piece of the kind discovered, it possibly formed a pattern obtained by Bolton with the view of importing glazed panels of that description for the work at New Hall or elsewhere. The fragment is probably part of a panel with a relief representing a circular wreath supported by amorini. Only one arm, a wing, and part of the wreath remain; the wreath and wing are coloured blue, the remainder is white.⁶

It was whilst the prior was busy in this building operation for the king that he was fined £10 by the chapter of his order for not obtaining a deputy to perform the duties of the visitation to which he had been appointed.⁷

It was also at this same time that Bolton applied to Cardinal

¹ L. and P., For. and Dom. xiii, pt. 2, No. 1280.

² Ib. ii, pt. 2, pp. 1474, 1477, 1479.

³ Ib., p. 1527.

⁴ Ib., No. 2750.

⁵ Camden, *Brit.* 346; Morant, *Essex*, ii, 14.

⁶ *Proceed. Soc. Antiq.* (1915) xxvii, 115.

⁷ See above, p. 24.

Wolsey for preferment to the bishopric of St. Asaph. By a letter from Richard Pace (the king's secretary, and next year Dean of St. Paul's) to Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Abingdon the 14th April, 1518,¹ we learn that Wolsey had applied to the king for the advancement of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's to St. Asaph, but that the king had already promised that see to a learned friar; that the king had replied that 'though masters of the works had heretofore been promoted, he thought it was not for their skill in building, but for some other good quality annexed, as profound learning', and that he would reward the prior with some smaller preferment. Pace added that he was mortified to think that the friar was probably Standish,² who was not to be compared to the prior; '*Sed principum voluntatibus arduum est refragari.*'³

The smaller preferment came some four years later, when in the year 1522 Bolton was appointed by Archbishop Wareham to the rectory of Harrow.⁴ This was probably at the expressed wish of the king, who obtained the manor and rectory of Harrow by exchange with Archbishop Cranmer in 1545-6. Being an Augustinian canon, Bolton had to be 'dispensed' before he could undertake a cure of souls at Harrow; he therefore graduated M.A. at Oxford on the 3rd February, 1521/2, and was dispensed on the 14th of May following.⁵

Prior Bolton, before his work for the king at New Hall, carried on large building operations in the priory church, among the monastic buildings, and at Canonbury Tower, Islington, which had, for three centuries, formed part of the possessions of the monastery. The first record of his work in the church occurs in the year 1513, when one Walter Martyn⁶ bequeathed 'to the reparacions of the churche or priory of greate seynt Bartilmewes x^{li}'.

In 1517 the priory was exempted from payment of the two-tenths subsidy on the goods, benefices, and ecclesiastical possessions of the monastery 'on account of the enormous burden of the new constructions of the church of the monastery taken upon himself by the prior'.⁷ By this it would seem that the building at the priory was finished, or nearly so, before Bolton commenced New Hall for the king. Stow says in his edition of 1603 that 'Bolton . . . was a great builder there (St. Bartholomew's), for he repaired the priory church, with the

¹ L. and P., For. and Dom. ii, pt. 2, No. 4083.

² Henry Standish, S.T.P., was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph 28 May, 1518.

³ 'It is hard to withstand the wills of princes.'

⁴ Reg. Lambeth, 375 d, 23 Sept. 1522.

⁵ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁶ App. I, p. 539.

⁷ Reg. Lond., FitzJames, p. 121; also above, p. 213.

parish church adjoining, the offices and lodgings of the said priory belonging and near adjoining';¹ and of Rahere's monument he says 'of late renewed by Prior Bolton'. Bolton's work was very far from a new construction, but such work as remains is easily distinguishable, being mainly carried out in brick. It is described in detail in the chapter on the architecture of the church, and in that on the monastic buildings.

Prior Bolton demolished the curved east end of the south aisle, and by extending the south wall of the aisle eastward he formed the present rectangular termination. In this new south wall he formed a doorway, which led into the new prior's house that he built; and in the spandrels of the arch of the doorway he placed his rebus. In the story above he widened the south triforium by throwing out a gallery southward which overhung the south external chapel, and divided the triforium transversely into chambers.

Bolton then built out from the centre bay of the triforium his oriel window, which bears his rebus on the centre panel; the probable use of this was to enable the prior and his servants to see the celebration of mass. Lady Margaret's window at Christ's College, Cambridge, probably served a similar purpose. At Westminster Abbey Islip built a gallery in the south triforium of the nave, which may have been on the advice of Prior Bolton;² this (among other uses) may have served for seeing mass offered at the altar of the Rood.

What may have been the repairs 'to the parish church adjoining' to which Stow refers we do not know, because Henry VIII destroyed the parish chapel. To what extent Bolton renewed Rahere's tomb there are no indications:³ he may have merely recoloured it.

As regards the repairs to the offices and lodgings referred to by Stow, there were distinct signs of a later rebuilding of the infirmary when the foundations were exposed in the year 1910.⁴ And when the site of the chapter-house and the ground east of it were excavated in 1912, foundations were discovered of ancient brick buildings which were probably offices of Bolton's time. The lower part of the walls of the prior's house, or lodgings, were at the same time discovered, running south from Bolton's door in the church,⁵ and these were evidently work of Bolton's time, as stated by Stow.

Stow says that Bolton 'built anew the manor of Canonbery at Islington, which belonged to the canons of this house'. Nichols, writing in 1788, considered this supposition plausible, because the

¹ p. 141.

² Islip was abbot 1500-1532; Bolton was prior 1505-1532.

³ See Vol. II, chap. ii, quire.

⁴ See Vol. II, chap. x, infirmary.

⁵ See Vol. II, chap. ix, chapter-house.

device of a 'Bolt and ton', cut in free stone, then remained in several parts of the garden wall¹ (where it may still be seen).

As regards Harrow, Stow wrote as follows in the year 1598:²

'He (Bolton) built no house at Harrow-on-the-Hill as Edward Hall hath written (in his Chronicle, 1548), following a fable then on foot. "The people," saith he, "being feared by prognostications, which declared that in the year of Christ, 1524, there should be such eclipses in watery signs, and such conjunctions, that by waters and floods many people should perish, people victualled themselves, and went to high grounds for fear of drowning; and especially one Bolton, which was Prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, built him a house upon Harrow-on-the-Hill, only for fear of this flood; thither he went, and made provision of all things necessary within him for the space of two months," etc. But this was not so indeed as I have been credibly informed. True it is that this Bolton was also parson of Harrow, and therefore bestowed some small reparations on the parsonage house, but built nothing there more than a dove-house, to serve him when he had foregone his priory.'^{3 4}

Stow is not likely to have contradicted this story of Hall, written when Stow was a young man of about twenty-two, unless his informant had been really credible, so we accept his contradiction; but the astrologers of the time had predicted that a grand conjunction of the planets Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter, in the sign of Pisces (almost identical in character with that which produced Noah's flood), would occur in February 1524, and there can be no doubt that their prediction caused the greatest consternation among the learned and unlearned throughout the whole of Europe.⁵

There are various records about this time which relate to the assessment of the monastery. In the year 1524, among the procurations due to Wolsey (who had secured his aim in 1518 by being appointed Legate by the Pope) because of his 'visitations legatynes' exercised in the vacation between Easter and Trinity terms in and about London, St. Bartholomew's Priory was valued at £381 17s. 1½d., and the procuration fees at £15 5s. 5¼d.⁶ In Arnold's Chronicle⁷ the

¹ Nichols, *Canonbury*, p. 3.

² Stow, p. 141.

³ Stow, p. 141.

⁴ Edmund Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), p. 326, misquotes Stow as saying that the dove-cot was 'to serve him with that sort of fowl after he was spoiled of his priory', and then comments, 'But the date of this deluge, and the dissolution of the priory, anno 1539, not well agreeing, I know not what to say, but leave it to the reader's decision'. Stow said (as above), 'To serve him when he had foregone his priory', i.e. resigned, not 'after he was spoiled' of it. Newcourt was also misled by this quotation (vol. i, p. 637).

⁵ *N. and Q.*, 18 Feb. 1865, p. 140.

⁶ L. and P., For. and Dom. iv, No. 964.

⁷ p. 249.

temporalities of the priory in the year 1519 figure at only £90 14s. 4d., on which tenths, £8 17s. 9d., were paid. In 1522 St. Bartholomew's appears among Tunstall's¹ spiritual benefices as 'land and possessions 600 marcs, goods 400 marcs'. But how these figures were arrived at we cannot say.

In the year 1517 there is, in the Minister's Accounts,² among the Duchy of Lancaster papers in the Record Office, a view of the account of Nicholas Wolfenden, the sub-prior of the monastery and collector of the rents and lease rents within the close, for the year from Lady Day 1516 to that of 1517. A list of all the tenants is not given, because the collector works from an old rental which had been brought up to date in July of 1509.

	£	s.	d.
He first charges the account with the arrears of the previous year's collection		8	7 4
And then with the total rents of the old rental.	67	7	8
	<hr/>		
	£75	15	0

He next credits the account with the rents of 10 unoccupied tenements, giving the names of the late tenants. They are variously described as in 'Church Row', 'next the great gate', 'above the outer gate' or 'in Petty Wales', one 'next the door of the church', and one in 'the Close'. The rents vary from 6s. 8d. to 40s. a year.

Total	6	3	4
-----------------	---	---	---

He then credits payments of stipends to the following canons :

Nicholas Wolfenden, Sub-prior, £4			
Thomas Stokes	40	0	John Hynde 40 0
Thomas Gibbons	40	0	William Wikes, <i>alias</i>
			Fynche 40 0
Gilbert Lorymere	40	0	William Cherey 40 0
John Albone	40	0	John Broune 40 0
Richard Mayler	40	0	John Smyth, 1 qr. (at) 26 8
			3 qrs. „ 40 0
Thomas Bilbarowe	40	0	Oliver Middleton, 2 qrs. „ 26 8
			2 qrs. „ 40 0
Total	327 0 0		

And the following novices :

Thomas Grey	26	8	Andrew Salman 26 8
William Menley	26	8	John Bisshop 26 8
Henry Crosse	26	8	
Total	6	13	4

¹ Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, 1522-1530; Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 285 see also below, p. 321.

² Duchy of Lanc. Min. Accts., No. 4714, bundle 287.

³ Should be £27 10s. 0d. The sub-prior here made an error of 10s. against himself.

THE SUB-PRIOR'S ACCOUNT OF RENTS COLLECTED 231

	<i>Brought forward :</i> £39 16 8		
He then credits pence in the hands of tenants for drinks (<i>potaciones</i>) according to a separate and approved list .	12	0	
He then credits fees paid the attorney by order of the prior, and 'aids' to the king	13	4	
	10	0	
He paid to the prior of the brothers of the Augustinian order in London 6s. 8 <i>d.</i> , to the vicar of St. Sepulchre's 6s. 8 <i>d.</i> , Dr. Bele for preaching sermons in Lent in the church 6s. 6 <i>d.</i> , for wine 6s. 8 <i>d.</i>	1	1	2 2
He paid for raiment and necessities for John Tortington and . . . Mark, novices, 55s. 2 <i>d.</i> ; to Oliver Middleton, a canon, by order of the prior, 6s. 8 <i>d.</i> ; for paper and ink for J. Broune, canon, 4 <i>d.</i>	3	2	2
He paid the auditor for making a new rental	3	4	
He paid for wine for the convent and guest-house (<i>hospicio</i>) on Whit-Sunday	1	0	
He paid for medicines and other necessities for canons and novices when ill	10	9	
He then credits moneys paid to the prior received from Stephen Gauvinns, shoemaker, £1 6s. 8 <i>d.</i> ; John Bur- goyne for a tenement, 40s. ; William Marteyn, 53s. 4 <i>d.</i> ; and from ten others at rents from 3s. 4 <i>d.</i> to 13s. 4 <i>d.</i> . .	10	16	8
He credits :			
Allowed to the sub-prior for collection	13	4	
For two tenements in Paradise, 5s. ; and 6s. 8 <i>d.</i> allowed to a widow, and another at the will of the prior	11	8	
Arrears received from three tenants named	1	16	4
	<hr/>		
	Total £60 9 5		
	£ s. d.		
He finally charges the account for a garden in Petty Wales, between two other gardens, at 1s. a year for two years.	2	0	
Which, with the arrears and rents above.	75	15	0
	<hr/>		
amounts to	75	17	0
	60	9	5
	<hr/>		
	15	7	7
He then, on the 21st July, 9 Henry VIII (1517), paid to Prior Bolton in the presence of the Auditors	7	10	1
	<hr/>		
Leaving uncollected in arrears	£7	17	6
	<hr/>		

He then details the names of thirteen tenants and their rents, ranging from 1s. to 40s. ; which amount would then have been carried to the next year's account.

¹ This also is an obvious error for £1 6s. 6*d.*

The account is made out with much precision, but for an occasional slip in addition. Although the rental itself is not given (as is the case of the one at Kimbolton which is not available), the total of £67 7s. 8d. is only £5 less than the rental in the particulars for the grant to Rich, made four years after the suppression, showing that there were not many fresh houses built in that period.

The custom of the tenants retaining a recognized *pourboire* when paying the rent is to be noticed.

The number of the canons (13) is the same as in Rahere's time, though his successor, Prior Thomas, raised this number to 35. In 1379 the number was also 13, though there were 8 others of the house assessed for a subsidy. At the time of the suppression the number was still 13.

In the year 1521 occurs one of the few cases in which the name of the parish priest is given. A certain Hugh Grannger made some additional legacies to his will when lying on his death-bed in the presence of Sir Thomas Truplande, 'curate',¹ and as *curatum* is the description of John Deane, acting as parish priest in 1544, we may assume that the word 'curate' here indicates the same office as it does in the Prayer Book to-day.²

About this time there had been a dispute between the priory and the Charterhouse; and in the year 1526 there is a record that the prior, William Tynbeth, and the convent of the Charterhouse, gave a bond to Cardinal Wolsey of 1,000 marks to observe the award of the arbitrators chosen to decide all suits, quarrels, and matters of variance between 'those two monasteries',³ and this composition is referred to in the award made in 1531.

There had been, as already observed, complaint by the vicar of St. Sepulchre's church, which was in the gift of the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, that the share of the tithes and offerings allotted to the vicar was not sufficient. The bishop was therefore asked to arbitrate in the matter. The award, which is dated 4th April, 1531, is very lengthy. It is entered in full in the episcopal registers at St. Paul's.⁴ It is in English, and portions are quoted by Newcourt (i. 531). It is made by John Stokesley, Bishop of London, between Prior William Bolton and the convent of St. Bartholomew's, patrons, &c., and Robert Dyker, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, both being willing parties, concerning the tithes, rights, and properties of St. Sepulchre's.

¹ App. I, p. 540.

² 'Send down upon our bishops and curates.'

³ Cat. Anc. Deeds, R. O., A. 2109, 9 Feb., 17 Hen. VIII.

⁴ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, 49 b.

The main points of the award may be summarized as follows :

The vicar was to have the third part of all tithes, oblations, and profits coming to the church throughout the year (with certain exceptions). Such tithes, &c., excepting those received at Easter and seven days after, were to be put into a box in the vestry of St. Sepulchre's, there to remain until divided at the end of each month into two-thirds and one-third.

The vicar was to have the third part also of all tithes and profits arising from the composition made between the prior and convent of the Charterhouse, the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, and the vicar of St. Sepulchre's, concerning the houses within the precincts of the Charterhouse, without any interference from the Prior of St. Bartholomew's.

The vicar was to make no claim for tithes, &c., coming from the precincts of St. Bartholomew's monastery, or hospital, or Clerkenwell Fields, or arising from the composition made between the lord of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England and the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's.

The vicar was to have one-third part of the candles and tapers offered on Candlemas Day ; except the wax that the prior ordained for the choir to offer, which was to be the prior's solely.

Also the wax offered at all other times of the year was to belong to the prior, who was to find the lights before the Blessed Sacrament, tapers for processions, and other lights.

The branches of white wax brought for dead bodies were to remain the property of St. Sepulchre's, to be burnt in due time in the house of the Blessed Sacrament. Only the sockets were to go to the prior. (There are many other minor points of no special interest.)

The agreement was to last for five years and five weeks, after which, if the vicar or prior thought himself aggrieved and protested within two months of the five years and five weeks before the bishop's chancellor, then the award was to be void, but otherwise to be permanent. The date of the award was the 4th April, 1531. The presentation to St. Sepulchre's was with the prior and convent, and they presented the above Robert Dyker in the year 1524.

It would seem that the king wanted the next presentation for his chaplain, Dr. Rowland Lee ;¹ so Thomas Cromwell, in conjunction

¹ He held in turn many posts : in 1527 he held the prebend of Curborough, Lichfield ; in 1528 he became Archdeacon of Cornwall ; in 1529 he was commissary-general to Cardinal Wolsey when he visited all England ; in 1533 he married the king to Anne Boleyn ; in 1534 he was elected Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and died in 1543. *Le Neve*, vol. i, pp. 594, 399, 555 ; *Newcourt*, vol. i, p. 533.

with Gregory Cromwell, obtained from Prior Bolton a grant of the advowson (no doubt for value received in some form or another). On the death of Robert Dyker in 1532, Thomas Cromwell granted the presentation for that turn to the king (by a deed dated the 28th July, 24 Henry VIII), and the king then presented Dr. Rowland Lee.¹ On Lee's resignation, in the December following, Cromwell presented, for that turn, William Copland.²

In 1529, Dr. John Pennande, a prebendary of St. Paul's, was scheming for the appointment of prior to St. Bartholomew's; and, hearing that Cromwell had told Wolsey that he had obtained 'the advowson of Sepulchre's' for a friend, he writes to Cromwell (1st April, 1529), 'Whiche t'affirme yor saying shalbe always at yo^r co^mandmēt'.³ Pennande, however, died the following month. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's never again presented to St. Sepulchre's, because Copland retained the vicarage for ten years after the suppression of the monastery.

Bolton used as his 'rebus', or punning coat-of-arms, a crossbow 'bolt' passing through a barrel or 'ton' (pl. XXXVIII, Vol. II, p. 34). He seems to have used this long before it was formally granted to him by the College of Arms, for, as we have seen, the rebus appears on his oriel window and on a doorway in the church, which must have been built before the year 1517, whereas the formal grant was not made until the year 1530. A copy of this grant in Latin is preserved among the Arundel MSS.⁴ The grant is made by Sir Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, and assigns to Bolton 'a shield with gules, a vessel in the manner of a ton argent pierced by a bolt or, feathered argent'. It is referred to by Ben Jonson in his play of *The New Inn, or the Light Heart*:

'The sign o' the Light Heart . . .
I will maintain the *Rebus* against all comers.

A heavy Purse makes a light Heart.
There 'tis exprest: first, by a purse of Gold,
A heavy purse, and then two Twittes, *makes*,
A Heart with a Light stuck in 't, *a Light-heart!*
Old Abbot *Islip* could not invent better,
Or Prior *Bolton* with his *Bolt* and *Ton*.⁵

¹ L. and P., For. and Dom., A.D. 1532, No. 1270 (8).

² In 1537 also rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, Newcourt, i, 246.

³ L. and P., For. and Dom. (1529), No. 5410.

⁴ Arundel MSS. Mus. Brit. 26, f. 71 b.

⁵ Ben Jonson, *Complete Works*, 1631, p. 724, Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 3, 9, 14-19; *N. and Q.*, 1 Feb. 1913, p. 95.

A rebus was a popular device in this country in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially among ecclesiastics, and the fashion lasted for over a hundred years; but it largely disappeared with the monasteries. A 'hart lying on water', for Walter Leyhart of Norwich, dates from 1468. A 'cock on a globe', for Bishop Allcock, occurs at Ely, 1488. The rebus was particularly popular with those whose names ended in 'ton', as Abbot Kirton at Peterborough, 1496, who had for rebus a 'kirk' on a 'ton'; Bishop Langton, 1500, and Prior Henton at Winchester are others among many instances. The rebus, however, was by no means confined to the clergy. In the year 1443, the White Friars had a grant of a *hospitium* or hostel called 'le Bolt en Ton'. There was also a 'Bolt in tun' coach office in Fleet Street¹ (which, however, may have been the successor to the hostel).

When Cardinal Wolsey failed to get the divorce which the king desired from Katharine of Arragon, Henry, in 1529, turned upon him and took proceedings against the cardinal for breaking the statute of *præmunire* by accepting legatine power from the pope (although the pope had granted it at the particular request of the king); but Wolsey died the next year on his way to London. The king then, later in the same year, charged the whole clergy with a breach of that statute by their submission to Wolsey's legatine authority, though the king knew that not a priest in England would have dared to offend him (the king) by resisting it. The king granted the clergy pardon on their acknowledging that he was 'the supreme head of the English Church and clergy so far as was allowed by the law of Christ' and upon their paying a fine of £118,000. There is a record that the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's paid on this occasion into the king's coffers £100 as their share of this unreasonable fine.²

Reference has already been made³ to the record of the appointment by William Bolton, in the year 1522, of a steward of the manor: an appointment which the Court of Augmentations recognized twenty years later by granting an annuity to Geoffrey Chambers, the holder of the office.⁴ Reference has already been made⁵ to the commitment of John Tewkesbury to the monastery when accused of heresy in the year 1529, and of his being burnt in Smithfield two years later.

Four times during his priorate Bolton had to give his consent for the election of a new master of the hospital. On the death of Master

¹ Mr. Robert Gray has a seal with the rebus of the coach office.

² L. and P., For. and Dom. (1531), No. 657, Fines.

³ Above, p. 33.

⁴ This was probably the Geoffrey Chambers who was a friend of Thomas Cromwell and who was with him in Italy.

⁵ Above, p. 13.

Thomas Crewker, Brother Robert Beyley¹ was elected on the 10th August, 1510. On his death, in the year 1516, Richard Smyth, D.D., was elected master. On Dr. Smyth's death in 1525 (February 20th) the 4th March was fixed for the election of his successor, on which occasion two of the brethren were absent in apostasy. It was decided to elect by the method of delegation, and Cardinal Wolsey was delegated to elect. He presented Alexander Colyns, who died in 1528. His election,² and that of Robert Beyley (above),³ is set out in full in the episcopal registers at St. Paul's, where it is stated that the Vicar-General sat 'in a certain chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the eastern part of the conventual church of the priory', where Prior Bolton presented Robert Beley to him for confirmation of the election.

On the 28th June, 1528, Sir Thomas Hennege the elder (who was gentleman usher to Wolsey and of the Privy Chamber, and in waiting this year on the king) wrote to Wolsey that he had shown the matter concerning the mastership of the hospital to the king and that he had moved him to send Master Wylson to Wolsey to be shown the statutes of the house, and that the king wished the cardinal would use all the means he could to bring the disposal of the mastership into the cardinal's hands so that the king might put Wylson, or some other good man, in his place.⁴ Edward Staple, Bishop of Meath, however, was eventually appointed master *in commendam*, that is to say the mastership was placed in his hands on trust, the appointment being revocable at any time.⁵ This, no doubt, was done in consequence of the impending suppression of the hospital, and to avoid the necessity of granting a pension by way of compensation. Being a bishop, Staple had to obtain dispensation from the pope, and this he did; he resigned on the 1st July, 1532, or two and a half months after Prior Bolton's death.

Bolton was taken ill some five years before he died; for, on the 6th August, 1527, Lawrence Stubbs, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, wrote to Wolsey: 'The Prior of St. Bartholomew's is sick and likely to die. The friends of William Fynch, cellarer of the same, have offered to give you £300 for your college at Oxford⁶ for your favour towards his preferment'.⁷

It will be seen by the following letter that the prior was lame for

¹ Various spelt Byley and Beley.

² Reg. Lond. Tunstall, Installations, p. 80.

³ *Ib.*, FitzJames, Installations, p. 15.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, i, 289 (1528).

⁵ Jacob, *Law Dictionary*.

⁶ Now Christ Church.

⁷ Cal. State Papers, No. 3334 (1527).

some years before he died and that a lewd priest tried to accuse him, after his death, possibly with the intention of shielding himself :

From Willysbourne to Wriothesley :¹

'Maister Wrethesley, I comend me unto you, after tellyng you that all our business here is in good forwarnese, and I nevr was in cōpanye of more discret honest men than thes gentlemen be, wt whom the kyng and my lorde hathe matched me now. I trust we shall ende here shortly, and I pray you, as for the lewd prest sr Man that he have no cause to crabbe as he hath don, he saithe and hathe said in Oxford that I am sory and shalbe shamed for medlyng wt hym, with this addicōn that ther was nevr man medled wt hym yett but he hadd shame at his hands, I trust I shall have noone for all his crabbe pryde and richese, he saithe he hathe mony to defend all the world. As toching his sistre's child he said it was the prior of saint Bartilmew's that died last, he was lame, he could not stere in or out iiii or v yeres before he died. If you woll send a comysson to Sr John Brome Knight, and to Mr. Wyllms to enquire of his evyll demands at Oxford and in certeyn townes thereabouts you shall know that he kept his systre, sens she was meryed, in this contre and wold have slayne his own father who was with Sir John Brome a while for fere of his lewd son, in my next lres I woll certifie you of or business, etc. etc.

Yor old acquiencence and friend

JHON WELLYSBOURNE.

Endorsed to the Right worshipful Master Wrothesley.'

Fortunately no credence need be placed in an insinuation against Prior Bolton coming from a person with such a character as described above. The fact of Bolton being incapacitated so many years before his death accounts for a man like Dr. Pennande scheming for the post.²

He died on Friday, the 5th April, 1532.³⁴ Weever, however, says⁵ that 'he died at his parsonage house at Harrow-upon-the-Hill (as I have it by relation) the fourth of Edward the sixth (1550-1), and was there interred', but as, in addition to this extraordinary date, he says that 'he surrendered up this his Priorie the 30th of Henry the 8', that is to say, seven years after his death (!), no reliance can be placed on Weever's statements.

Machyn in his diary,⁶ on the other hand, describing the funeral of Cisele Mansfield⁷ on the 20th September, 1558, says she was 'buried before the high altar at the head of the old Prior Bolton', and it

¹ Cal. State Papers, vol. xiii, pt. I, No. 260, 11 Feb. 1538.

² See above, p. 234.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, No. 978 (1532).

⁶ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 174.

³ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, p. 65.

⁵ Weever, *Fun. Mon.*, p. 434.

⁷ Mansel.

seems far more likely that he should have been buried in his priory church than at Harrow.

Weever also says, 'This Bolton and the rest of his brethren were portraied upon a Table sometimes hanging in this church, now it is in Sir Robert Cotton's Librarie, holding up their hands to the Crucifixe, under whom, these verses were depensi'd :

*Gulielmo Bolton precibus succurrite vestrīs,
Qualis erat pater hic, Domus hec, Etcetera Monstrant.'*¹

Licence to elect a successor was granted by the king at Westminster on the 17th April, 1532. This was granted on the petition of Thomas Gybbons, the sub-prior, and the convent, which stated that the prior had died as above. The petition was signed in the chapter-house on the 9th April and carried to the king by John Symkyns, the cellarer, and by John Bowser, another of the canons.

PRIOR ROBERT FULLER

(perpetual commendatory and abbot of the exempt
monastery of Holy Cross, Waltham).²

1532-1539.

On the 28th June, 1532, Robert Fuller, the Abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, the great Augustinian abbey in Essex, was elected prior. He was elected by the choice of the Bishop of London, at the request of the convent, to please the king. The bishop gave his consent to the election on the following day.³ The royal assent,⁴ given at Greenwich, is dated the 2nd July; it was delivered at Westminster on the 10th of the same month. On the 7th July the king granted licence to Fuller to obtain papal bulls allowing him to hold for life *in commendam*⁵ the priory, along with the abbatial dignity of Waltham. This licence was delivered at Westminster on the 10th July⁶ and the temporalities of the priory were restored on the 14th.⁷

The process of his election is set out at great length in Bishop Stokesley's register,⁸ and the following outline may be of interest.

It is in the form of a report by the sub-prior (Thomas Gybbons)

¹ 'Help William Bolton with your prayers. This and other houses shew what sort of man this father was.' The present whereabouts of this tablet has not been traced.

² Cat. Anc. Deeds, II, B, 3622.

³ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, p. 65.

⁴ Cal. State Papers (1532), No. 120 (24).

⁵ *In commendam* is explained on p. 236.

⁶ Cal. State Papers (1532), No. 120 (25).

⁷ *Ib.*, No. 1207 (35).

⁸ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, f. 65.

to the bishop. He declares that the priory had long been vacant by the death, on the 5th April, of William Bolton, whereby it had sustained grave detriment both in spiritual and in temporal matters; that licence to elect had been granted to himself and the convent, which consisted of the following canons and priests :

John Hynde.	John Smyth, Senior.	John Darkington.
Mark Fletcher.	Thomas Lichefelde.	Henry George.
John Smyth, Junior.	John Symkyns. ¹	John Bonofer.
Robert Glasyer. ²	Richard Cooper.	Christopher Reynolds.
Robert Kenham.		

Also of the following constituted novices professed for life :

Peter Wade, sub-deacon.	Bartholomew Dikons.
Richard Duff.	John Sutton.
George Chapman.	

Thomas Bilbarowe, the sacristan, was away ill in the infirmary of the monastery, where he had appointed John Bowser his procurator.

The proceedings commenced with a Mass of the Holy Spirit ; that the bell was then rung for the assembling of the chapter, at which the Bishop of London was present ; that the canons sang ' Come, Holy Ghost ' and ' Lord, who the hearts of the faithful ', after which the names of the canons and the king's licence to elect were read. Those having a right to vote were summoned at the door of the chapter-house, any not attending being pronounced contumacious by the sub-prior, who acted as president. That he then read to the chapter the threefold manner of proceeding in elections, which was either :

- (1) *per viam scrutinii*—that is, by individual voting ;
- (2) *per viam compromissi*, by choice of a certain number of delegates to elect in the name of the community, and by a mutual promise to abide by their award ; or
- (3) by acclamation or the uncontradicted declaration of the common wish of the body.³

Then, having stated that the votes of Bartholomew Dikons, Richard Duff, George Chapman, who were in minor but not holy orders, would be disannulled if they were not entitled to vote, the chapter unanimously chose the method *per viam compromissi*, ' with the intention of gratifying his Royal Highness and the bishop ', and so gave their right to choose the new prior to the bishop, and to Rowland Lee and to John Olyver, chaplains of the king, and gave their bond to

¹ Cellarer.

² Subsequently the sub-prior.

³ Gasquet, *Engl. Mon. Life*, p. 44.

receive as their prior whoever was chosen. Their consent was read by John Symkyns, the cellarer. The president and chapter then nominated as their procurators two of the canons, Thomas Lichefelde and Robert Glasyer, to show the deed of their submission to the delegates, to ask them to accept the burden of choosing the prior, to obtain the consent of the person chosen, to certify the same to the president and chapter, and to see that he was presented in person to the king, whose Letters Patent, giving the royal assent, were, as usual, to be sent to the bishop for his confirmation, and they were to see that all other matters were duly performed. The chapter was then prorogued.

Afterwards, on the 28th June, in the vestibule of St. Paul's Cathedral, in the presence of the public notary, and of two witnesses duly appointed, the bishop (having first given an address), with the other two delegates present, directed the vote of the canons to 'Robert the abbot of the exempt monastery of Waltham Holy Cross of the order and rule of St. Augustine'. The award was committed to writing and witnessed by William Maior, Prior of St. Mary's, Bishops-gate, and Lawrence Gopsorper, Master of St. Thomas of Acon's. Subsequently, on the same day the Vicar-General, Richard Foxford, declared the nomination before the high altar in the Conventual Church of St. Bartholomew, before the members of the convent and the people there congregated, for which nomination they solemnly sang the *Te Deum Laudamus* 'with the organ sounding'. Then, on the next day, Saturday, June 29th, by appointment made, the two procurators came to the abbot at Waltham about the dinner-hour in the refectory, and in the presence of the notary and witnesses notified his election to the abbot in the presence of Thomas Warren, the prior of the abbey, Edmund Saunders, one of the canons, and Robert Cressy, the public notary.

The abbot's reply was that the matter was so difficult to agree upon that he ought to deliberate until the second hour after noon for granting his consent, at which time the procurators again asked the abbot for his consent to his election, to which he then complied, giving his assent in writing. In this document he refers to the procurators 'seeking and requiring my consent instantly, more instantly and most instantly', and proceeds, 'not wishing further to resist the divine will to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin Mary His Mother and of Saint Bartholomew, patron of the said priory, and of all saints [I] give my consent and assent expressed in these writings'.

It seems to have been the usual custom not to give assent at the

first request, even though, as in this case, the appointment had been eagerly sought.

There is also entered at length in the episcopal register,¹ the bond of appointment by Fuller of proxies whom he empowered to obtain the confirmation of his election, his induction, and the canonical obedience of the canons. It sets out how he, Robert, the abbot of the exempt monastery of Waltham Holy Cross, had been elected *per viam compromissi* Prior of St. Bartholomew's, to which election he had lawfully consented; and then continues, 'and at present being in many ways busied and hindered by so many and so diverse difficult and urgent causes and also labours touching our lord the king, and thus probably for some time I shall be; and therefore in the furtherance of the matter of the confirmation of the election or designation of such kind and of the other matters required by law in that behalf, I cannot conveniently take part, as I would willingly do, did not such things stand in the way'. He nominated as his proctor, Rowland Lee,² the Archdeacon of Cornwall, Richard Gwent, official of decrees of the Court of Canterbury, John Tregenwell, doctor of laws, and Simon Cotton, notary public and one of the general proctors of the Court of Canterbury. To these he gave power to appear before the bishop or his representative, in the chapter-house of the priory, to excuse him from personal attendance; to produce the papal bulls of licence to hold the two positions; to obtain confirmation of his election; to obtain his canonical admission as prior; to have the administration of the spiritualities and temporalities of the house; also to be inducted and installed by the registrar, both in the stall of the prior in the quire and in his place in the chapter-house; and finally to receive the oath of canonical obedience of the regular canons. This deed he sealed as abbot on the 10th July, 1532.

Following on this entry in Stokesley's register³ is a report in the matter of the confirmation. It sets out how the Vicar-General, Richard Foxford, having had all the matters of the election of Robert Fuller before him, and Rowland Lee his proctor having also appeared before him, he pronounced that he found Robert Fuller to have been canonically elected and to have been dispensed to retain *in commendam* the priory, and so admits him as being perpetual commendatory of the dignity of prior, and as such institutes him.⁴ Then follows

¹ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, 88.

² One of the delegates who elected Fuller.

³ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, 89.

⁴ Fuller signed documents as 'perpetual commendatory' of the priory. Cat. Anc. Deeds, II, B, 3622, 30 Sept. 1532.

Rowland Lee's oath, on Fuller's behalf as his proctor, of obedience to the Bishop of London ; to preserve the honour of divine worship in the house ; to maintain and observe the statutes, rules, and customs of the priory ; to attend the synod or visitation of the bishop when summoned, and not without the consent of the bishop, even with the consent of the chapter, to alienate, mortgage, diminish, or waste, but, according to his power, to increase, the possessions of the house. Finally he promised, on Fuller's behalf, that he would every year draw up and exhibit a faithful account of the state of the house in the presence of the canons in the chapter-house.

Then follows the deed on the confirmation of the election, dated in the chapter-house on the 13th July, 1532, whereby Foxford confirms in writing that the administration of the spiritual and temporal goods are given to the new prior, that it was decided to ask the bishop to induct him and to apply to the king for the investiture of the temporalities.

It is some evidence, if such were wanting, that Fuller was one of the tools of the king, Cromwell, and Rich for the suppression of the monasteries, that he appointed a man like Rowland Lee as his proctor. For there is much evidence of Rowland Lee's activity in helping Cromwell in his work of suppression ;¹ of his perversion of the truth in so doing ; and of his sharing in the plunder by obtaining, when Bishop of Lichfield, the priory of St. Thomas, Stafford.

Abbot Fuller had been on good terms with the king before Bolton's death ; for on the 1st November, 1531, Fuller had granted the king the manor of Stanstead Abbots, with the lands called Joyces and Isney Parke, Boar House, and other lands and tenements in Stanstead, Herts, and Roydon, Essex.² The king was anxious to obtain the manors of Canonbury and Cutlers in the parish of Islington, part of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's ; he already had a lease of the house and garden of Canonbury³ (called Canberie in the record), and the desire of the king to obtain the manor no doubt assisted Fuller in getting St. Bartholomew's.

As soon as Prior Bolton was dead, the abbot, on the 22nd May, 1532, had written to Thomas Cromwell, then the master of the king's jewel house,⁴ who was very susceptible to bribes, either for himself or his master :

' Please continue your goodness towards finishing this matter for the house of St. Bartholomew's, as liberal motions have been

¹ Hibbert, *Diss. Mon.* 142, 170, &c.

² *Ib.*, 1531, No. 1285.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, 1531, No. 622.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1532, No. 1044.

set forward. Such matters shall be largely recompensed on my part, not only in reward for your labours, but also for such yearly remembrance as you shall have no cause to be sorry for.'

The letter is signed 'yor assueryd dayly bedisman, Robert Abbot of Waltham', and endorsed 'To the right worshipful Mr. Cromwell, one of the kyng's noble counsell and my lovyngge ffrynde this be dd'.

This promise Fuller fulfilled shortly after his election as Prior of St. Bartholomew's, for, on the 22nd September, 1532, he granted Cromwell, probably for the king, a lease of the manors of Canonbury and Cutlers. Also in August and in December of the same year (as already seen¹) he granted to Cromwell the next presentation to St. Sepulchre's.²

The king was constantly obtaining lands by exchange or otherwise, and as there were other of the abbey of Waltham's lands that he coveted, the king no doubt found that it answered his purpose very well for Fuller to be seeking a favour from him in the appointment to St. Bartholomew's (for at this time the appointment of a Prior of St. Bartholomew's was practically in the hands of the king, as is shown in the account of Fuller's election above). On the 31st December, 1532, Fuller wrote to Cromwell from Waltham :³

'I have, according to your letter, assembled my convent for sealing the deed and "departure" of the lands comprised in the same. I much doubt to their consent to the exchange of such lands as the king would have ; you had better therefore come over and speak with them in the king's behalf, as your politic wisdom shall see best, and then to perceve the matter that resteth in their heads.'

This letter may refer to Copt Hall Park and house, for on the back of a letter dated the 6th April, 1533, from Cromwell to the Bishop of Ely,⁴ occurs : 'Lands to be appointed for the Abbot of Waltham, in lieu of Coppydhall park and the manor of Eppyng', and a foot-note 'see statute 26 Hen. VIII. c. 24' (1534-5) (the endorsement therefore was made some time after the date of the letter). Again, among Cromwell's Remembrances, occurs :⁵ 'To remember my lord of Waltham's recompense for Copped Hall Park' (as this exchange was the subject of an Act of Parliament on the 15th January, 1534, c. 24,⁶ this explains the reference to the statute above).

¹ See above, p. 234.

² Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* 383.

³ Cal. State Papers, No. 1684.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 312.

⁵ *Ib.*, 1533, No. 137.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1534, No. 54. It was entitled 'An Act of Exchange between the king and the Abbott of Waltham'. The abbot and convent conveyed Copt Hall Park and

It would seem that one proposal had been that the priory of St. Bartholomew should be appropriated to Waltham in exchange for the manor of Epping, for in the year 1534 Cromwell drew up articles of agreement on the king's behalf with Abbot Fuller providing that if the king, at his own cost, appropriated the monastery of St. Bartholomew to the monastery of Waltham, the abbot and convent should make sure to the king and his heirs the manor of Epping.¹

Henry VIII was always building and acquiring new estates. Among his Remembrances in 1534 Cromwell wrote :² ' What a great charge it is to the king to continue his buildings in so many places at once. How proud and false the workmen be, and if the king would spare for one year, how profitable it would be to him ', &c.

Fuller, as Abbot of Waltham, was a mitred abbot, with exempt jurisdiction from the diocesan episcopal authority, and he was a lord of Parliament.³ As such he is mentioned as being present in Parliament on the 30th March, 1534, in company with the Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, &c.,⁴ and as being summoned for the 28th April, 1539.⁵ As Abbot of Waltham, Fuller was present at Hampton Court on Monday, the 15th October, 1537, at the christening of Prince Edward (afterwards Edward VI).

He was an able man of business⁶ and industrious, for, during his abbacy at Waltham, he compiled a cartulary or ' leiger book ' of the muniments of Waltham Abbey, which is transcribed on 456 large paper folios. With the exception of the two last charters of the alienation of Copt Hall Park to Henry VIII, it is all written in his own hand ; and his name is inserted in nine places in the initial letters or in the text.⁷

Though he was too busy on the king's behalf to be personally inducted to the priory, he tried to obtain promotion for some of the canons ; for in the year after his appointment, viz. on the 23rd April, 1533, he wrote thus to Cromwell :

' Whereas it has pleased you to promise to help my cellarer (John Symkyns) of St. Bartholomew's to some promotion, I am informed that the Abbot of St. Osith in Essex is dead. The Bishop of London is founder, and if you will take pains for my cellarer, I shall heartily thank you, and you shall be largely recompensed.

house in exchange for Cane Fields and Cane Woods in St. Pancras, Kentish Town, and the manor of Dame Ellyns in Little Warley, Essex.

¹ L. and P., Hen. VIII, vii, No. 63 (2).

² Cal. State Pap. 1534, No. 143.

³ Newcourt, *Rep.* ii, 628.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, No. 391.

⁵ Dugdale, *Sum. to Parl.* 501.

⁶ Cal. State Papers, 1534, No. 771.

⁷ Stevens, *Suppl.* ii, 115.

I trust you will speed it before the Bishop of London leaves the realm.'¹

(This was written from Waltham, but was ineffectual, as the prior, John Colchester, became abbot.)

After this disappointment, on the 7th May, in the next year (1534), Fuller again asked Cromwell's favour for Sir John Symkyns, 'cellarer of my house of St. Bartylmewes', this time to be Prior of St. Gregory's Augustinian monastery, Canterbury, the present prior being about to resign. Master Cressey would declare his qualities to Cranmer (who was 'founder' or patron).² We have not found whether he was successful this time, but the name of John Symkyns does not occur on the list of canons pensioned in 1539; therefore it is possible he was.

In the same year (1534), probably at Fuller's instigation, one of his canons was elected to be the abbot of the Augustinian monastery of St. Mary de Pré (*de Pratis* in the grant). (His name is variously given as John Bourcheher and Bourcher: he was probably the John Benofof mentioned in the list of the canons entitled to vote at Fuller's election.³)

In the same year again (1534) he appointed his canon, Robert Glasyer, as collector of rents within the precincts of the close of the monastery, who then proceeded to make a *compotus*, or list of those paying rent there from Michaelmas for a year. It is described⁴ as a paper roll 7 ft. long, but we have never been able to see it. Further evidence of the care of Fuller for the interests of those under him appears in 1536, when he and the convent formally appointed Stephen Fyndley as 'clerk of the church of the monastery', and 'parish clerk of the chapel of All Saints within the church',⁵ which offices Stephen had exercised before the time of the grant, so no doubt this formal appointment was made to enable him to secure a pension after the suppression of the monastery. The appointment of parish clerk was for life (as it would be now), and carried with it a yearly wage of 20s., with meat and drink, which was to be taken at the porter's lodge within the precincts of the monastery. He was also given, for the exercising of his office, three yards of broadcloth yearly for his livery, of such price and colour as was given to the yeomen servants of the monastery. If he were unable to perform his duties from age or sickness, then the yearly wage of 20s. was to cease, at the pleasure

¹ L. and P., Hen. VIII, 1533, No. 378.

² Ib., 1533, No. 449, and 1534, No. 691.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 1, p. 13 d, Kimbolton Castle.

³ See above, p. 239.

⁵ See above, p. 33; also Vol. II, chap. iii, N. transept. Also Aug. Off. Misc. Bks., vol. 97, p. 99.

of the prior and convent. Nevertheless for 'the gooddence' that Stephen before that time had done to the prior and convent, they granted him a yearly wage of 6s. 8d., to be taken from the manor of Little Stanmore. In the event of the 20s. yearly not being paid for four weeks after the four quarter days, then Stephen was given power to distrain on the manor of Stanmore. The deed, which is in English, was sealed in the chapter-house on the 28th March, 28 Henry VIII.

On the 10th February, 1541, Stephen Fyndley came to the Court of Augmentations with this deed, and on its being found to be *bona fide*, he was granted for life in satisfaction of all claims £3 10s. yearly, with arrears at the same rate from the time of the dissolution of the monastery.

It has already been recorded¹ in the chapter on the order that in the year 1539 Prior Fuller appointed John Chesewyk of London, yeoman, and 'Alyce' his wife, during their lives, and the life of the survivor, to the office of launder or washer of all the linen clothes belonging to the church and convent. They undertook to wash all the linen and to be responsible for any lost or stolen, for a payment of £10 a year, with a house, rent and repairs free, a gallon of ale and a 'caste' of bread every Friday, they giving a bond for £20. This grant was sealed in the chapter-house by the prior and convent and by John Chesewyk on the 28th February, 1539, only eight months before the surrender.

On the 20th October, 1541, John brought this deed to the Court of Augmentations, and he and his wife were allowed 40s. annually and any arrears at the same rate, for which object no doubt this formal grant also was made.

Another of Fuller's appointments recorded is that to which reference is also made in the chapter on the order,² when he and his convent appointed John Burgoyne and his son Thomas, both living in the Close, auditors for their lives of all collectors of rents, &c., for the monastery, within the City of London and suburbs, and of all lands and tenements within the precincts of the priory. The annuity of 40s. granted for exercising the office of auditors was to be paid from the rent of the house in the close, then in the occupation of John Burgoyne himself, and 20s. granted for the services of a clerk was to be paid from the rent of any of the aforesaid lands, &c. The deed was sealed in the chapter-house on the 11th December, 25 Henry VIII (1533).³

¹ See above, p. 32.

² See above, p. 33.

³ Harl. Charters, 83 a, 43. A fine impression of the priory seal is attached to the deed; see p. 320. The translation of this charter made by Dr. Nairn has had to be omitted for want of space.

Fuller was only called upon once to grant licence to the hospital to elect a master, viz. on the 23rd September, 1532, whilst his own election was in progress.

It was on the occasion of the resignation of Bishop Staple that John Brereton, the king's nominee and chaplain, was chosen to succeed. He held among other things a prebend of St. Paul and St. Stephen in the London diocese,¹ and held the parish churches of Malpas and Cristelton in the Coventry and Lichfield diocese. These being benefices incompatible with the mastership of the hospital, which he was to hold (like Fuller) *in commendam*, he obtained (apparently in anticipation) on the 22nd February, 1531-2, a bull of dispensation from Pope Clement VII. Brereton, having obtained this bull without the sanction of the king, had to obtain pardon, which was granted on the 9th August, 1532.² This election, like Fuller's, is set out in full in Bishop Stokesley's Register.³ It was *per viam compromissi*, and the choice was left to Dr. Gwent. John Brereton, when chosen, was presented to Prior Fuller, who in turn presented him to the bishop.

The hospital at that time, Brereton said, was encumbered with much borrowed money, and its houses were in a ruinous state. The revenues, he said, did not exceed £66 13s. 4d.

It was with this master, John Brereton, that Prior Fuller, in the year 1538, jointly entered into an agreement with one Richard Callard, for the sum of £40, to be allowed access at all times to repair the pipes of the water supply from Canonbury, which since 1433 (as has been seen⁴) had been the joint work of the priory and hospital.

LEADING TO THE SUPPRESSION

It will now be necessary to relate briefly the historical events which led up to the suppression of the monasteries, in order that the records of St. Bartholomew's may be properly understood.

In the year 1530, as has been seen,⁵ the king constrained the clergy to acknowledge that he was 'the supreme head of the English Church and clergy so far as was allowed by the law of Christ', and this was formally acknowledged by Convocation of the province of Canterbury in February, and by that of York in May 1531. In 1534 the king induced Parliament to pass an Act of Supremacy which gave him the title of 'supreme head on earth of the Church of England', and which also made it an act of treason to deny it.

John Brereton, the master, and two others subscribed to the

¹ Reg. Lond., Stokesley, 91.

² *Ib.*, 91.

³ *Ib.*, 66.

⁴ See above, p. 210.

⁵ See above, p. 235.

supremacy,¹ on behalf of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; but it is not recorded whether Fuller subscribed either for Waltham Abbey or St. Bartholomew's Priory.² It was for refusing to subscribe that John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (to whom reference has already been made)³ and Sir Thomas More were executed for treason in the year 1535. And it was for the same cause that the monks of the Charterhouse, who had been imprisoned the year before for refusal to take the oath of the Act of Succession, were barbarously put to death at Tyburn.

In consequence of this assumption of the supremacy by the king, the firstfruits and tenths, hitherto paid to the pope, now came to the Crown (and so remained until Queen Anne's bounty returned them to the Church). It was therefore necessary to re-value all the ecclesiastical property in the country, which had not been done since the valuation of Pope Nicholas about the year 1291, a valuation known as the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*. In the year 1535 a Commission was appointed to carry out this re-valuation, and upon it Robert Fuller, as Abbot of Waltham, was placed.⁴ The report of this Commission is known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. Subsequently, after the suppression, a further valuation was made, many changes in the possessions of the monasteries having taken place since 1535: this valuation, to which reference will be made later, is known as the *computi Ministrorum*. In the year 1536 the king obtained a decree to be signed during the synod regarding general councils of the Church, 'that whilst nothing was more necessary for the establishment of the faith and the extirpation of heretics, yet neither the Bishop of Rome nor any prince may summon a council without acknowledging any other supreme authority'. This decree was signed by Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Stokesley, and many other bishops and abbots, among whom was Robert Fuller, who signed as Abbot of Waltham, and also as proxy for the Abbots of Crowland, Tewkesbury, and Winchcombe.⁵

Abbot Fuller again was one of those who signed the articles of religion set out by Convocation and published by the king's authority in 1539. A bill was drafted by the Archbishop of York, and the Act, commonly called 'the Six Articles', was passed by Parliament, Archbishop Cranmer both speaking and voting against it.

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1534, 27 June, No. 891 and 921.

² Inventory in 7th Report, Dep. Keeper Pub. Records, App. II, p. 279, only names as signing the royal supremacy in London, St. Mary's Spital, Charterhouse, Elsing Spital, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Thomas of Acon.

³ See above, p. 224.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, No. 129.

⁵ Wilkins, *Concil.* iii, 809; Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII*, p. 406.

The Six Articles confirmed the doctrines of :

1. Transubstantiation ;
2. Communion in one kind only ;
3. The compulsory celibacy of the clergy ;
4. The perpetual obligation of vows of chastity ;
5. The use of private masses ; and
6. Auricular confession.

Whoever spoke against the first article was to be burnt ; or against any of the other articles, on a second offence, to be hanged. Thus, in spite of the destruction of images and relics the year before, the king showed no inclination to protest against any of the doctrines of the Catholic Church of his time, although he had utterly abolished the authority of the pope in England, and was at this time engaged in seizing the property of the last of the monasteries.

In the year 1538 many images, on roods and elsewhere, had been burnt as idolatrous. One image called Darvell Gidarne may be referred to as being burnt in front of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield on the 22nd May of that year. It was used to swell the flames that burnt Friar Forest, who was suspended in chains above it. Forest was condemned for treason for denying the king's supremacy, but yet was burnt as a heretic. Dukes and earls, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and ten thousand people were present to witness the scene, and Wriothesley adds that there was 'a long skaffold next to Sainct Bartholomew's Spittell Gate, where the Lordes of the Privie Counsell sate with the mayor and aldermen and other gentlemen and commons of the cittie'.¹

On the occasion of the burning of Anne Askew and three men in Smithfield on the 16th July, 1546, the journals of the Court of Common Council² record the erection of a special scaffold which, it is there stated, they granted to the king. It was erected immediately before what had been the west front of St. Bartholomew's Church, in order that Chancellor Wriothesley and others of the Privy Council might witness the terrible scene.³ Wriothesley on this occasion expressed alarm lest their persons should be endangered by the gunpowder exploding among the faggots, but Russell reassured him by saying that 'it was only intended for the condemned prisoners'!

¹ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, 81.

² Journal 4, f. 88. See also Repertories, Guildhall, 6 Apr. 1546, No. 11, f. 275 b, when a substantial 'stay' was ordered to be made in Smithfield for the king's Council, the Lord Mayor, &c., at the examination of Anne Askew to be burnt, at the cost of the city.

³ Fox, *A. and M.* ii, 490.

Anne Askew was condemned under the first clause of the Six Articles Act, six months only before King Henry's death.

What very materially led to the suppression of the monasteries was the general visitation undertaken in the year 1534, not by the bishops, but by Thomas Cromwell for the king, on the strength of the Act of Supremacy, which made the king supreme head of the Church, and on the ground of correcting abuses. There were eighty-six questions to be answered by each monastery.¹ This visitation was followed by injunctions, also by Cromwell, and this secular visitation, in place of the usual episcopal visitation of the monasteries, is considered to have impaired their religious character and to have materially paved the way for their final surrender.

That the monasteries had need of reform at this time, which probably could not have come from within, is most likely true. As regards London, the following letter of Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor, to the king,² shows that, although the hospitals were valued, the monasteries were not in good repute with the citizens.

'Near and within the city of London there are three hospitals, St. Mary's Spital (Shoreditch), St. Bartholomew's Spital, and St. Thomas' Spital and the new abbey of Tower Hill founded of good devotion by ancient farders and endowed with great possessions and rents only for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor and impotent people not being able to help themselves,' (and adds) 'not to the maintenance of Chanons, priests and monks to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offending every clean person passing by the way, with their filthy and nasty savours.'

This state of things, however, was capable of reform and did not justify the degrading steps taken to enforce the surrender.³

Alien monasteries had been suppressed as early as the fifteenth century by Henry V, in consequence of the war with France. William of Wykeham and other bishops had suppressed smaller monasteries to found colleges. Cardinal Wolsey, in 1524, obtained a papal bull to use the revenues of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, and of thirty-nine lesser monasteries for founding his Cardinal College, now Christ Church, Oxford, and a college at Ipswich.

The scheme for a general suppression of all the monasteries probably took shape just before Fuller was made Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and we may safely assume that that was the reason why he and Brereton were allowed to hold the priorship of the church and master-

¹ All are fully set out in Burnet, *History of the Reformation*.

² Cal. State Papers, 1538, xiii, pt. ii, No. 492.

³ Hibbert, *Dissolution Mon.*

ship of the hospital respectively *in commendam* with their other benefices.

The scheme of the suppression originated in the king's need of funds to meet his great and lavish expenditure, and it was commenced and carried through by the advice and counsel of Thomas Cromwell, Richard Rich, and a few others.

The first step was taken in the year 1535, when it was decided to suppress all monasteries whose income was less than £200 a year;¹ and in 1536, no less than 380 of the lesser monasteries were so suppressed. The machinery to carry out the scheme was provided by the establishment of the Court of Augmentations.² It consisted of a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney, solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, &c.³ The first chancellor was Sir Richard Rich, who (as will be seen) was intimately associated with St. Bartholomew's (a fact which further justifies these references to the suppression of the monasteries in general).

The suppression of the lesser monasteries (together with the Act of Succession) resulted in the rising in the North known as the Pilgrimage of Grace; a protest aimed not so much at the king as against Cromwell and Rich and others who were considered to be the authors of all the injustice. The abbots and priors, who at first were treated reasonably, were in the two years following—1537–1538—brutally hanged. Many of the superiors thus attainted for treason ruled over larger monasteries than were allowed to be suppressed by Act of Parliament, but their houses were seized by the king and their suppression was not legalized by Parliament until the spring of 1539. After these Parliamentary powers were obtained, the greatest brutality was used if the houses did not surrender, as in the well-known instances of the Abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, who were beheaded and quartered, their heads being set upon their own abbey gates. This occurred in September 1539. After this, in London, Dr. Petre, one of the commissioners, took the surrender in the following month (and no wonder) of the nunnery of Holywell, of the priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew, the priory of St. Mary Overy, and, in November, that of Syon Isleworth. (Holy Trinity, Aldgate, had surrendered apparently in a bankrupt condition in 1532.)

As regards St. Bartholomew's, there is no reason to believe that Prior Fuller was coerced into the surrender either of the priory or of the Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross, because everything points to

¹ Act of Parliament, 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28.

² *Ib.*, cap. 27.

³ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII*, 179.

his having been chosen prior because he favoured, for personal or other reasons, the policy of the king. It has already been noticed that, when he was chosen Prior of St. Bartholomew's in 1532, he was engaged 'in divers difficult and urgent causes for the king'. In 1538 he is found on the Commission of Peace in company with men like Thomas Cromwell, Sir Richard Rich, and the Abbot of St. Osyth's.¹ In 1539 it is known from Cromwell's accounts that he sold Canonbury, the coveted possession of St. Bartholomew's,² some four months only before the suppression, to the king,³ with whom up to the last he cultivated the friendliest relations. In addition to being present at the christening of Prince Edward, Fuller used to make the king New Year gifts; he appears, as the Abbot of Waltham, on the list of the donors, headed by the king, as giving '2 oxen and 20 muttons';⁴ and on the New Year's Day following (that is, after he had surrendered his priory), he again appears in company with the king, Lady Mary, Lady Elizabeth, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the nobility, as giving '2 oxen and 10 muttons':⁵ on the other hand the king gave the servants of the Abbot of Waltham on New Year's Day, 1540, 20s. each 'as hath been accustomed'.⁶

Cardinal Gasquet has pointed out other instances than that of Abbot Fuller in which the king prepared the way for the suppression of the greater monasteries by skilfully selecting men who were likely to resign their houses when called upon to do so: as John Capon, Abbot of Hyde, who, although made Bishop of Bangor in 1534, was allowed to remain commendatory of his monastery, and upon his surrendering it in 1539, was rewarded with the see of Salisbury. So, too, Robert Pursglove, the Prior of Gisburne, who was Bishop of Hull, not only surrendered his own monastery, but also was active in persuading others to do the same. He, like Fuller, was rewarded (as will be seen⁷) with a pension of £200 a year.

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1538, No. 1309 (24).

² Cal. State Papers, 1539, No. 782.

³ *Ib.*, 1540, No. 1.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1541, No. 380 (f. 179).

⁵ For £296.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1539, No. 5.

⁷ See below, p. 258.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUPPRESSION AND AFTER

THE surrender of the priory of St. Bartholomew actually took place on the 25th October, 1539, the deed of surrender being sealed in the chapter-house of the priory on that day. It is a small parchment measuring 16½ in. by 8¼ in. (pl. X, p. 254). It is in excellent condition; it is kept in a small bag and is numbered 136 among the Deeds of Surrender in the Court of Augmentations at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. It bears no signatures of the members of the convent (which is unusual), but only that of William Petre, the king's commissioner, who took the surrender; attached, however, is a good impression in brown wax of the monastic seal, and this must have been the last time the matrix was used before it was destroyed.

The deed may be shortly translated thus: ¹

‘To all the faithful in Christ to whom this present charter shall come, Robert by divine permission abbot of the monastery of Waltham in the county of Essex, and prior *in commendam* of the monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield and the convent of the same place, sends greeting. Know ye that we the aforesaid abbot and convent for sure reasons and considerations at present particularly moving us, by our unanimous agreement and consent, and of our spontaneous will, have given granted and by this our present charter confirmed to our most excellent prince and lord, Lord Henry VIII, by God's grace King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and supreme head on earth of the English Church, all our aforesaid monastery and priory of St. Bartholomew and the whole site of our late priory and all our demesnes, manors, churches, chapels, rectories, and vicarages and chantries . . . as well spiritual as temporal, as well in the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Essex and in the City of London as anywhere else in the kingdom which belong to the monastery . . . and also all and every kind of our church ornaments, jewels and goods which we have in right of the said monastery; to have hold and enjoy all the aforesaid demesnes and manors to our lord the king, his heirs and successors for ever. And we the said abbot and convent and our successors will warrant against all peoples for the lord the king and his successors all the monastery and the demesnes and manors (etc.) with their appurtenances. In testimony of which we have set our common sea to this our present charter.

¹ For Latin see App. I, p. 501;

'Dated at our chapter-house the 25th day of October in the 31st year of the reign of our said lord the present king Henry the Eighth.

'Acknowledged before me William Petre¹ one of the clerks of the Chancellery of the lord the king the day and place written above by me William Petre.'

The day after the surrender, viz. on the 26th October, 1539, a list was made of the canons in the house. Against each name was then inserted, by Sir Robert Southwell,² the pension allotted.³ All pensions were made payable at Michaelmas and Lady Day, and in addition a money gift was made to make the pension date from the day of the surrender. The pension was to cease upon the recipient being advanced by the king to any ecclesiastical office.⁴ The grant of the pension was made to each canon by deed identically worded in each case, except for the amount of the pension and the name and office of the pensioner. Each deed was dated the 20th November, 31 Henry VIII (1539), and may be translated thus from the Latin :

'The king to all to whom these presents shall come greeting. Since the late monastery of St. Bartholomew in Smythefeld by London in our county of Middlesex is now being dissolved whereof a certain Robert Glasier at the time of that dissolution and sometime previously was sub-prior there. We wishing that a reasonable yearly pension or promotion worthy of the same Robert should be provided for the better supporting his food dress and sustenance. Know ye therefore that we, in consideration of the premises, of our special favour, and of our own sure knowledge and proper motion, by the advice and consent of the chancery and council of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of our crown, have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant to the said Robert a certain annuity or yearly pension of fifteen pounds sterling ; to have, enjoy and yearly receive the said fifteen pounds to the said Robert and his assigns from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past to the end and for the term of the life of the said Robert or until the said Robert shall have been promoted by us to one or more ecclesiastical benefices or other promotion worth the clear annual value of fifteen pounds or over ; to be paid yearly by equal portions at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Michael the Archangel, as well by the hands of the treasurer of the Revenues and Augmentations

¹ Sir Wm. Petre, a courtier and official, a tool of Cromwell against the monasteries. His monument is in Ingatestone Church, Essex.

² Sir Robert Southwell, a receiver of the augmentations, was sent by Rich to the Tower to deprive Sir Thomas More of his books. Profited greatly by the suppression of the monasteries ; made Master of the Rolls, 1542.—*D.N.B.*

³ Cal. State Papers, 1539, No. 391 (2).

⁴ *Ib.*, 1540, No. 1032.

Quintus

[illegible]

August 20. My new willows grow
 and those which were in the
 place where the old willows

THE DEED OF SURRENDER, 1539
(see p. 253)

of our crown for the time being from our funds in his hands which happen to remain from the said revenues, as by means of the receipts, profits and revenues for the time being of the said late monastery out of the same profits and revenues; for the reason that express mention, etc. In testimony whereof, etc.

'Witness, Richard Rich, Knight, at Westminster, the 20th November in the 31st year of our reign. By the said chancery and council by virtue of the said warrant.'

The following is the list of the 13 canons and the pensions allotted to them by separate deeds, as above, preserved in the Augmentation Office: ¹

	£	s.	d.
Robert Glasier, sub-prior . . .	15	0	0
William Barlowe, canon . . .	10	13	4
John Smyth (senior), canon . . .	10	13	4
Henry George " . . .	6	13	4
John Smyth (junior) " . . .	6	13	4
Christopher Reynolds " . . .	6	13	4
Peter Wade " . . .	6	13	4
Robert Stokys " . . .	6	13	4
Robert Kenham " . . .	6	13	4
Richard Duffe " . . .	6	13	4
John Sutton " . . .	6	13	4
George Chapman " . . .	5	0	0
Mathew Dyll ² " . . .	5	0	0

(Signed by) Robert Southwell,
William Petre,
Thomas Mildemaye,
Thomas Spilman.

The pension for the prior was arranged later. In the list of pensions paid in the year 1542 ³ Robert Kenham does not appear, so he had either had promotion or died. In 1546 'nil' is written against Peter Wade's, Robert Stokys' and George Chapman's ⁴ names, but not so against Chapman's in the following year. ⁵ In the year 1556, under Philip and Mary, there were only five left on the list, though there was an additional annuitant, Richard Ward, of 20s. a year. ⁶

The furniture of the church and of the monastic buildings after suppression was usually sold by public auction, ⁷ and the inventories taken for the purpose of the sales are preserved among the augmentation papers at the Record Office, but there is no such inventory

¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks., No. 234, 'Enrolments of leases and pensions 30, 31, 32 Hen. VIII'. Also Cal. State Papers, 1540, No. 1032 (94).

² Delly in 1542; Delye in 1546.

³ Cal. State Papers, 1542, No. 258.

⁴ *Ib.*, 1546, No. 643 (f. 11).

⁵ *Ib.*, 1547, No. 775 (f. 15).

⁶ Cardinal Pole, *Bk. of Pensions*, K. R. Misc. Bk., No. 31, f. iii.

⁷ Hibbert, *Diss. Mon.*, p. 163.

concerning St. Bartholomew's. The church furniture may have been sold to Rich or others by private tender; but anyhow it was probably dealt with at once.

As regards other saleable materials, instructions concerning them were given; as by Rich to John Scudamore, one of the auditors and receiver of suppressed lands,¹ 'to make sale of bells and superfluous houses and have the lead melted into pokes and sows, weighed and marked with the king's marks'.

The fate of the bells we know on the authority of Stow,² who wrote:

'The church having in the bell tower six bells in a tune, those bells were sold to the parish of St. Sepulchre'

(where they were unfortunately run out at the Fire of London). There were, however, five bells left for the parish, which five are still rung weekly in the present tower of the church. They are fully described further on.³ They bear the mark of Thomas Bullesden, who flourished in 1506-1510, so they may have been cast for parochial bells at the instance of Prior Bolton, but if, as some think, they were the top bells of a ring of twelve it may be that the parishioners, as at Croxden, claimed them at the suppression on the plea that they had been rung for the parochial as well as for the monastic services.⁴ Or it may be that Rich, knowing that he was to buy the church and parish, withheld them from sale for the use of his parish church. In the case of Waltham Abbey there is a record that in 1540 the parishioners petitioned that five of the eight bells should be obtained for them from the king, as the parish church had had only one bell, which was in the abbey tower since the time of King Henry II.⁵

The plate and jewels, ready money, copes and vestments from the churches were taken in charge by Sir John Williams, the master and treasurer of the jewels and plate to the king, who lived in the Close. His declaration of what he received between the 26th April, 1537, and the 4th December, 1545, and how the same was disposed of, has been printed for the Abbotsford Club.⁶ Some of the plate was sold to the masters of the mint in the Tower, some was reserved for the king's use, and part of the proceeds was expended in the expenses of Anne of Cleves with her train at Calais, and part in other ways. The plate from St. Bartholomew's was delivered to Sir John Williams

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1538, 23 Aug., No. 168.

² Stow, p. 141.

⁴ Hibbert, *Diss. Mon.*, p. 169.

⁵ Cal. State Papers, 1540, No. 394.

⁶ Abbotsford Club, *Monast. Treasures*, pp. 2, 3, 26.

³ Vol. II, chap. vii, bells.

by Thomas Spilman Esq. sixteen days after the suppression (2nd November 1539). It consisted of—

Gilte plate Diiij^{xxx} oz. iii q^a rt. = 590 oz. 3 carats.

Parcel gilte plate ccclxx oz. = 370 oz.

White plate cccxi oz. = 311 oz.

I,271 oz. 3 carats.

To compare this with some of the other London monasteries: Westminster yielded 8,808 oz.; the Grey Friars 2,890 oz.; St. John's, Clerkenwell, 2,445 oz.; the Blackfriars 1,132 oz.; the White Friars 458 oz.; the Charterhouse 447 oz.

It would seem that Cromwell had taken the precaution of having a list of the plate made five years before, since, among his Remembrances, in a declaration of escripts and writings which came into his custody in March 1534, occurs: 'VII. Plate appertaining to the priory of St. Bartholomew'.

The actual building material of the nave and parish chapel, the king says in his grant to Rich, 'has been utterly taken away thence and the lead, stones and timber are being turned to our own use and sold'.

The possessions of the monastery, outside the monastic precincts, were valued in the year 1535, as already seen, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the Act concerning the payment of firstfruits and tenths of the Church to the king. It is recorded in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹ that the gross rental of St. Bartholomew's was then:

	£	s.	d.
In the city and immediate suburbs (including			
St. Sepulchre's £42)	493	3	7
„ Middlesex	187	19	3 ³ / ₄
„ Essex	27	16	8
„ Hertfordshire	31	7	0
„ Buckinghamshire	18	0	0
„ Suffolk	14	3	4
	£772	9	10 ³ / ₄

The *Valor* total is incorrectly cast and is more by

£773 0 1³/₄

From this there were deductions for various rent charges and ground rents; fees for stewards; for John Burgoyne the auditor, 40s.; for John Dean, Rector of Little Stanmore (who was in 1544 made the first rector of St. Bartholomew's), £6 13s. 4d., &c. 79 10 3¹/₂

Leaving clear² £693 9 10¹/₄

¹ *Valor Eccles.* i, 407. See also p. 380 below.

² Dealt with at length in chapter xii on the Possessions.

The survey specially mentions that no profits were reckoned in connexion with the 'courtyards, gardens and orchards with various houses built within the precincts of the said monastery', and these were valued to Rich in the 'particulars for grants', as we shall see, at £117 7s. 11d. net per annum. The valuation of the possessions, as rendered to the Augmentation Office in 1540-1 (that is, after the suppression), by the king's ministers and receivers, known as the '*computi ministrorum*'¹ differs from that made in 1535 for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*; but not to any great extent, since the total income from the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Herts, and Bucks only differs by £3 os. 8d. (The valuation of the London possessions is not given in the *computi*.)

Fuller was allowed to retain possession of his abbey longer than that of his priory, in fact to a later date than any abbot in the kingdom, for he was not called upon to surrender Waltham until the 23rd March, 1540.² The surrender is sealed and also signed by the abbot and 17 of the canons. It is docketed by Sir William Petre as recognized before him on the same day. The gross income of the abbey was £1,079 12s. 1d.; the clear revenue, as shown in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, was £900 4s. 3d. Pensions were assigned the next day: £20 a year to the prior; £10 to the sub-prior; £9 each to two of the canons; £8 to another; £6 13s. 4d. to eight others, and to four more £5 each.³ The sub-prior, Edmund Saunders, was at first entered for £6 13s. 4d. only, but the amount was altered by Cromwell to £10, who signed the alteration as 'Thomas Essex' (this was the same year as his execution). The pension list was certified by Thomas Mildmay and signed by Sir Richard Rich. Waltham was one of those houses which the Bishop of Winchester proposed to the king should form one of the new bishoprics,⁴ but the scheme was only partly carried out, and Waltham was suppressed.

Robert Fuller, both as Prior of St. Bartholomew's and as Abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, was treated with exceptional liberality; from which fact, and from what we have already seen, we assume that he rendered exceptional services to the king. For, as late prior commendatory of St. Bartholomew's, he was granted for life practically the whole of the possessions of the monastery. The grant was dated at St. Bartholomew's the 6th May, 1540, and was of the manors, &c., of Great Stanmore, Canons, Portepole and Wyndbores,⁵ Midd.; Langley-

¹ Aug. Off. Minis. Accts., No. 2376, 31-32 Hen. VIII.

² Cal. State Papers, A.D. 1540, No. 393.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 58.

⁴ Cal. State Papers, 1539, No. 429.

⁵ The manors of Canons and Wimboro, see Lysons, *Environs*, ii, pt. 2, p. 671.

hall, Shortegrovehall, and Bradfeld, Essex; Tayng, Canon Holmes, and Wellhall, Herts; Mentmore, Bucks; and all buildings in London and elsewhere which belonged to the priory: except the chief messuage of the priory then in the tenure of Sir Richard Rich.¹ Also the annual fair called 'Barthylmewes Feyre', held within the precincts of the priory for three days from the vigil of St. Bartholomew; also the rectories of St. Sepulchre in the suburbs of London; Theydon Bois, Essex; Gorleston, Suffolk; Leystoft, Norfolk; and Mentmore, Bucks, with the advowsons; also pensions out of Wenhaston church, Suffolk, and Danbury church, Essex; tithes of Chardyington, Midd.; and oblations in St. Mary's chapel of Yarmouth, Norfolk.²

As abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, Fuller was, immediately on his surrender of the abbey, granted a pension of £200 a year from the lands and possessions of the abbey;³ and on the 6th May he was granted for life the manors of Woodford, Theydon Bois, Netysswell, Paffyld, Stanford-le-Hope, Wormyngford and Stanway, Essex; Cullynges, Herts; Alrychesey, Beds; and rectories and advowsons of Wormyngford and Alrychesey churches. This grant was dated at Waltham Holy Cross⁴ and was probably to provide the £200 pension.

Thus with the surrender of his monasteries did the prior and abbot also surrender his vows of poverty! He enjoyed his possessions a few months only, for, on the 12th August following, he made his will,⁵ and, as it was proved on the 4th October, he must have died either in August or September 1540.

In his will he describes the king as the supreme head on earth of the Church of this realm, and himself as Robert Fuller, priest, late Abbot of Waltham and Prior Commendatory of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield, London, suppressed. He willed to be buried in Corpus Christi Chapel in St. Sepulchre's Church. He bequeathed to the same church for repairs, and for the maintenance of the services, £13 6s. 8d.; to the brotherhood of Corpus Christi there, £3 6s. 8d.; and to the brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Stephen there, £3 6s. 8d. for the maintenance of the services and for the ornaments of the altars of the fraternities. He directed that two priests that he had provided should sing masses for his soul and for the souls of Robert, John, and Katharine (who these were is not stated), and for the souls of the founder and benefactors of the suppressed priory of

¹ See Vol. II, chap. x, prior's lodging.

² Cal. State Papers, 1541, No. 1500, f. 18: Little Yarmouth, Suffolk, intended.

³ Ib., 1540, No. 393.

⁴ Ib., 1541, No. 1500, f. 17.

⁵ App. I, p. 541.

St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield; that this should continue for seven years and that the priests should be paid £8 each yearly; that the vestments and chalice that he had given to these two priests were to remain for the use of the church at the end of the seven years. He also made provision for the priests, clerks and sextons, and poor householders of the parish, for bread for the poor, and for wine and wax for the aforesaid two priests for the seven years. He bequeathed £10 for the repairs of the parish church of St. Lawrence,¹ Waltham Holy Cross; £5 to 'the fraternity' of St. Michael, otherwise called 'charnell of Waltham'; and £5 to 'the fraternity of Our Lady', in the same church at Waltham. He also made provision for a priest to pray there for his soul, and for those of Robert, John, and Katharine and for the founders of the late abbey there suppressed, the priest's salary to be £8 a year for seven years. He made similar provision regarding vestments and a chalice, and for the priests, clerks, sextons, poor householders, and bread for the poor, as for those of St. Bartholomew's. He bequeathed to his 'most dere and dred sovereign Lord King Henry VIII' £40, beseeching him to be a good and gracious lord to his executors. He bequeathed £3 6s. 8d. yearly for seven years for the maintenance of the highways of Waltham town. He directed his executors 'to provide yearly for seven years for four scour ells of canvas clothe at five pence the ell, to make at a penny each forty shirts and smocks for the poor'. He bequeathed to Thomas Hawkins, his chaplain and executor, £6 13s. 4d. yearly for seven years, to pray for his soul, and to take a collect for him daily; to John Higham, his old servant and executor, 26s. 8d. yearly for seven years; to Humphrey Barrett, his servant, 26s. 8d.; and to Richard Higham of Royden, gentleman and overseer of his will, 40s. for a like term. To Sir Robert Glasier, priest, and Sir Humphrey Murten, priest, his chaplain, each £8 to pray for his soul. To poor people in 'penny dole', for funeral expenses, for priests, clerks, and sexton, and for wax £30. To each of his servants two weeks' wages and 10s. for livery cloth and 10s. for diet for one month as a reward for their labours. And to his two executors, and to his overseer, 12 yards of black cloth at 13s. 4d. a yard, and to Richard Higham of Roydon the lease of his house within the Close of St. Bartholomew for six months, and then to continue to have it for two years subject to finding an honest priest of good conversation to sing his mass daily for him. He gave to Sir Richard Rich, Knight, 'for such goodness as he had found in him', £20. To Robert Thydley, gentleman, 'for such pains as he had taken for him in matters of law and other.

¹ This was the dedication of the abbey.

wise, 40s.'; and to each of his executors and his overseer, £20; and in addition 40s. yearly for being at his obit kept at St. Sepulchre's Church and at Waltham; and for seeing that the churchwardens paid his priests their wage. The rest of his goods, money, plate, and movables, &c., he left to his executors to bestow on poor householders and for mending the highways of Waltham.

His executors were as named above, with the addition of Edward Stacey of Waltham, gentleman. The witnesses were Sir Thomas Warren, priest and late prior of Waltham; James Sutton, gentleman; and Humphrey Barrett,¹ with others.

The will was proved, as already said, on the 4th October, 1540. It is written at great length, evidently by his friend Robert Thydley, his lawyer, and shows the testator as a sober, religiously minded man and thoughtful to the last for his dependants.

AFTER THE SUPPRESSION

1540-1553.

The Augustinian priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, being now suppressed, it remains to consider the period between the suppression and the resuscitation by Queen Mary, during which time the church and monastic precincts were sold to Rich, and the other possessions to various people desirous of acquiring monastic lands.

The first few years after the suppression of the monasteries must have been a period of great pressure at the Court of Augmentations. The amount of arrangements necessary in connexion with each monastery must have been very great and the mass of property to be sold stupendous; yet everything seems to have been done with great exactness, whether the matter was large or small.

Thus, in 1541, it being duly proved before the court that the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's had been under obligation to find a chaplain to sing mass daily in the chapel of Gray's Inn for the students and fellows at a salary of £7 13s. 4d. a year, it was ordered that the treasurer and fellows should be recompensed by the king by a payment of £6 13s. 4d. with arrears from Lady Day.² A receiver for the rents payable by the tenants of the late monastery had to be appointed; this was John Ancher, who seems to have got into arrears, for there is a record that Spilman, one of the receivers of

¹ As Humphrey Barrett was a beneficiary under the will, his acting as witness would at the present time make void the legacy to him.

² Aug. Off. Misc. Bk., No. 93.

the augmentations, gave orders in the year 1546 that he was 'not to be distrained for his arrearage to the king of £23 10s. 7*d.* till he should return'.¹

We know that provision was made for the conduct of divine service for the parishioners at St. Bartholomew's during the interregnum until the year 1544, when matters were finally settled, because the will of John Bochard, priest, dated the 7th June, 1542, was witnessed among others by Thomas Hitchyn,² who is styled 'the curate of the parish' and was probably an assistant priest; Bochard designates him 'his cousin' and left him £5³ and a new livery, but whether he conducted the services in the parish chapel until it was pulled down, or at once went into the monastic quire, we do not know.

The decision to pull down the nave and the parish chapel, and to leave the quire for a parish church, was probably influenced by Rich. That the demolition began not very long after the suppression is shown by the fact that the same John Bochard, in his will, after desiring to be buried within the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, bequeathed £6 13*s.* 4*d.* 'towards the bildyng of hit',⁴ showing that the conversion of the quire into the parish church had either begun, or was about to begin in 1542. This is further shown by the record of a payment in the year 1543 by the treasurer of the augmentations to Hugh Ap-Harry, who lived in what is now No. 91 Bartholomew Close, of £80 (about £360 of our money) for repairs to the late priory.⁵ And on the 1st October, 1543, there is a record of £20 being paid, and on the 4th November £60 to the same man, 'towards repairing the king's house of St. Bartilmewe's'.⁶

The principal work of Hugh Ap-Harry would have been enclosing the west end of the truncated church with a wall built on the foundations of the pulpitum, and closing the north arch of the crossing with a wall built on the stone screen there. As the lead had been stripped from the roof of the south transept, it is probable that a brick wall was also required to separate the south transept from the church. The retaining wall at the west end of the present graveyard, when removed in 1909, was also found to be of this period, and may have been Ap-Harry's work.

We have now to consider the probable reason for converting the monastic quire of the church into the parish church, instead of using the nave for that purpose, as was done at Waltham, Bolton, Malmes-

¹ Acts of Privy Council, 1546, 25 May.

² See below, p. 274. Probably made vice-master of the hospital.

³ App. I, p. 542.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ Cal. State Papers, 1543, pt. ii, No. 231.

⁶ *Ib.*, pt. i, No. 436.

bury, and elsewhere. It must be remembered that one of the objects in suppressing the monasteries was the desire to augment the royal revenue: therefore the policy was to turn as much of the suppressed monastery into cash as was possible.

But at St. Bartholomew's there was another force at work. The chancellor of the Court of Augmentations from the first intended to obtain the property for himself. He probably led the craze to live in a late abbot's or prior's house. After the suppression of the Austin Friars in the city in November 1538, Rich took up his abode there;¹ but on the suppression of St. Bartholomew's, eleven months later, he left the Austin Friars and made the prior's house of St. Bartholomew's² his town residence. He dated a letter from 'St. Bartholomew's' 'to the auditor of the suppressed and surrendered lands in London' as early as the 16th February, 1540.³ On the 16th March following he signed a letter to Thomas Cromwell, also dated from 'St. Bartholomew's'.⁴ He collected around him, in houses in Bartholomew Close, as we shall see, many of the officials of the Court of Augmentations, which was no doubt a convenient arrangement.

In the October following he invited Sir Thomas Arundel, the sheriff of Somerset and Devon (one of the commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries) and his wife to lodge at his house at St. Bartholomew's, 'where', he says, 'you shall have a bed of the hardest for your wife, yourself, your maids, and a couple of your servants'.⁵ Thus three to four years before he purchased the monastery he had settled down in the prior's house as his London residence; and no doubt he had an understanding that the place was to be granted to him; therefore he would have a particular interest in making provision for a suitable parish church for the property he proposed to acquire. The old parish chapel, consisting of the north transept of the church, with Walden's chapel extending eastward, would have made by itself but a poor parish church when the monastic quire and nave were taken down; whilst the nave with its ten bays would have made a larger church than he required. The conventual quire, however, was in every way suitable for his purpose, the site of the nave making a graveyard for his parishioners; and the old parochial burying-ground and the transept on the north side of the church being done away

¹ The grant is dated 15 July, 31 Hen. VIII (1539).

² Not Warwick House, Cloth Fair, as stated in the *D.N.B.*

³ Cal. State Papers, 1540, No. 210.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 347.

⁵ Cal. State Papers, No. 128, 5 Oct. 1540. Arundel was subsequently executed for share in the Somerset conspiracy. The hard bed suggests that the monastic furniture had not all been sold at the suppression.

with, increased the accommodation for the profitable 'Bartilmy Fair' and for subsequent housebuilding. The king's interest was at the same time well safeguarded, because the nave and parish chapel had together more lead and useful building material in the shape of stones and timber than had the monastic quire.

The sale of the monastic lands and houses outside the monastic precincts commenced before the sale of the monastery to Rich. In fact, as early as December 1540 there was a sale of messuages, tenements, and shops in Watling Street, in Cheapside, West Cheap, in 'Pawleys' Wharf in the alley called the 'Three Legges', and lands in the parish of St. Vedast, made to Stephen Vaughan, the ambassador to the regent of Flanders, and to his wife Margaret.¹ From this time the sales were continuous until all were realized.

Early in the year 1544 Sir Richard Rich was able to make the necessary arrangements for the sale to himself of the church and priory; that is to say, all that was comprised within the monastic walls which are the bounds of the present parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.

An exact survey was made by way of 'Particulars for the Grant'² to him, consisting of a detailed description of the 'Bounds and limits of the circuit and precinct of the Close called Great Seignt Bartilmewes Close', which was signed by Richard 'Ryche', Richard Duke, and Thomas Burgoyne, the chancellor, the clerk of the council, and the auditor of the Court of Augmentations respectively, who were all dwellers in the Close.

The 'particulars' also contained a detailed list of the tenants of the houses within the precincts of the monastery and the yearly rent they paid; those having leases are specified and listed together. There were two houses not included in the list: one, referred to below, had been sold to Sir John Williams and Sir Edward North³ (who the next year had resold it to Richard Mody), though the rent of 66s. 8d. reserved to the king out of the house was included in the list; the other was the prior's house, described as being 'already in the occupation of Sir Richard Rich', and inasmuch as it is not described as having been sold to him, we may assume that it had already been the subject of a free grant made to him by the king.

¹ Cal. State Papers, xvi, grants in Dec. 1540, No. 379 (44).

² Augmentations, Particulars for Grants R.O., No. 927, m. 5, 8 Apr., 35 Hen. VIII (1544). Also Duchy Lancaster, Rentals and Surveys, R.O., 7/14, 27 July, 34 Hen. VIII (1542). App. I, p. 502; also Vol. II, chap. xii, on the Bounds.

³ See below, p. 268.

As at the time of the making of the 'particulars for the grant' none of the monastic buildings had, apparently, been let on lease or otherwise (as they all subsequently were), they were simply enumerated and taken at an inclusive assessment of £6 only. It would seem as if this assessment was quoted as a justification for the ridiculously low figure at which Rich valued these buildings to himself for his own purchase. The entry translated runs as follows :

'Rent or reservation on lease of the capital mansion house of the said late monastery, with the halls, chambers, chapel, kitchen, pantry, buttery, gallery, farmery, dormitory, cloister, frater, with the old kitchen, wood-house, upper rooms, cellars, and other buildings and erections whatsoever built within and above the said capital mansion house together with the gardens and "les Yardenes" to the said capital mansion house adjacent thereto or connected, together with all the land and soil within the site and fence of the capital mansion house aforesaid. And also together with a certain granary building, called a "garner", situate within the great green of the market there, and also together with a certain stable called "le Priours stable" situate within the precinct of the said close. All and singular which premises were late in the proper tenure care and occupation of the late prior and convent of the same late monastery at the time of the dissolution thereof, and lately by Richard Southwell, Knight, Edward Northe, Knight,¹ and Thomas Pope, Knight,² have been assessed at yearly £6.'

The Fair was valued at £65 16s. 3d.,³ and the entry is as follows :

'The market of St. Bartholomew's is worth in issues and profits of the market of St. Bartholomew, with the profits, stallages, and "les bothes" within the precinct of the same late monastery, with the land and soil of the same called "les grenes". And together with the profits of the court of pie-powder, and the tolls of the said market clear beyond fees, wages, vacancies, repairs, stowing of "les bothes" and other deductions therefrom this year £65 16s. 3d.'

The five tenements and two stables standing on the ground facing Smithfield, between the west gate of the fair and the corner of Long Lane, which, though within the monastic bounds, were an intrusion of St. Sepulchre's parish (and so still remain), were separately valued at £6 3s.⁴

¹ Treasurer of Augmentations, resident in the Close.

² Founder of Trinity College, Oxford. Held many offices at Court; was enriched with grants from monastic lands. It was he who announced to Sir Thomas More that he should suffer death before nine that same morning.

³ See chapter on the Fair, below, p. 310.

⁴ See chapter on the Bounds, Vol. II, chap. xii.

The total value, as arrived at by this survey for the grant, may be epitomized thus :

	£	s.	d.
Rents of tenements	23	12	4
Leases of 21 tenements	42	16	4
Rent or reservation on lease of the monastic buildings .	6	0	0
The market or Fair	65	16	3
In the parish of St. Sepulchre ¹	6	3	0
	<hr/>		
	£144	7	11

From this amount were deducted certain outgoing which are of sufficient interest to be here shortly enumerated :

	£	s.	d.
A moiety of the fees of Thomas Burgoyne, the Auditor (40s.) ²	1	0	0
A moiety of the fees of John Usher, warden of the Southgate (13s. 4d.) ²		6	8
A moiety of the fees of Hugh Ap-Harry, the collector of the rents	2	13	4
The salary of a clerk of the auditor		10	0
Half the annuity of John Dodyngton, granted him for life by the late prior and convent (40s.)	1	0	0
Half the annuity of John Chesewyke (the launder) and Alice his wife	1	0	0
The stipend of 'John Deyne' (Dean), curate of the parish, as assigned to him by the chancellor of the Court of Augmentations	8	0	0
The stipend of Stephen Fyndeley, clerk of the parish church, confirmed to him by the Court of Augmentations	3	10	0
	£	s.	d.
Vacant tenements	5	0	0
(Repairs of tenements	20	0	0) ³
Repairs of aqueduct from the head to the cistern in the Close	4	0	0
		9	0
	£27	0	0
Remaining over, clear	117	7	11

Then follows a memorandum that the king has no other lands, tenements, rents, &c., within the Close; and the signature of Thomas Burgoyne, the auditor, as having examined the particulars, and the

¹ See Vol. II, chap. x, stables.

² Altered by the auditor, with the remark in margin 'ye moytie'. Against the other items (except the repairs) is written '*allocatur*'.

³ Disallowed by the auditor and struck out.

date, the 8th April, 35 Henry VIII (1544). The clear sum of £117 7s. 11d. was rated at nine years' purchase, making £1,056 11s. 3d., to which was added 'for the advowson of the church of Seynt Bartilmewez newly to be erected there £8', making a total of £1,064 11s. 3d. to be paid by Rich 'all in hand'. Appended thereto is this memorandum: 'The king must discharge the buyer of all incumbrances except leazez and such allowances as byn recited in the particulars and except all such charges as the Fermers are bounden to paye.

Md. A tenure in Socage for all the premises without any tenth—

William Seint John¹
Richard Tyche

Tho. Wriothsley²
Ric. Southwell.'

It is endorsed—

'Memorandum that I Sr. Richard Riche, Knyght, chancellor of the King's Highnes Court of Augmentacion of the Revenuwes of his crowne doe desire to purchase of his grace by virtue of his majestie's commission of sale the premisses being of the cleere yeareley value of cxviii. viiis. xid. In witnesse whereof I the said Sr. Richard Riche have subscribed and seallyd this cedula annexed to these particulars bounds and limits made of the same day and yeare mencioned and expressed³ in the rate thereof made.
per me Ricardum Ryche.'

On the 19th May following (1544) the grant of the property was made by the king by writ of privy seal by the authority of Parliament.⁴ Translated from the Latin⁵ it runs:

'Know ye that we have as well in consideration of the good true and faithful service and counsel unto us by our beloved and faithful counsellor Richard Rich, Knight, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of our Crown before this time done and shewn, as also in consideration of the sum of one thousand and sixty-four pounds, eleven shillings and three pence of lawful money of England paid into the hands of the treasurer of our Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of our Crown,' &c.

It then proceeds to grant:

'All that the site and capital messuage and mansion house of the late monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smythfeild in the suburbs of London lately dissolved and now being in our

¹ Sir Wm. Paulet, Lord St John, master of the wards and of the woods, commissioner at Calais.

² The Lord Chancellor and one of the executors of Henry VIII.

³ April 8, 1544.

⁴ Pat., 36 Hen. VIII, pt. 12, m. 1; Originalia, 36 Hen. VIII, pt. 4. Rots. 147, 148 (9 mem. all occupied by the one entry). For Latin transcript from latter see App. I, p. 509.

⁵ By Mr. William Barnard.

hands. As well as all the Close of the same late monastery or priory in West Smythfeild afore said commonly called Great Saint Bartholomewes Close and all the ambit and precinct of the same close and all gates, walls, party walls, bounds and limits containing the same Close,' &c.

The bounds are then given¹ as in 'the particulars for grant', and the grant proceeds:

'We give also . . . all those our messuages houses and buildings called le Fermery² le Dorter³ le Frater⁴ le Cloysters⁵ le Gallarys le Hall le Ketchyn le Buttery le Pantry le old Ketchyn⁶ le wood house⁷ le garner⁸ and le Priours Stable⁹ belonging to the said late monastery or priory and being within the said close, as well as all other houses buildings courtyards gardens¹⁰ vacant places lands and soil belonging to us whatsoever within the said close,' &c.

The grant then recounts that, on the 24th February, 1543, the king had already granted by Letters Patent to John Williams of Rycote and to Sir Edward North a tenement with a garden adjacent, and with chambers, stables, cellars, &c., within the Close, which Robert Blage, one of the barons of the exchequer, had lately held and occupied, and the reversion thereof; and had also given a certain annual rent of 66s. 8d. reserved by deed on the 20th February, 1534, in favour of Sir John Porte, issuing out of the same house and premises: these latter to be held by the service of a hundredth part of a knight's fee and by a yearly payment to the king of 6s. 8d. at the Court of Augmentations. It is further recounted that Williams and North had since granted the house and premises and the reversion and the above annual rent of 66s. 8d. to Richard Mody, Esq., subject to the payment to the king of the annual 6s. 8d. This house therefore being then no longer in the king's gift, he grants to Rich merely the service of the hundredth part of a knight's fee and the annual rent of 6s. 8d. reserved to the king.

Then follows the grant in detail of the messuages and tenements enumerated in the particulars for the grant as paying rent, and the grant of the water supply:

'Also we give and for the consideration aforesaid we grant unto the said Richard Rich, Knight, all that our water and aqueduct and water course flowing down and running from a certain place

¹ See Vol. II, chap. xii, bounds.

² Vol. II, chap. x, infirmary.

³ Below, p. 278; also Vol. II, chap. ix, dorter.

⁴ Below, p. 286; also Vol. II, chap. ix, refectory.

⁵ Below, pp. 278, 286; also Vol. II, chap. viii, cloister.

⁶ Below, pp. 278, 286; also Vol. II, chap. ix, kitchen.

⁷ Vol. II, chap. x, woodhouse.

⁸ Vol. II, chap. x, garner.

⁹ Vol. II, chap. x, prior's stable.

¹⁰ Vol. II, chap. xi, gardens.

called Le Condite Hede of St. Bartholomew's within the manor of Canbery in the parish of Iseldon in our county of Middlesex upto and into the said site and close of the late monastery or priory of Saint Bartholomew and all "lez cesternes" and "lez pypes" of lead in which and through which the same water and water course is carried down . . . to the said site of the said late monastery . . . together with full power licence and authority to cleanse "les cesternes" and pypes from time to time . . . as fully and in as ample a manner as William Bolton late prior and his predecessors priors . . . at any time before the dissolution did and had right to do.'

All these grants to be held of the king by fealty only and not in chief, in lieu of all services and demands whatsoever.

The grant is then made of the Fair thus :

'We do give and grant unto the said Richard Riche, knight, his heirs and assigns all our fair and our market commonly called and named Bartilmew feyer held every year and to be held in the aforesaid Close called Great St. Bartilmew's Close in West Smythfeld aforesaid lasting for three days to wit on the even of the day of St. Bartholomew the apostle and on the day of St. Bartholomew the apostle and on the morrow of the same day of St. Bartholomew the apostle. And also all the stallage pckage tolls and customs of the same fair and market and also all our court of pie-powder within the fair and market aforesaid . . . and all rights jurisdictions authorities privileges offices advantages profits and emoluments belonging to us whatsoever, to such court of pie-powder in any manner belonging appertaining comprised or appendant. And also all examining amending and correcting of all weights and measures whatsoever in the fair and market aforesaid used and to be used every year at the time of such fair and market : and also the examination of other things whatsoever to be exposed for sale in the fair and market. As well as the assize and the assaying amending and correcting of bread wine and beer and all other victuals whatsoever to be exposed for sale in the fair and market. . . . As fully freely and entirely and in so ample and like manner and form as William Bolton late prior of the same late monastery or any of his predecessors priors at any time before the dissolution of the said late monastery . . . to hold of us our heirs and successors by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee in lieu of all services and demands whatsoever ; all which fairs and markets and aforesaid messuages lands tenements rents and all the premises above-mentioned amount to the clear yearly value of one hundred and seventeen pounds seven shillings and eleven pence. . . . And we grant . . . that merchants and all other persons coming to the fair and market aforesaid for the sake of selling or buying, that they in their coming and in their sojourning there and in their returning thence shall have the assured peace of us our heirs and successors. . . .'

After much repetition the grant of the parish church is made :

‘ And whereas the said close of the said late monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew commonly called Great St. Bartillmew’s Close from time whereof memory of men is not to the contrary and before the dissolution of the same late monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew was universally held used and accepted as a parish and as a parish in itself distinct and separate from other parishes and the inhabitants of the same close and within the same close throughout the same time always had their own parish church and burial place within the church of the said late monastery or priory and annexed to the same church, and all sacraments and sacramentals and other divine services were for the same parishioners and inhabitants by a certain curate at the cost of the prior and convent of the said late monastery . . . therein administered and solemnized in the same manner and form as in parish churches within this realm of England hath been used and accustomed and now is ; and on pretext of the dissolution of the said monastery or priory not only a great part of the church of the same late monastery but also a certain chapel commonly called “ le Parishe Chapell ” annexed to the same church wherein the said parish and inhabitants used to have receive and hear divine service and to have such by the said curate to them administered has been now utterly taken away thence and the lead stones and timber thence are being turned to our own use and sold, yet a certain part of the church of the said late monastery convenient and fitting to be set up as a parish church there is still remaining constructed and built. Now for the reason that the said inhabitants have no place where they can and may have divine service and sacraments and sacramentals administered and solemnized for them as befits Christians and so ought and is becoming to befit them, know ye therefore that we considering the premises will and for ourselves and our successors by these presents grant unto the said Richard Riche Kt. his heirs and assigns and unto all the inhabitants within the said close called Great St. Bartillmews who now are and from time to time hereafter shall be, that that part of the said church of the late monastery now, as before mentioned, remaining there constructed and built shall for the future for ever remain there and shall continue for ever and shall be called the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great ¹ in West Smythfeild in the suburbs of London distinct and separate from other parishes and the same part of the said church of the said late monastery remaining as aforesaid constructed and built we make ordain set up and establish by these presents as the parish church of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle the Great in West Smythfeild in the suburbs of London for all the inhabitants within the said close called Great St. Bartholomew’s Close to endure for all time. And that all the vacant land and soil

¹ It was commonly called ‘ the Great ’ to distinguish it from the other churches of the same dedication. Walter Martyn so refers to it in his will in 1513.

containing in length eighty-seven feet of assize and in breadth sixty feet next adjacent to the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid as is before mentioned by us prepared on the western side of the same church shall be for the future received and reputed for the burying-place of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great and the said close called Great St. Bartholomew's Close ; and all houses buildings gardens and lands and soil within the boundaries ambit and precinct of the same close called Great St. Bartillmews, as well as all and singular the inhabitants within the close aforesaid who now are and in future hereafter shall be shall for ever be held and reputed to be in the parish and of the parish of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid.'

The king then proceeds to appoint the first rector :

' And we will and by these presents for ourselves our heirs and successors we grant that John Dean now curate of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid shall be the first rector and incumbent of the same parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid for the term of his life and by these presents we make order and constitute the same John Dean the first Rector and incumbent of the said church for the term of his life. And we will and for ourselves our heirs and successors by these presents we grant that the said John Deane and his successors incumbents of the same parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid shall be and shall for ever be called Rectors of the same parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid and shall and may be able by this name to sue and to be sued in all places and courts whatsoever within this realm of England and elsewhere wheresoever.'

The patronage is then granted to Sir Richard Rich as follows :

' And that the right of patronage of the said rectory and the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid shall belong and appertain to the said Richard Riche Knight his heirs and assigns for ever.'

The induction of future rectors is arranged as follows :

' And that all persons who after the decease of the said John Deane shall in future be nominated and appointed to be rectors of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid shall be admitted and instituted and inducted into the same by the ordinary or ordinaries of the diocese of London for the time being within whose jurisdiction we will that the same church shall be in manner as other rectors of the realm of England are instituted and inducted.'

The following arrangement is then made as regards the first-fruits :

‘ And that he shall pay to us our heirs and successors first fruits and tithes of the same church after the rate and value of eight pounds a year according to the form of the statute in that behalf lately published and provided in our court of first fruits and tithes yearly to be paid. And further we have given and granted and pardoned and by these presents we do give grant and pardon unto the said John Deane now rector of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid all manner of first fruits and sum and sums of money whatsoever unto us from him in place of first fruits in any wise due by the said John Deane for the same parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid by reason and pretext of the institution of the same John Deane in the same church . . . ’

The advowson is further granted to Sir Richard Rich :

‘ And further of our more abounding grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion and for the considerations aforesaid, we have given and granted and by these presents we do give and grant unto the aforesaid Richard Riche Knight the advowson gift free disposition and right of patronage of the rectory and parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid to have and enjoy unto the same Richard Riche knight his heirs and assigns for ever. To be held of us our heirs and successors by fealty only and not in chief, in lieu of all services and demands whatsoever.’

Licence was then granted to endow the rectory :

‘ And also we will and have given licence . . . and grant unto the said Richard Riche Knight that (he) and his heirs and assigns may and can give and grant lands tenements rents services and hereditaments up to the yearly value of eleven pounds although such are held of us in chief or otherwise unto the said John Deane rector of the said parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great aforesaid and his successors rectors of the same church for their maintenance for ever. And unto the same John Deane and his successors in like manner we give licence and grant by these presents that he and they may and can receive the same lands tenements rents services and hereditaments from the said Richard Riche Knight his heirs and assigns, the statute against putting lands in mortmain . . . notwithstanding.’

The grant concludes thus :

‘ We will also and by these presents we grant unto the said Richard Riche Knight that he may and shall have these Letters Patent under our seal of England in due manner made and sealed without fine or fee great or small unto us in our hanaper or else-

where to our use therefor in any manner to be rendered paid or made.'

'Witness myself at Westminster the nineteenth day of May in the thirty-sixth year of our reign (1594).

(Signed) B. GODSALVE.

By writ of Privy Seal and of date aforesaid by the authority of Parliament.'

In this way was the whole of the monastery of St. Bartholomew conveyed to Sir Richard Rich, who had been, with Thomas Cromwell, a leading instrument in the suppression of the monasteries in England.

On the 24th May following (i.e. five days later) Rich executed a charter of feoffment¹ whereby he conveyed to the newly-created rector, John Deane, and his successors, rectors of the church, six houses on the west side of Bartholomew Close, and a chamber over the south gate of the monastery. The houses now standing on the site of these six houses, with the proceeds of a house next to the south gate (which was sold to widen the entrance to the Close), comprise the present glebe of the parish.² All the houses had formerly belonged to the monastery. They were to be held of the king by fealty and not in chief, the rector paying 16s. for the yearly tithe to the king. 'Possession and seisin' was delivered by Sir Richard Rich to 'John Deane, Clerk, Rector' on the 18th June following, in the presence of Sir Roland Hill, Alderman of the City; Thomas Burgoyne, the auditor; Richard Tyrrell, gentleman (a tenant); Richard Mody Esquire (a late tenant); Richard Allen, a tenant; Hugh Ap-Harry (a neighbour); eight others named, 'and others'. After this sale of the monastery to Rich the purchaser figures more largely in the history of St. Bartholomew's than does the church.

During the remainder of the reign of King Henry, that is to the 28th January, 1547; during the whole of the reign of King Edward VI, 1547 to 1553; and during the first two years of Queen Mary's reign, the only records in connexion with the church that we have found have been concerning John Deane, the first rector.

He first appears in the records in the year 1535, when he was rector of Little Stanmore, one of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's, with an annual stipend of £6 13s. 4d.³ In 1539 he had apparently come to the priory, for he witnessed there on the 11th January the will of Richard Bellamy, and is described as 'John Dean, priest'.⁴ Immedi-

¹ Pat., 25 Eliz., 15 June (1583); an *inspeximus* of charter of feoffment by Rich, 4 May, 36 Hen. VIII, 1544, Lord Holland's Cart., f. 168, App. I, p. 518.

² Fully set out in Vol. II, chap. xiii, glebe houses.

³ *Valor Eccl.*, p. 383.

⁴ App. I, p. 540.

ately after the suppression he apparently acted as 'parish priest of Great Saint Bartholomew's', for he is so described when witnessing the will of John Burgoyne on the 9th August, 1540.¹ He probably had an assistant priest, since in 1542 Thomas Hitchyn, as already seen,² is described as 'curate of the parish'; but this assumption may not be correct, because Deane himself when created rector is described in the king's grant as 'curate of the parish church'. His services as a witness to the wills of his parishioners were apparently much valued, for the records of his so acting are numerous. In 1545 he witnessed the will of Richard Aleyn, and is styled 'John Deane, clerk'³; and in 1546 as 'Sir John Deane, Parson of Saint Bartholomew's', he did the same office for Robert Adams.⁴ (The title of Sir was used at that time much in the same way as Rev. is now.) In 1549 he was left a small legacy of 13s. 4d. by Edward Corbett;⁵ in the previous year Dorothy Paver⁶ had bequeathed him 'a gilt piece and the lease of her house', and mentioned that he was her 'ghostly father'. He is described in both these latter instances, and also in those that follow, as 'Sir John Deane, parson of Great Saint Barthilmews'.

When Queen Mary set up the Black Friars at St. Bartholomew's, in 1555, Sir John Deane went on with his duties as parish priest (no doubt in Walden's part of the parish chapel, which was not pulled down until 1559 or later), although Rich had given the glebe to Queen Mary). In 1556 he witnessed as parish priest the will of John Garatt,⁷ and in 1557 that of Richard Bartlett, 'Doctor of Phisuke'.⁸ Bartlett left him his 'worstead gowne furred' on the condition that he 'should take no money for breakynge the grounde in the churche' and that he should see 'his stone layed over' him. It is evident, even from these fragmentary records, that John Deane had the confidence and respect of his parishioners. (He is referred to again later on when rector⁹.)

THE HOSPITAL SUPPRESSED AND REFOUNDED

In the year 1538 the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city petitioned the king¹⁰ that they might have the 'order rule disposicon

¹ App. I, p. 542.

² See p. 262, above.

³ App. I, p. 542 (he had a lease of a house in the Close at 40s. a year).

⁴ Ib. (he had a house in 'Paradyse' at 5s. a year).

⁵ App. I, p. 543.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ App. I, p. 544.

⁸ Ib.

⁹ Vol. II, chap. xvii.

¹⁰ Royal Hospitals of the City of London, published by Court of C.C. 1836, App., p. 1, No. 1, transcript of Journal, 14, f. 129.

and governance' of this and other hospitals in London, viz. St. Mary's, St. Thomas's, and the new abbey on Tower Hill; but Rahere's hospital nominally shared the same fate as the priory, though it was reconstructed by a grant from the king by Letters Patent dated the 23rd June, 1544. Therein the king said¹ that the hospital was then 'vacant and altogether destitute of a master and all fellows or brethren', and that therefore all the possessions of the hospital were in his hands, and that, 'desiring nothing more than that the true works of piety and charity should not be abolished there, but rather fully restored and renewed, according to the primitive pattern of their genuine sincerity, and the abuses of the foundation of the same hospital in long lapse of time lamentably occurring, being reformed, he had endeavoured, as far as human infirmity would permit, that henceforth there should be comfort to the prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and sepulture to the dead administered there'. The king therefore determined to found a hospital to consist of one master, a priest, and four chaplain-priests: called the vice-master, the curate, the hospitaler, and the visitor of the prisoners in Newgate, respectively. He appointed William Turges, his chaplain, the first master, and Thomas Hikkelyng (or Hickling)² the vice-master, whom, with the other three chaplains, he incorporated, granting them the site of the old hospital, its buildings, bells, &c., in frankalmoign.³

In the year 1546 the king, having expressed himself as willing to endow the hospital with lands and tenements to the clear value of 500 marks, on the condition that the citizens should bind themselves also to give 500 marks yearly, entered into a covenant⁴ with the mayor and corporation to endow the hospital with all the possessions enjoyed by the hospital before the suppression, saving so much as was reserved to the king, which few reservations are set out in the covenant.

This covenant was confirmed by Letters Patent on the 13th January, 1547,⁵ whereby the possessions were to be held by the mayor and commonalty and citizens of London and their successors, thus in

¹ Royal Hospitals of the City of London, published by Court of C.C. 1836, App., p. 5, translation; Pat., 36 Hen. VIII, pt. 24, m. 41, 23 June, 1544.

² Probably the Thomas Hitchyn described as curate of the priory church in 1542, see p. 262.

³ L. and P., For. and Dom., vol. i, p. 53, 22 Jan. 1544, reference made to 'Ric. Flynt the singing man of Seynt Bartilmews the Spittell'.

⁴ Roy. Hosp. Lond. by Court C.C., App., p. 9, No. 4. Translation of Deed of Covenant, 27 Dec., 38 Hen. VIII (1546); see also L. and P., For. and Dom., same date.

⁵ Ib., App., p. 22, No. 5, translation of Letters Patent, 13 Jan., 38 Hen. VIII; also L. and P., For. and Dom., pt. 5.

fact granting¹ the petition of 1538. In this grant the king decreed that the hospital should henceforth be called 'the house of the poor in West Smithfield near London of the foundation of King Henry the Eighth'; and that the church within the site of the hospital should be the parish church and should be called 'the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, in West Smithfield near London'.¹

When the Corporation had entered into these engagements with the Crown, they heartily endeavoured to raise the money to perform their part of the contract. They made a grant of half a fifteenth to be assessed on the citizens; they passed an Act applying the profits of the great beam, the beam of the steel yard, the iron beam, package, gauging of wine and of fish and sundry other offices, towards the relief and sustentation of the said poor. And they further passed an Act at the same time (1548) for assessing the several companies to pay the annual sum of 500 marks.²

One other somewhat curious provision occurs in the Journals of the Court of Common Council,³ made for the same good object in the year 1552; 'that when any principal messuages or houses shall be converted into an alley or alleys every inhabitant within every room or place in such alley, &c., shall yield to the poor of West Smithfield the whole yearly value thereof,' but the actual meaning of this provision is obscure.

From this point we must cease to refer to Rahere's great hospital; for with the disappearance of the prior and canons the last solid connecting link between the two foundations was severed. But the link of sentiment has never been broken and is expressed on the part of the parishioners of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great in the feeling of admiration for, and sympathy with, the noble and ever-progressing work of St. Bartholomew the Less and its hospital. Of this substantial proof was given in the year 1904, when consent to a bill before Parliament⁴ for uniting, for ecclesiastical purposes, the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less with that of St. Bartholomew the Great was given by the patron, the rector, and churchwardens of the latter parish, should it be found necessary to demolish the church of St. Bartholomew the Less for the extension of the wards of the hospital.

¹ Roy. Hosp. Lond. by Court C.C., App., p. 40.

² *Ib.*, App., p. 51, No. 7, 2 Edw. VI, 1548.

³ Journal C.C., No. 15, f. 127, 1 Oct. 1552.

⁴ 4 Edw. VII, cap. lviii.

CHAPTER IX

THE RESUSCITATION AND SECOND SUPPRESSION

QUEEN MARY ascended the throne on the 19th July, 1553, and married Philip of Spain twelve months later.

On the 17th December, 1555, Sir Richard Rich, who had now been created Lord Rich, made a grant of what remained of the church and of the monastic buildings, together with the advowson, to Queen Mary in order that she might resuscitate the monastery. This she did, and placed here the Dominican or Black Friars, with William Perrin as prior, their own house in Blackfriars having been demolished. Wriothlesley thus records the event : ¹

‘ This yeare (1556) at Easter the church of Great St. Bartlemewes, in Smythfeilde, was sett up with black friers ; Fryer Perwyn beinge head thereof.’

The convent was composed of English, Spanish, and Belgian friars. Machyn in his diary says : ² ‘ the wyche was the (first) ³ howsse that was sett up by quen Mare(s) tyme’. The priority, however, probably belongs to the Grey Friars at Greenwich, who were restored on Palm Sunday (April 7th), 1555.⁴ The other monasteries resuscitated at this time were those of Dartford and Sheen, Westminster and Syon.⁵

The following is a translation ⁶ of the deed of grant by Rich to Queen Mary : ⁷

‘ To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present deed indented shall come I Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche send everlasting greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I the aforesaid Richard Riche Lord Riche both considering our most serene princess and lady Mary, Queen of England, and for divers other causes and considerations me hereunto moving, have transferred demised delivered granted and by this my present deed indented have confirmed to our aforesaid lady the Queen all that parish church of Saint Bartho-

¹ Wriothlesley, *Chronicle*, ii, 134. Easter Day was on April 5 in 1556.

² Machyn, *Diary*, p. 171.

³ A supplied reading : *Ib.*, p. xiii.

⁴ Hasted, *Kent*, i, 30.

⁵ Mr. J. B. Wainewright pointed this out to the author.

⁶ Such words as ‘ aforesaid’, ‘ with appurtenances’, where redundant, have been omitted for brevity.

⁷ Close 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary, pt. xi, m. 28, No. 524, 17 Dec. 1555. Also Holland’s *Cart.*, f. 181. Latin transcript, App. I, p. 521.

lomew in West Smithfeild in the suburbs of London with its appurtenances now held occupied and used as a parish church there which church was late parcel of the late priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfeild aforesaid and all that ground and soil upon which the temple or church aforesaid was erected or built and the cemetery there with its appurtenances to the same parish church appertaining belonging or adjacent late parcel of the aforesaid temple or church of the said late priory And the house or building with its appurtenances late the sacristy¹ or vestibule (*vestibulum*) of the said late priory which is now used as the sacristy of the aforesaid parish church And all and singular the detached erections and places with their appurtenances in the crypt of the same parish church now used or occupied as parcels of the same church And also all the enclosure or square ambulatory now or late called "le cloyster" with its appurtenances and the ground soil walls and buildings of the enclosure or ambulatory parcel of the said late priory and all those four sides of the same enclosure or ambulatory And also all and singular the houses chambers places and erections above and beneath the said enclosure or ambulatory And also a long chamber or corridor being above the eastern side of the aforesaid ambulatory And also a great building or chamber now or late called "Le Dortour" late the dormitory of the said late priory And also the steps leading from the aforesaid ambulatory up to the great building called le Dortour And also a long building on the south side of the ambulatory now or lately called le frater, late the refectory of the late priory And also a building with its appurtenances now or lately called "le old kitchen" late the cookhouse of the said late priory lying and being at the west end of the aforesaid "le frater". And also a building or dining room (*cenaculum*) with its appurtenances now called a parlour and lately called "le misericorde"² at the east end of the said "le frater" And a building now or lately called "le library" being above the said building called a parlour And an erection or building with its appurtenances lately called a "parlour" on the west side of the said "le frater" And all the building land and soil with its appurtenances where is the passage from the said "le frater" to the said building now or lately called "le old kitchen" And also the "rectory" of the aforesaid parish church of Saint Bartholomew with its appurtenances and the advowson nomination and free disposition of the same rectory and parish church And also all those six (*sic*) messuages or tenements with their appurtenances situate and lying within the precincts of the late close of the late priory which I Richard Lord Riche have lately given and annexed (*adunavi*) to the aforesaid rectory for the augmentation of the stipend and salary of the incumbent of the same rectory³ And also all my right title and estate and interest which I Richard Riche Lord Riche have held or now hold as well of and in all the aforesaid buildings and other premises as in those aforesaid six messuages or tenements situate within the precincts of the late close of the late priory To

¹ See Vol. II, chap. iii.² *Ib.*, chap. ix.³ *Ib.*, chap. xiii, glebe houses.

have and to hold all and singular the aforesaid church cemetery enclosure or ambulatory buildings erections rectory advowson messuages tenements hereditaments and all other the premises with their appurtenances hereinbefore granted to our aforesaid lady the Queen her heirs and successors for ever to the behoof and use of our said lady the Queen her heirs and successors for ever And I the said Richard Lord Riche and my heirs will warrant all and singular the said tenements hereditaments and other the premises with their appurtenances to our said Lady the Queen her heirs successors and assigns against myself the said Richard Lord Riche and my heirs and for ever assure by these presents. In witness whereof to either part of this my present deed indented I the aforesaid Richard Lord Riche have set my seal with my bearings.

‘Dated the seventeenth day of the month of December in the second and third years of the reign of Philip and Mary by the grace of God of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland King and Queen defenders of the Faith Princes of the Spains and of Sicily Archdukes of Austria Dukes of Milan Burgundy and Brabant and Counts of Hapsburg Flanders and Tirol.

‘And be it remembered that on the day and in the yeares above-mentioned the aforesaid Lord Riche before our Lord the King and our Lady the Queen in their chancery having personally appeared acknowledged the aforesaid deed and all and singular the matters in the same contained in manner above-mentioned.’

Tanner in his *Notitia*¹ says that the ‘friers began to rebuild the nave of the church’, but we have no direct evidence of their having done so. In the east walk of the cloister, however, the friars apparently built up in brick the entrance to the north walk of the cloister, because the stone jambs of a door of that period were found in the year 1905 inserted in the brickwork.² Richard Bartlett in his will (already referred to³) dated the 17th January, 1556/7, bequeathed 20s. ‘towardses the makynge of the churche wall’, which may possibly refer to the wall of the nave. His executors were also empowered, at their discretion, to give something ‘towardses the makynge of a Soller⁴ in the parish church’,⁵ from which we should infer that the rood in the nave having been destroyed by Henry VIII a new rood had been erected, but that the rood-loft gallery was still wanting. The descriptions of the monastic buildings in this deed are helpful in locating the positions of the different offices, especially those of the misericord and of the library, which are nowhere else referred to.⁶

¹ Tanner, *Notit. Mon.* viii, Midd., reference to ‘Stow MSS.’ but no mention in the Stow charters or in the *Survey*.

² See Vol. II, chap. viii.

³ See above, p. 274; also App. I, p. 544.

⁴ A canopy or tester, a rood loft, gallery, or any upper chamber.

⁵ App. I, p. 544.

⁶ See Vol. II, chap. ix, frater.

PRIOR WILLIAM PERRIN, B.D.

Dominican Prior, 1556-1558.

William Perrin (Peryn¹ or Pyryn) was probably of the same family as the Perrins of Brochton, Salop, who were descended from a family of the same name in Derbyshire.² As a young man William Perrin associated with the brethren of the Dominicans or Black Friars at Oxford and became a zealous member of their order. From Oxford he moved to their house in London and became such a violent preacher against those called heretics, especially at the time when Henry VIII denounced the pope's power in England, that he was obliged to leave the country. In April 1543 he supplicated to be admitted to the reading of the sentences and was granted the B.A. degree. In June 1547 he was called upon to recant at St. Andrew's Undershaft for preaching on St. George's Day that it was good to worship the pictures of Christ and of saints, and this he did, saying that he had been deceived, and expressed regret for having taught such doctrines. In the reign of King Edward he retired for a time, but on the accession of Queen Mary he appeared in the pulpit an open defender of those doctrines which a few years before he had renounced.³ After the queen had made him, in 1555, the head of the Black Friars at St. Bartholomew's, he was held in considerable repute until his death in 1558.

From Machyn's diary we get several records of William Perrin and of St. Bartholomew's during this time. Thus he records that on :

'The viii day of February (1555/6) dyd pryche at Powlles crosse master Peryn, a blake frere, and at the sam(e) sermon was a prest on(e) ser Thomas Samsun, (who) dyd penanse for he had ii wyffes, and a shett abowt hym, and a tapur in ys hand bornyng a-for the precher, and the mayre of London and the althermen and worshepful men, and mony odor.'⁴

On the 26th November following he records that at the funeral of the wife of Master H[eyns] :⁵

'Doctur Perryn dyd pryche at her masse, and after a grett dener.'⁶

¹ Spelt Peryn in his own writings.

² Wood, *Athenae*, i, 103; *Fasti*, i, 75.

³ Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, ii, 39; J. Howe, *Acct. of Christ's Hosp.*, Lemprière's edition, p. 23.

⁴ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 100.

⁵ Square brackets indicate supplied readings for deficiencies caused by fire.

⁶ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 119.

Machyn, himself an undertaker, describes several funeral services at St. Bartholomew's which give a good idea of the amount of ceremonial there during Perrin's time. Thus he says : ¹

'The xx day of September (1558) was bered my lade Cisele Mansfield ² at Clerkenwell, with a harold of armes, and browth unto the blake frers in Smyth-feld, the wyche was sant Barthelmuw with iiij baners of santes and a ii dosen torchys, and ii grett whytt branchys, and iiiij gylt candylstykes and armes on them, and many clarkes syngyng, and mony morners : and my lade Peter cheyff morner, and odor lades and gentyll-women and knyghtes and gentyllmen ; and her servandes bare my lade, and bare the torchys all in blake cottes ; and bered a-for the he auter (high altar) at the hed of the old pryar Boltun ; ³ and the chyrche and the qwer (quire) and the raylles hangyd with blake and armes ; and the frers (friars) song durge after ther songe, and bered her after ther fasyon, with-owt clarkes or prestes ; and after to the plasse to drynke ; and the morow iii masses songe, ii pryke-songe masses ; and after to Clerkenwell to dener (dinner) to her plasse ; and there was a godly sermon as ever was hard to lyf welle of ; the father of the howsse dyd pryche, master ' (blank).

Again he records in the same year : ⁴

'The xxvi day of November (nine days after the accession of Queen Elizabeth) was bered at the Blake Frers in Smythfeld master Bassett sqwyre, on(e) of the [privy] chambur with quen Mare ; and he had ii whyt branchys, and xii torchys, and iiiij gret tapurs, and a harold . . . a cote armui, a penon of armes, and ii dosen of [scocheons ⁵].'

Again : ⁶

'[On the xii day of April (1559) was brought from Clerkenwell unto] Blake Frers in Smythfeld with ii haroldes of armes, master Clarenshux and master Somersett, ser Richard Monsfeld ⁷ knyght, with ii gret whyt branchys, . . . ii dosen torchys and iiiij gylt candylstykes and iiiij gret tapurs, and the plasse and the frers hunge with blake and armes ; and xxiiij prestes and clarkes [prayers] all Laten, and durge wher he ded (died), and wher he was bered ; and there was a standard and a penon of armes, and a cott armur, and elmett, target and sword, and the[re were] iiiij baners of santtes, and a xviiij men morners in blake gownes and xx in blake cottes ; and after to the plasse to drynke, and the morow masses in all the chyrches, and then after ys standard, cotte, elmet, target, [and sword] offered up ; and after all done to the plasse to dener ; and a vii dosen skochyons of armes to be bere[d].'

¹ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 174.

² Mansel.

³ See above, p. 237.

⁴ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 179.

⁵ Scutcheons.

⁶ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 194.

⁷ Sir Rice Mansel.

At Margam Abbey (Glam.) there is a monument with the following inscription :

' Here lyeth the Portraiture of Sir Rice Mansel and Dame Cecilia his wife . . . both buried at Little St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield, London.'

This was erected some hundred years after their death and is an obvious error for St. Bartholomew the Great. Dame Cecile was the third wife of Sir Rice Mansel. Before her marriage, as Cecile Dabrich-court, she was one of Princess Mary's gentlewomen. Mary wrote of her to Secretary Cromwell 'whom for her long and acceptable service to me done I much esteem and honour', and later, when queen, Mary continued to make her presents. At the queen's coronation Lady Mansel attended dressed in crimson velvet, in a chariot with horses trapped in the same.¹

St. Bartholomew's also occurs several times in the wills of this period. In the year 1556 John Garatt, citizen and salter,² willed to 'be buried within the church of greate seynt Barthilmewes in west Smythfeld betwene the steppes of the same church going up to the high auter and the channcell'. He bequeathed 12s. yearly 'unto th' order of Blacke Friers now being within the house of Greate Seynt Barthilmewes th'entente that they shall kepe . . . ' yearly dirige and masse of requiem on the anniversary of his death and praying for his soul and those of his father, mother and two wives: his third wife Ursula was his executrix. There were various legacies for the poor in bread and cash, and provision was made for wax tapers.

To Dr. Bartlett's will reference has already been made. He gave 'to the Fryers of St. Bartilmewes sixe pounds'. On the 27th July 1558 Robert Urmestone willed, if he died in the city of London, 'to be buried in the church of the blak Fryers in Smythefelde', and he bequeathed to the church £3 6s. 8d. His executors were to provide a stone to be laid on his grave with his 'harmes theron to be set, and wt suche enpscription as they shall thinyke convenyent for a memoryall',³ but there is no such memorial now in the church. On the 10th August following⁴ William Hayes, a parishioner, willed to be buried 'in the parish church yarde of greate Saint Bartholmew' . . . the witnesses being 'Sir John Deane p'son and his gostly father', and others.

Prior Perrin published three books of his writings: one is entitled 'Three Godlye and Notable Sermons of the Most Honorable and

¹ These particulars of the Mansels were furnished by the late Mrs. Story Maskelyne.

² App. I, p. 544.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 545.

Blessed Sacrament of the Altar',¹ preached in the Hospital of St. Anthony in London, on '*Hoc est corpus meum*', &c., London, 1545 or 1546 (48, 8vo), dedicated to his 'Special good lord and master Edm. (Bonner Bishop) of London'.² Another is mentioned by Wood³ 'In defence of and for the frequent celebrating of the Mass', but Wood says that he had never seen it, neither do we know of the existence of a copy.

The third book is entitled, 'Spiritual Exercyses and Ghostly meditations and a neare waye to come to perfection and life contemplative verie profitable for Religyous, and generally forall other that desire to come to the perfect love of God and to the contempte of the worlde. Collected and set forthe by the helpe of God and diligent laboure of F. Wyllyam Peryn, Bacheler of Divinitie and pryor of the friers preachers of greate Sancte Bartholomes in Smythfoelde †.' This title is taken from a MS. copy of the book sold at the sale of the Trentham Hall Library in November 1906 and presented to the church by a member of the Restoration Committee.⁴ The dedication on folio 4 is dated 'the last of December anno Do. MDLIIII'. If this date also refers to the title, in which he describes himself as prior, it would seem that the Blackfriars were installed earlier than Wriothesley chronicles, and that they were, as Machyn says, the first house that was set up, but, as Rich did not convey the monastery to Queen Mary until a year later, viz. December 1555, the date of their installation as given by Wriothesley, Easter 1556, is probably the correct one. It has been stated that this appears to be the author's own MS., and it may be so. It consists of 192 leaves (186 of MS.) and wants 4 leaves at the end. It is bound in old calf 12mo. Several leaves are blackened as if the MS. had been hidden in a chimney. It may be seen in the glass show case in the cloister of the church. The work was printed by John Waley in 1557 (8vo⁵ and in 318 pp. Blk. Let.) and at Caen by Peter le Chandelier in 1598 (8vo, 136 pp.).

The book is dedicated by the author 'To the devout and very religious sister Katherine Palmer of the order of St. Bridget in Dermont and to Dorothy Clement of the order of St. Clare in Lovain'. This Katherine Palmer was one of the professed sisters of Syon monastery at Isleworth, Midd.; she received at the suppression of

¹ Mus. Brit. C. 12, d. 6. Bodl. Lib. 8vo, P. 153, Th. 9. Lambeth Lib. Index Eng. Bks. printed before 1600, p. 85.

² Wood, *Athenae*, p. 103.

³ *Ib.*, p. 103.

⁴ It was bought at the sale by Mr. Young, a bookseller of Liverpool, who, when appealed to, generously resold it for what it cost him.

⁵ Bodl. 8vo, p. 174, Th. Lambeth Index, p. 86. A printed copy offered at Sotheby's in May 1907 sold for £9.

the house in 1539 a pension of £6 a year.¹ Most of the sisters were admitted into a house of their own order at Dermond in Flanders. In 1557 they were reinstated at Syon² by Queen Mary, when Katherine Palmer was elected abbess. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth they again took refuge in Dermond, and after many wanderings they settled in Lisbon. In 1861 they returned to England and are now established at Chudleigh in Devon, the only community that has survived. Katherine Palmer died on December 19th, 1576, in Mechlin,³ where the sisters remained for a short time during their wanderings. The order of St. Clare, or Minorettes, to which Dorothy Clement belonged, had their house in the Minories.

Prior Perrin had a seal struck for the resuscitated monastery, which is fully described with the other monastic seals.⁴ It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in February 1805,⁵ and was sold at Sotheby's a hundred years later, on March 14th, 1906. It was resold to the Restoration Committee in the following month, and is now in the glass case in the cloister by the side of Perrin's MS.

Reference has already been made to some of the executions for heresy which took place by burning in Smithfield immediately in front of St. Bartholomew's. In the reign of Edward VI only two cases are recorded: that of Joan of Kent (Joan Bocher), an anabaptist, who was burnt there in the year 1550 for denying the Incarnation; and van Parris, a Fleming, in 1551, on the same charge. But after Queen Mary married Philip of Spain in 1554 such executions became frequent. The first to suffer was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's (who had been vicar of St. Sepulchre's in 1550); he was burnt in Smithfield in 1555. Machyn thus simply chronicles the event: ⁶

'The iiij day [of] Feybruary the bysshope of London went into Nugatt, and odur docturs, to dysgratt (degrade) Hoper,⁷ and Rogers sumtyme vycker of sant Polkers. The same day was Rogers cared be-twyn x and xi of the cloke in-to Smyth-feld, and bornyd, for aronyus (erroneous) apinions, with a grett compene of the gard.'

It has been estimated that 288 people were burnt for heresy during the reign of Philip and Mary; of which number records have been found of nine being burnt in Smithfield in 1555, sixteen in 1556,

¹ Aungier, *Hist. of Syon*, p. 89. The late Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A., gave me this and the following information.

² Birt, *Eliz. Settlement*, p. 130.

³ Martyrology of Syon, Add. MSS. 22285, Mus. Brit.

⁴ See below, p. 320.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, xv, 401.

⁶ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 81.

⁷ John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.

and ten in each of the years 1557 and 1558. In March 1849, during the excavation of a drain at a depth of 3 ft. immediately opposite the entrance to the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, the workmen laid open a mass of unhewn stones, blackened as if by fire and covered with ashes and human bones charred and partially consumed.

Prior Perrin died in August 1558, and Machyn thus describes his burial at St. Bartholomew's: ¹

'The xxii ² of August was bered docthur [Peryn] master of frers blake in Smythfeld, the wyche was the [first] howsse that was sett up by quen Mare(s) tyme, [buried] at the he (high) auter syd afor sant Bathelmue.'

After Prior Perrin's death Friar Richard Hargrave, a Dominican and confessor to the nuns of Dartford,³ was elected to succeed him, but he never took office as prior because the queen died on the 17th November, and the Letters Patent of the master-general of the order, confirming his election, did not reach this country until Easter. 'The friar to whom they were directed,' says Mr. Birt,⁴ 'fearful of incurring a *praemunire*, handed them over to the Privy Council, who took measures to prevent Friar Hargrave from entering upon his office. Friar Hargrave, from whose pen we have an account of these transactions, states that after Friar Perrin's death, some more of the friars, presumably old men, also died, while others who were foreigners returned to their own countries, no doubt when suppression was looming in the near future. Thus it came about . . . there were then in residence to quit the convent but three priests and one young man; and these, to quote Friar Hargrave's words, 'chose to remain in England and enjoy the flesh pots of Egypt to being abject in the house of the Lord.'⁵ . . . It may be that they conformed.

Machyn thus chronicles the final expulsion:

'The xiii ⁶ day of July (1559) whent the frers blake in Smythfeld went away.'

The friars of Greenwich had gone on the 12th June, and the nuns of Syon on the 4th July.⁷

The church of the friary was now once more, by Act of Parliament, made a parish church, and the advowson and monastic buildings, as granted by Rich to Mary, were sold back to Rich by Elizabeth.

The Act was passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, chapter

¹ Already referred to above, p. 277.

² Machyn, *Diary*, p. 171.

³ Birt, *Eliz. Settlement*, p. 133.

⁴ *Ib.*, 127.

⁵ Pio, quoting *Delle Vite de gli Huomini de S. Dominico*, p. 377.

⁶ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 204 n, 'the MS. indistinct, perhaps xvi.'

⁷ See also Wriothlesley, *Chronicle*, ii, 145.

xxiv, and is entitled 'an Act to annexe to the Crown certayne Religious Howses and Monasteries and to refourme certayne abuses in Chantries'.¹

The last section only, No. xvi, concerns St. Bartholomew's² and is as follows :

'And whereas the church of Greate St. Bartilmewes next Smithefelde in London, which ys now used by the Relygious men there called the Fryers Preachers, otherwise the Black Fryers, as their Conventuall Church, was in the last yere of the Reigne of the said late King Edward, the parish Church and so used for all Thinhabitantes and Resiantes within the Close called Greate St. Barthilmewes next Smithfelde in London; Be yt enacted by thautgoritee of this presente Parliament, That all the sayd Church shalbe and remayn for ever a parische Church for all Thinabitants and Resiantes which now bee and which hereafter shalbee within the said Close called Grete St. Barthilmewes; This Act or anything therein conteyned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.'

The regrant to Rich by Queen Elizabeth was made for a money consideration, as is shown below; he therefore had to buy the monastic buildings twice over, but whether he received any money payment for them from Queen Mary does not appear.

The following is a translation³ of the grant :⁴

'The Queen to all to whom etc. greeting. Know ye that we in consideration of the sum of Two Hundred and Ninety-eight Pounds, nine shillings and Four Pence lawful money of England at the receipt of our Exchequer . . . to our use by our beloved Richard Riche, Knight, Lord Riche, in hand well and faithfully paid whereof we acknowledge that we shall be fully satisfied and entirely paid and that the same Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche his heirs executors and administrators are therefrom fully quit and released by these presents Of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion have given granted and confirmed and for ourselves our heirs and successors we give grant and confirm unto the aforesaid Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche the site of the house or late priory for a time of the Friers Preachers commonly called Lez Black Friers in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great next Smithfield in the suburbs of London by the authority of Parliament now dissolved and suppressed. And all those messuages erections buildings land ground and hereditaments belonging to us commonly named and called Le Cloyster Le Old Kitchen Le Frater Le Chapter Howse⁵ and Le Library and Le Dorter with their appurtenances together situate and being in the said parish of St. Bartholomew

¹ Statutes of the Realm, vol. Edw. VI, Eliz. 1547-1584-5, Clause XVI, p. 400.

² *Ib.*, p. 400.

³ By Mr. William Barnard.

⁴ Pat. 2 Eliz., pt. 4, m. 17, 18, Roll No. 951. Pleaded 10 Car. I, v, A.D. 1634, 19 Feb. (1560).

⁵ See Vol. II, chap. ix.

the Apostle the Great next West Smithfield aforesaid and in the close called Great Saint Bartholomew's Close there and all erections chambers and buildings whatsoever erected and built above the said cloister and above the said erections and buildings called Le Chapter Howse and Le Library And all houses buildings entrances ambulatories and gardens and lands and ground belonging to us whatsoever within the premises being And the advowson donation free disposal and right of patronage of the Rectory and parish church of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle the Great next West Smithfield in the suburbs of London All and singular which premises were formerly parcels of the possessions and hereditaments of the said Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche and which the same Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche lately gave and granted to our most dear sister Mary late Queen of England and to her heirs and successors for ever And which afterwards and lately were in the hands and occupation of the prior and convent of the Friars Preachers late for a time sojourning and inhabiting there And which afterwards devolved and rightly devolved into our hands and in our hands now are or ought to be by reason or virtue of a certain Act therefor amongst other matters passed in our Parliament held at Westminster in the first year of our reign We give also and by these presents we grant unto the said Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche all and singular the premises and every parcel thereof so fully freely and entirely and together with all and every kind those so many so great such the same of such kind and the like franchises liberties rights jurisdictions privileges exemptions free customs profits advantages emoluments quittances exonerations and hereditaments whatsoever as in number quantity and quality so fully freely and entirely as Ourself or the said Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche or of late the prior and convent of the said late priory Friars Preachers for a time or any other person or persons heretofore holding or possessing the premises or any parcel thereof or being thereof seised ever have had held or enjoyed the same or had right to have hold or enjoy the same by reason or colour of any charter gift grant collation or of any letters patent heretofore in any wise made or by reason or colour of any prescription use or custom or by any other manner or right or title whatsoever And so fully freely and entirely and in so ample a manner and form as all and singular the premises came to the hands of ourself or the hands of our most dear sister Mary late Queen of England or had right to have come and in our hands now are or ought to be or had right to be by any right or title whatsoever.'

The queen proceeds to grant tithes and lands not connected in any way with St. Bartholomew's, and then continues :

'Excepting always nevertheless and out of this present grant entirely reserving all bells and all lead being upon the premises'¹

¹ Presumably this only applies to St. Bartholomew's, as no other buildings are in the grant.

save lead in the gutters pipes and windows of the same premises Excepting also all advowsons to the premises or to any of them appertaining save the advowson of the rectory and parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great hereinbefore by these presents given and granted All and singular which premises in the said parish of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great . . . are valued at the clear yearly value of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence . . . Unto the said Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche his heirs and assigns to the proper behoof and use of the said Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche his heirs and assigns for ever To hold the said site of the house or priory of the late Friars Preachers commonly called Lez Black Fryers and all other the premises in the said parish of St. Bartholomew the Apostle the Great . . . of us our heirs and successors as of our manor of Estgrenewiche in our co. of Kent by fealty only in free and common socage and not in chief.'

The tithes meadow and rents in Herefordshire were to be held on the same terms. The queen indemnified Rich and the premises from all corodies, rents, fees, and annuities of all kinds payable out of the premises, save the services to the queen and any life grants made of the premises : the production of these Letters Patent or their enrolment to be sufficient warrant or release.

And the grant concludes :

'We will also and by these presents we grant to the aforesaid Richard Riche Knight Lord Riche that he may and shall have these our Letters Patent under our great seal of England in due manner made and sealed without fine or fee great or small to us in our Hanaper to be rendered paid or made. To the end that the express mention, etc.

'In witness, etc. Witness the Queen at Westminster on the 19th day of February in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1559/60) By writ of Privy Seal.'

This deed is here set out at some fullness because Lord Holland's 'Liberty' of St. Bartholomew's and the various privileges claimed therefor (which are considered later) depended in a large measure on the terms of this grant by Queen Elizabeth.

The assessment of the premises at St. Bartholomew's sold by Queen Elizabeth to Rich seems about the same as when King Henry sold to Rich, but whereas Rich bought from Henry on the basis of a nine years' purchase he bought from Elizabeth on a basis of over twenty-three years' purchase ! Of the total sum paid, £298 9s. 4d., probably £160 only related to St. Bartholomew's.

CHAPTER X

SIR RICHARD RICH

THE last chapter closed the chronological history of the priory, but as Sir Richard Rich had so much to do with its suppression and resuscitation, and was the purchaser of the whole of the monastic site and buildings, a short account of him may not be considered out of place here before describing the fair and the other possessions of the prior and convent.

Richard Rich was born in London about the year 1496, and as a boy he was intimate with Sir Thomas More, who, when he was on trial through Rich's treachery, said, 'Of no small while I have been acquainted with you and your conversation, who have known you from your youth hitherto. For we long dwelled both in one parish together, where, as yourself can tell, you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer and not of commendable fame. And so at your house in the Temple (where hath been your chief bringing up) were you likewise accounted.'¹ He was brought up to the Bar and entered at the Middle Temple, where, from what More said, he did not reform his character. He does not seem to have been a deeply read lawyer, but such knowledge as he had, added to great astuteness, carried him a long way.

In 1526 he competed, but unsuccessfully, for the post of Common Serjeant of the City of London against William Walsingham, the father of Sir Francis, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary. He was early associated with the county of Essex, and in 1530 he was, with others, appointed to make a return of Wolsey's possessions in that county. He then began to rise somewhat rapidly, and in 1532 he was made Attorney-General for Wales, a post he held until 1558. In 1533 he became Solicitor-General and was knighted, when he took a leading part with Thomas Cromwell in the persecution of those accused of violating the Act of Succession of 1534, which declared Elizabeth to be heir to the throne and Katharine's marriage unlawful. For denying the latter, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were committed to the Tower and many friaries suppressed. Rich was also especially active in prosecuting those who could not subscribe to the Act of Supremacy passed in the same year: thus he assisted at the examination of the

¹ Roper, *Life of More*.

Carthusian monks of the Charterhouse, who were brutally executed at Tyburn in 1535; and by the basest treachery he obtained Bishop Fisher's views on supremacy, which, in violation of his promise, he used as the evidence on which Fisher was condemned and executed. In the same way he brought Sir Thomas More to the block, who at his trial said, 'If this oath of yours, Mr. Rich, be true, then pray I that I may never see God in the face . . . In faith, Mr. Rich, I am sorrier for your perjury than for my own peril, and you shall understand that neither I, nor no man else to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such credit as in any matter of importance I or any other would at any time vouchsafe to communicate with you.' At the same time Rich was persecuting the Lutherans for not conforming to the Six Articles.

In 1536 he was made the first chancellor of the newly-created Court of Augmentations. In this capacity he had to deal with the revenues, at first of the smaller, and later of the greater, monasteries. In this same year he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and as such he did much to reconcile the Commons to the suppression of the greater monasteries.

In the country he was greatly detested. The first of the articles addressed to the king by the leaders of the Northern Rebellion, or Pilgrimage of Grace, was: 'By the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved.' The fourth was: 'The king takes for his council and has about him persons of low birth and small reputation, who have procured these times to their own advantage, whom we suspect to be Lord Cromwell and Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the Augmentations.'¹ His name was also associated with those of Cromwell (Crim) and Cranmer (Crame) in the verses written for the rebels on the occasion of the rebellion.² It was stated by Philip Trotter, one of the Lincolnshire rebels, at his examination in the Tower, that if they had prospered in their journey they had intended to have slain, among others, the Lord Cromwell and the Chancellor of the Augmentations, whom they called two false pen clerks and considered were the devisers of all the false laws.³

On the suppression of the monasteries Rich acquired large possessions by purchase from the king on most favourable terms, in addition to his purchase of St. Bartholomew's. In this way, in the year 1536, he secured a grant of the priory of Lighes or Leez, with the manors of Lighes Parva, Magna Lighes, Folsted (Felsted), Fyfield in Essex,⁴

¹ L. and P., For. and Dom. xi, No. 705.

² Ib., No. 786.

³ Ib., xii, pt. i, No. 70.

⁴ Ib., x, No. 1015 (33).

and other property there,¹ from which he later took his title of Lord Rich of Leez. At Felsted he added to his estate by purchases from the nunnery of St. Bride at Syon, Middlesex.² After the suppression of the greater monasteries in 1539 he made application to purchase many manors in Essex, some of which had belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, others to St. Osyth's at Chic, and some to the monastery of Holywell, Middlesex.³

When Thomas Cromwell was accused of treason and executed in 1540 (the same year as he was created Earl of Essex) Rich was one of the chief witnesses against his friend and benefactor. On the 12th June Cromwell wrote to the king: 'What master chancellor has been to me, God and he knows best; what I have been to him your Majesty knows.' After Cromwell's death, Rich took an active part in the persecution of the reformers, and of those who would not subscribe to the king's supremacy; thus in July 1540 Robert Barnes, William Hierome, vicar of Stepney, and Thomas Garret were burnt in front of the church of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield for preaching doctrines contrary to the Six Articles;⁴ and on the same day three others, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, were hanged, drawn, and quartered for denying the royal supremacy.⁵ In 1546 it was Sir Richard Rich who sent Anne Askew to the Tower, and there, because she would confess no ladies or gentlewomen to be of her opinion, Fox says that Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and Rich racked her with their own hands, Sir Edmund Walsingham, the Lieutenant of the Tower, having refused to do so.⁶

We have already shown⁷ how, at the end of 1539, or early in 1540, Rich made the prior's house at St. Bartholomew's his town residence, and was granted the suppressed monastery by the king in 1544. At that time he was always at the Privy Council meetings, signed many of the dispatches, and was actively engaged in the examination of those concerned in the accusations against Katharine Howard; and in that connexion he was on the special Commission for the trial of Culpeper and Derham in the Guildhall in December 1541.⁸

Henry VIII, who died on the 28th January, 1547, arranged in his will for a barony for Sir Richard Rich, and on the 15th February following, the Privy Council⁹ decided that he should be so created,

¹ L. and P., For. and Dom. xii, pt. ii, No. 191 (40).

² Ib., pt. i, No. 1330 (54). Also xv, No. 144 (16).

³ Aug. Off. Partics. for grants Hen. VIII, Nos. 930-1. There is a concise list of grants to Rich in the 10th report of Roy. Com. Pub. Records, R.O.

⁴ Fox, *A. and M.* ii, 435, ed. 1684.

⁵ Ib., 446.

⁶ Ib., 488.

⁷ See p. 263.

⁸ L. and P., For. and Dom. xvi, No. 1395.

⁹ Acts of P.C., 15 Feb. 1547.

whereupon he took the title of Baron Rich of Leez, Essex. The king also by his will appointed him an assistant councillor and one of the assistants to the executors,¹ and bequeathed to him £200. In January 1547 he was amongst those deputed to have special charge of the coronation² of Edward VI.

Though the fall of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley is supposed to have been brought about by the intrigues of Rich, Paulet succeeded to the post. His incompetence, however, Rich had no difficulty in demonstrating, and on the 23rd October, 1548, Lord Rich was made Lord Chancellor of England.

Rich was, no doubt, a papist at heart, but he always acted with the party that was uppermost; thus in 1547 he concurred in the acts of the Council which commanded the destruction of images in churches. Those in St. Paul's were pulled down in September 1547, and the great rood, by night, in November 1548. In the latter year the Council laid down rules for the celebration of the Holy Communion in the Anglican form, which was to take place only at the high altar: the decree was signed by the Protector Somerset and Lord Rich, with four others.³ All churches were ordered to be white-limed and the Commandments to be written on the walls. In the next year, 1549, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued and written in English. Four years later, 1552, saw the issue of the second Prayer Book. In 1553 the 42 Articles of Faith (converted by Elizabeth to 39) were set forth; so that Rich was in the active service of the Crown during the whole period of the Reformation.

As soon as Edward's first Parliament met it repealed the Six Articles and all laws against heresy, but still two executions took place in Smithfield, as has been seen,⁴ the lawyers having discovered that heresy was punishable by the common law.

When in 1549 the disturbance occurred between Protector Somerset and his brother Lord Admiral Seymour, it was under the direction of Lord Chancellor Rich that the articles for treason were drawn up against Seymour, and it was Rich who announced to the young king the decision for the execution of his uncle, and who, with others, signed the warrant for the same. It was Rich who, in October 1549, led the agitation against Somerset and declared to the Lord Mayor and aldermen at Ely House, Holborn, the abuses of the Lord Protector. This led to the deprivation of Somerset in 1550, who was eventually, in 1552, executed on a charge of conspiracy.

Rich took part in the proceedings against Bonner and Gardiner in

¹ *Archæologia*, xxx, 465.

² Acts of P.C., 31 Jan. 1546/7.

³ Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's*.

⁴ See above, p. 284.

the year 1550, the eighth session of the court appointed to try the latter being held at Lord Rich's house at St. Bartholomew's (20th January, 1551).¹

A positive order was at this time issued that mass should not be celebrated, and Rich had the chief conduct of the steps taken against the Princess Mary in the matter. He was present in March 1550 at the Council at which Sir Anthony Browne was committed to the Fleet for hearing mass when the Lady Mary was coming to New Hall and Romford.² He was again present in April 1551 when Dr. Mallet, chaplain to the princess, was committed to the Tower for saying mass,³ and again in the following August, when the Council prohibited any divine service from being used in the Lady Mary's house other than that allowed by the law of the land.⁴ Rochester and Walgrave, having declined to deliver this last instruction to the chaplain of the princess, it was decided that Lord Chancellor Rich, with Mr. Secretary Peter and Sir Anthony Wingfield, should themselves go to her and present a letter from the king,⁵ and this they did. She received the letter graciously as coming from the king, but she declined to consent to the instructions regarding the masses or to allow the new services to be held in her house. As Rich began his speech she prayed him to be short, saying she was not well at ease and would make him a short answer.

An event, however, occurred on the 21st December following (1551) which relieved him of carrying forward this unpleasant business, for on that day he surrendered his chancellorship. The Duke of Somerset was at that time in the Tower, and it is said that, though he was there through Rich's instrumentality, Rich now wished to befriend the late Protector and wrote him a letter warning him of something designed against him by the Privy Council. Being in haste, he addressed the letter merely 'To the Duke'. His servant, fancying it was for the Duke of Norfolk,⁶ carried it to that duke. He, to make Northumberland his friend, sent the letter to him. Rich, realizing the mistake, and to prevent the discovery, went immediately to the king, feigned illness, and desired to be discharged, and upon that took to his bed at St. Bartholomew's, whither Lord Winchester, the Duke of Northumberland, and Lord D'Arcy repaired, and there they took the surrender of the Great Seal. It is assumed that Rich took this measure to save his neck, and if so he was successful. He was subsequently made Lieutenant for the county of Essex.⁷

¹ *D.N.B.*

² Acts of P.C., 1550, p. 239.

³ *Ib.*, 267.

⁴ *Ib.*, 328.

⁵ *Ib.*, 347.

⁶ Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. Eng.* ii, 248.

⁷ Acts of P.C. iv, 277.

On the 6th July, 1553, King Edward died. Northumberland had persuaded him to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey, but omitted to obtain the sanction of Parliament. Strype has preserved a letter, written by the Privy Council of Queen Jane to Lord Rich as Lieutenant of Essex, thanking him for a speedy notice of the fact that the Earl of Oxford had gone over to Mary, and exhorting him to remain steadfast in his promise to Queen Jane.¹ But this exhortation Rich did not heed, for he again went over to the winning side, and this time probably with real pleasure. On the 21st July, two days after Mary had secured the throne, instructions were sent to Lord Rich and the Earl of Oxford to retire with their companies and bands towards Ipswich until her pleasure should be further known.² The queen then stayed some days at Rich's house at Wanstead before her entry into London. We next hear of him as being present at the queen's Council on the 12th and 13th August,³ and also on the 14th September⁴ of that year (1553), when Archbishop Cranmer was sent to the Tower 'for treason committed by him against the Queen's Highness'.

Rich was now put to general use: he was sent to Syon, Middlesex, to secure the goods of the Duke of Northumberland, who had been executed;⁵ and he was a commissioner for hearing claims for offices at the coming coronation.⁶

After this Rich was very active in assisting in the burning of heretics in his own county of Essex. On the 18th March, 1554, letters were sent to him and the Earl of Oxford to be present at the burning 'of such obstinate persons' about to be sent down for burning in divers parts of the county of Essex.⁷ On the 3rd June, 1555, a letter was sent to him 'to be present at Colchester, Manytree (Manningtree) and Hardwicke at such tyme as thoffenders that are already condemned for heresie shalbe there executed'.⁸ On the 15th June a letter of thanks was sent to him in this connexion.⁹ In February 1555 he was requested to stop a stage play at Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, and to examine who were to be the players and the effect of the play.¹⁰ Five days later he was thanked for stopping the play, was requested to set the players at liberty and to prevent people assembling for such hereafter.¹¹ In the March following he was desired to call the farmers dwelling about Braintree¹² before him, to order them to furnish the market with grain, and to sell the same at reasonable prices.

¹ Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 913.

³ *Ib.*, 318.

⁶ *Ib.*, 335.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 234.

⁴ *Ib.*, 347.

⁷ *Ib.*, v, 104.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 237.

² Acts of P.C. iv, 300.

⁵ *Ib.*, 333.

⁸ *Ib.*, 140-1.

⁹ *Ib.*, 149.

¹² *Ib.*, 247.

When Mary declared war with France in 1557, because her husband Philip was at war with that country, Lord Rich raised forces for the purpose and for the defence of Essex.

He favoured the return to the Roman allegiance in religion, and assisted Queen Mary in resuscitating the monasteries, more especially by making her, in September 1555, a grant (as already stated¹) of what remained of the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in which she set up the Black Friars. Previous to that, in April 1554, he ordered the first deed of the Felsted foundation to be prepared, by which a chaplaincy was founded for singing masses and dirges for the dead in the parish church of Felsted (about five miles north from Little Leez).²

On the death of Queen Mary in November 1558 Rich, though retired from court, once more prepared to tack, and was appointed to accompany Elizabeth to London; but he did not see his way to support her Act of Uniformity: in fact, in Elizabeth's first momentous Parliament of 1559 he voted, as a member of the House of Lords, with the Roman Catholic minority.³

The accession of Elizabeth led to the abolition of those observances which Rich had enjoined for his chaplain at Felsted; accordingly in May 1564 he made provision for a stipend for a priest to be chaplain and schoolmaster with an usher under him. He was to teach four score male children born in Essex 'in lernyng of Grammer and other vertues and godly lernyng according to Christes religion'.⁴ Rich and his descendants acted as the governing body until 1851, when a new one was established by the Court of Chancery. This scheme only lasted until 1876, when it was repealed by the Charity Commissioners, who formed a new governing body representative of the whole county of Essex, and Felsted school is now a flourishing institution.

The advice of Lord Rich in affairs of state was sought up to the last, for in 1566 he was summoned to discuss the question of Queen Elizabeth's marriage. He died at Rochford, in Essex, on the 12th June, 1567, and was buried in Felsted church, 'where', says Sargeant,⁵ 'the recumbent figure of the Chancellor is most characteristic. The small head and keen features mark the skill of the lawyer and the wariness of the statesman'. Lloyd, in his *Worthies*, says of him: 'His decrees were just, his dispatches quick, his judgment speedy, his sentences irrevocable.'⁶

¹ See above, p. 277.

² Sargeant, *Felsted School*, p. 2.

³ Birt, *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*.

⁴ Andrew Clark, *Foundation Deeds*, pp. xxviii, 15.

⁵ Sargeant, *Felsted School*, p. 87.

⁶ For a fuller account of Sir Richard Rich the reader is referred to the *Dictionary*

His will,¹ dated the 12th May, with a codicil dated the 10th June, 1567, was proved the 6th June, 1568. He bequeathed his 'faire of greate Seint Bartholomewes with all the proffitts of the same' for a term of six years to pay his debts and legacies. He made provision for his base-born son Richard Rich. The will was witnessed, among others, by his wife, Elizabeth Lady Rich, who survived him. She was the sister of William Jenks, citizen and grocer. She died in her house at St. Bartholomew's and was buried at Rochford. Rich was succeeded in the peerage by his eldest son Robert, at that time thirty years old, who appears in effigy kneeling at a prayer desk (pl. XI) at the west end of his father's monument, a full description of which is given below. His descendants were patrons of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great until the nineteenth century, and are described further on.²

THE MONUMENT OF RICHARD LORD RICH OF LEEZ IN FELSTED CHURCH.

(The following is from two framed descriptions in the church.)

'Canopied tomb of Richard, 1st Baron Rich of Leez, Lord High Chancellor, 1547-1551; founder of Felsted School and of Felsted Almshouses. Died 1567.

The statue, originally coloured to the life, represents him in the robes, round cap and ornaments of a Lord Chancellor, with elbow resting on a cushion, holding a book of prayers.

Above the statue is a panel for inscription, but it was never carved. Over this is the coat of arms, with reindeer supporters and motto *Garde Ta Foy* (keep thy faith).

I. The carved panel at the east end of the tomb facing the figure shows Lord Rich as a youth holding a book with two seals in one hand and a long rod or pole with a short crosspiece in the other, and with a dog on his left. By his side stands a female figure with a mirror and a serpent for Truth, one of the cardinal virtues.

II. The carved panel on the spectator's left denotes his office as Speaker of the House of Commons; carrying a mace and wearing a sword and a short robe. Behind him are two females: the one to the east carrying a column for Fortitude; the other bearing the sword and scales for Justice.

III. The similar panel on the right has, in the centre, his figure as Lord Chancellor displaying the purse of the Great Seal; Hope with anchor on the one hand, Charity carrying one child and holding

of *National Biography*, to Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, to John Sargeaunt's *History of Felsted School*, and to Andrew Clark's *Foundation Deeds of Felsted*.

¹ App. I, p. 545.

² See Vol. II, p. 292.



THE MONUMENT OF LORD RICH IN FELSTED CHURCH
(see p. 296)

the hand of another, on the other hand, balance Fortitude and Justice in the other panel.

Beneath, slightly incised on black marble (originally set out in vermillion), are two groups. That on the left shows him arriving at Westminster Hall in state in Lord Chancellor's robes, mounted on a horse with foot-cloths, attended by the bearer of the Great Seal and other officials. That on the right shows him lying in state, hands clasped in prayer, on a bed under a canopy. A female watcher kneels at each side, a male watcher stands at the head.

Above the monument a winged figure, gilded, with trumpet, represents Fame publishing abroad Lord Rich's high estate and noble charity.

THE MONUMENT OF ROBERT, 2ND BARON RICH OF LEEZ; DIED 1581.

The statue, formerly coloured to the life, represents him kneeling at a prayer desk, which is dovetailed into his father's monument.

He wears the court dress of the period, consisting partly of rich embroidered padded clothes, partly of light ornamental armour. His right hand has been ungloved to turn over the leaves of the book of prayers which lies on the desk before him. The gloved left hand held the right-hand glove and rested on the buckle of the girdle. The left arm has been broken off, but the hand is preserved and is now laid on the pedestal.

On the wall beside the statue is the rest of the monument, including (in a grotto) a skull lying sideways in a shroud and watched by cherubs, as emblem of Mortality; a black plate for inscription but never carved. Above a coat of arms with supporters and motto, implements of war (drum, target, shield, cuirass, arrows, musket, helmet, sword, etc.); the coat is hung by a strap from a tree trunk; the crest (now missing) was on the top of the pediment.

These monuments were repaired in 1915 by the Governors of Felsted School of Lord Rich's foundation.'

CHAPTER XI

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR

THE fair or market held on the eve, the day, and the morrow of the feast of St. Bartholomew (August 24th), was an important possession and source of income of the monastery of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1364 the king stated,¹ when granting protection to those coming to the fair, that its profits 'formed a great part of the maintenance of the canons'. This, however, does not necessarily mean the maintenance of the whole monastery, which consisted of many others besides the canons; in fact, at the time of the suppression, the income of the fair, being valued at £65, showed that it formed less than a tenth of the total income of the monastery. The fair is here described apart from the other possessions of the monastery, because it was held within the monastic walls.

It is only proposed to refer to such public records of the fair as occur in the charters, Letters Patent, &c., and among the records of the corporation of the City of London. These give the history of the fair in connexion with the monastery and with the city, and they show for what reasons the corporation eventually, some 300 years after the suppression of the monastery, brought the fair to an end.

The excesses of 'Bartlemy Fair' have been told and retold: they are not very edifying and belong more to a history of Smithfield than to one of St. Bartholomew's. In 1859 Henry Morley wrote his *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*; and in 1883 Cornelius Walford gave a full chronological history of the fair in his *Fairs Past and Present*,² and to these works the reader is referred. Stourbridge Fair³ and St. Bartholomew's Fair were probably the two most important fairs in England; the first mention of the former is in a charter of the year 1211, that of St. Bartholomew's is in the charter granted to Rahere in 1133.⁴ Translated, the latter reads thus: ⁵

'I grant also my firm peace to all persons coming to and returning from the fair which is wont to be celebrated in that place at the feast of St. Bartholomew; and I forbid any of the royal officials

¹ Cal. Pat., 38 Edw. III, 2 July.

² pp. 164-243.

³ Formerly held on what is now known as Midsummer Common at Cambridge.

⁴ App. I, p. 477, Charter No. 1.

⁵ See also above, p. 62.

to implead any of such persons, or, without the consent of the canons, on those three days, to wit the eve of the feast, the feast itself, and the day following, to demand customary tolls in passing over ways or bridges either without the city or within from those resorting there, but all things that flow from the right to fairs shall belong to the said church and canons.'

This protection for the fair was confirmed by Henry II in his charter of about 1173,¹ by Richard I in 1190,² and by the same king in the same year in Letters Patent to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex,³ to which latter the following clause is added :

'And we forbid, on pain of forfeiture by us, that any shall presume to stand or to sell anything in virtue of any custom, upon the land of the aforesaid canons, or to enter upon the burying ground of the same church except with the goodwill of them.'

Henry III, in the year 1253,⁴ Edward I in 1290,⁵ and subsequent kings, confirmed the charter of Henry I of 1133. And in 1364 Edward III issued further Letters Patent to the mayor and sheriff granting protection to the fair, and taking the prior and convent and their men, and all merchants coming to the fair, under his special protection.

Writing in the year 1598 John Stow thus refers to the fair : ⁶

'To this priory King Henry II granted the privilege of fair, to be kept yearly at Bartholomew-tide for three days, to wit the eve, the day, and next morrow ; to the which the clothiers of all England and drapers of London repaired and had their booths and standings within the churchyard of the priory, closed in with walls and gates locked every night, and watched for safety of men's goods and wares ; a court of pie-powders was holden daily during the fair for debts and contracts.'

When, in the year 1761, at the request of the corporation, the City Lands Committee reported ⁷ by what grants and authority Bartholomew Fair was held, they unfortunately embodied the quotation above from Stow verbatim into their report, thus perpetuating Stow's error as regards the king who first made the grant of the fair.

The expression in Henry I's charter of 1133, that the fair at that time 'was wont to be celebrated in that place at the feast of St. Bartholomew', does not preclude the possibility of the fair having been held somewhere in Smithfield even before the founding of the priory in 1123 ; but as fairs were first occasioned by the resort of people to a place for solemnizing some festival, and especially the

¹ App. I, p. 478, Charter No. 4.

² *Ib.*, p. 482, No. 12.

³ *Ib.*, p. 487, No. 18.

⁷ Journ. C. C. C., Guildhall, No. 62, f. 260.

² *Ib.*, p. 481, No. 9.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 485, No. 16.

⁶ Stow, p. 141.

feast of the church's dedication,¹ we may assume that the fair originated with the founding of the monastery. The renown of the miraculous cases of healing which occurred at the church must have caused a great concourse of people to assemble on St. Bartholomew's Day. Such a concourse of those who came for healing, or to give thanks for healing, on that day in the year 1148, has already been referred to.²

Henry Morley quotes that scene to make the unwarrantable statement that, after his conversion, Rahere, the founder of the hospital that has done more to alleviate the suffering of the sick poor in England than any other institution, was a juggler, a cheat, and an impostor;³ but it was after the suppression of Rahere's foundation that the jugglers, the cheats, and the impostors came on the scene.

It was on one of the great days of the fair, held on the patronal festival (August 24th) in 1315, that the tragedy was enacted of executing Sir William Wallace, the Scottish hero and patriot, in sight of the jostling crowd at the Elms in Smithfield, where he was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The monastic fair was undoubtedly held in the wide space within the walls on the north side of the church, for the entrance from Smithfield is described in the bounds of 1544 as the 'West Gate of the fair of St. Bartholomew'. As Stow also states that the fair was held within the churchyard of the priory, the position of the second graveyard used by the parish (and in the early days by the hospital too for the burial of their poor) is incidentally located. That space remained unbuilt upon until Queen Elizabeth's time (as shown in Agas's map) and was described in the 'particulars for grant' in 1544 as 'the Great Green of the Market'.⁴ The burial ground probably formed a small portion only of this great green, and should have been fenced off; but it may not have been so, for it is probable that the erection of the booths of a fair on a graveyard was not considered a sacrilege in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in view of the astonishing fact, recorded in the rental of the monastery in the year 1306, that the sacrist of the church had stallage at the feast of St. Bartholomew 'from the stalls that are inside the church and those fixed to the church outside'.⁵ That such a custom had grown up in the Church elsewhere than at St. Bartholomew's is indicated by the fact that the Bishop of Winchester (John de Pontissara), in his Synodal Statutes of about the year 1295, decreed that:

¹ Burn, *Eccles. Law*, i, 339.

² Morley, *Barth. Fair*, p. 22 (4th ed.).

⁴ See Vol. II, chap. xi.

² See above, p. 66.

⁵ See below, p. 373.

'In order that the churches, which are houses of prayer, may not be made a den of thieves, we strictly forbid the holding of public markets in churches or churchyards ; nor for this purpose let tents be pitched in the same, nor secular pleas be held, nor let buildings be constructed there, unless, which God forbid, war should break out. Any built must be pulled down before Easter. We direct also that churchyards be properly enclosed with a ditch, hedge, or wall, so that thereby unclean animals be kept out, and in them, on the festivals of saints and at other times, let not wrestling take place, nor dances nor other showy sports be held : nor in them let animals be fed.' ¹

If these abuses in churches and graveyards at that time were not existing, no such directions would have been necessary. We know from the Rental that grazing of animals was taking place in the graveyards of St. Bartholomew's in the year 1306, because we are told that the value of such grazing was 4s., and that it, like the stallage, went to the sacrist.

The west gate of the fair was on the north side of the west façade of the church, where is still the entrance from Smithfield to Cloth Fair, but both gate and gateway have been removed. It was from here that the proclamation declaring the fair to be open was read. The west gate, being closed at night, gave protection to the goods of the clothiers and drapers ; and this continued to be so after the suppression.

Bartholomew Fair in monastic times was the great annual market for the woollen and cloth trade of the country, hence the present name of the street, Cloth Fair. Strype says that later on leather and pewter were also sold here ; and we may assume that the seventeenth-century name ' Rugman's Row ' for what is now the south side of Newbury Street, indicates that rugs also were sold at the fair. The fact that the woollen trade was one of the staples of the wealth of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries caused the kings to safeguard the position and privileges of Bartholomew Fair as an important market of the industry. Thus, in the year 1292,² when the privileges of the city were forfeited into the king's hands, the corporation held that one half of the profit of the eve, and the whole of those of the morrow of the feast, belonged to the king ; but the king, after taking security of the prior, allowed him to take the profits as before.³

¹ Cant. and York Soc., Winchester, Reg. J. de Pontissara, p. 210.

² See above, p. 137.

³ T. Frost, *Old Showmen*, pp. 10-11, copies the error in date in Strype's *Stow*, 1295 for 1292, and says the city authorities confined some of the canons in the tun on Cornhill, but does not give his authority.

In the year 1321 the privileges of the prior as regards the fair were challenged by a writ of *Quo Warranto*, as has been fully explained in an earlier chapter.¹

In the year 1364, the year when the first regular charter was granted to the Drapers' Company, the king (Edward III), wishing to stop frauds in the drapery trade, ordered that no one should use the mystery of drapers in the city or suburbs who had not been apprenticed thereto; but in case such should interfere with the fair, the king specially reserved from this restriction 'his beloved in God the prior of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield and other lords who had fairs in the suburbs by grants from his progenitors or himself'.² The prior and his fair were also exempted from the regulation that any one having cloth to sell in the city could only do so by wholesale and not by retail.

In the same year (1364), there having been a riot and tumult in the fair the previous year, several merchants and others who used to frequent the fair, fearing violence, had intimated that they would stay away the next year. The king therefore issued the writ, referred to already, informing the mayor and sheriffs that he had taken the prior and canons, and all merchants desiring to come to the fair, under his special protection, because 'the non-coming of the said merchants—which God forbid—would bring the fair to nought',³ and he further 'forbade that any goods brought to the fair should be taken for his use'. Similar letters of protection were issued by the king in the years 1373⁴ and 1376,⁵ and by Richard II in 1377.⁶

Some idea of the importance of the fair in monastic times may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1535 the Lord Mayor petitioned Thomas Cromwell to move the king to give £10,000 to the city 'because the Zeeland fleet had arrived with so many goods that people would be prevented from buying clothes at Bartholomew Fair'.⁷

To maintain the character of the goods sold at the fair, St. Bartholomew's, like Southwark Fair, was subject to the annual search and admeasurements by the Drapers' and the Merchant Taylors' Companies; cloth being at both fairs the principal commodity sold. The Merchant Taylors still possess the silver yard for the admeasurement of cloth, with which standard they year after year attended Bar-

¹ See above, p. 160.

² Cal. Pat., 38 Edw. III, 15 July (1364); Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 742, quoting Close, 38 Edw. III; Herbert, *Liv. Cos.* i, 400.

³ Pat., 38 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 1, 2 July (1364). Now calendared, p. 524.

⁴ Cal. Let. Bk. G, 310.

⁵ *Ib.*, H, 29, and in full in Walford, *Fairs P. and P.*, p. 175.

⁶ Cal. Pat., 1 Rich. II, 28 July (1377).

⁷ Cal. State Papers, i, 442.

tholomew Fair.¹ In 1566 one Pullen was committed to prison for using an unlawful yard which was found in his shop at the time of the search.² The Drapers, moreover, had a special ordinance made by Henry IV (1404-5), which forbade members of that company, under a penalty of £10, from being found with goods at the fairs of either Westminster (May Fair), Southwark or St. Bartholomew's 'over the franchise' (that is, over the time allotted for holding the fair), which was 30 days for Westminster and 3 each for St. Bartholomew's and Southwark. The searchers always had a treat on these occasions; thus in the year 1514 the sum of 22s. was paid 'for a potacion at Ribert Lazenby's after our search on St. Bartholomew's even'. On the other hand, the prior would sometimes be the guest of the Drapers' Company³ at their feasts. All these searches were, however, subjected to the control of the city corporation,⁴ who, during the dispute between the Drapers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies, took into their own hands the search for woollen cloth exposed for sale by tailors at Bartholomew Fair.⁵

Disagreements between the members of convents and the civic authorities seem to have occurred in all towns where there was a religious house; more especially was this the case where a fair or market was controlled by a monastery, and St. Bartholomew's was no exception. It is probable that disputes between the prior and convent and the corporation commenced as early as the year 1190, and that claim was made by the civic authorities to have stalls at the fair within the walls of the monastery. For in that year King Richard issued the Letters Patent referred to above to the sheriff in these words (translated from the Latin):

'We command you that you trouble not nor suffer to be troubled the canons of the church of St. Bartholomew, London, which is our demesne chapel, in the matter of their fair which they hold at the feast of the same church, nor demand from those coming to the fair of St. Bartholomew to sell or to buy, either without the city or within, nor in passing over ways or bridges, any customs or services, or any matter which may infringe the franchise of the said church of St. Bartholomew. And we forbid, on pain of forfeiture by us, that any shall presume to stand, or to sell anything, in virtue of any custom, upon the land of the aforesaid canons, or to enter upon the burying ground of the same church except with their goodwill. But all things which can flow from the right to fairs shall belong to the said canons of ours as fully and entirely

¹ Herbert, *Liv. Cos.* i, 427. The measure dates from between 1480, when the arms which it bears were granted, and 1587, when other arms were granted which are upon the company's mace.

² *Ib.*, 47.

³ See above, p. 18.

⁴ Herbert, *Liv. Cos.* i, 47.

⁵ *Cal. Let. Bk. K*, 259.

as if they were of our table and house. Wherefore we will and strictly ordain that the aforesaid church of St. Bartholomew shall have and hold all these peaceably, freely and quietly for ever.'

Under the year 1246 there occurs the following in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*¹ at the Guildhall:

'In this year the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's by counsel and aid of William de Haverille, treasurer of his lordship the king, and of John de Kondres, their sokereve, and of Nicholas Fitz Jocey, set up a new tron,² on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, refusing to allow any one to weigh except with that tron; and this in contravention of the liberties and customs of the city. Wherefore the principal men of the city, together with their mayor, Peter Fitz-Alan, and a multitude of the citizens, on the morrow went to the priory of St. Bartholomew, and advised the prior and canons of that place to make amends for that act of presumption, and to desist therefrom; whereupon they forthwith gave up the practice, and by the mayor and sheriffs of London it was published that every man was to sell buy and weigh in that market just as they previously had been wont to do.'

In this matter the prior and convent seem to have been in the wrong.

In the year 1293, a freeman of the city was attached to answer why he and his companions on the eve of St. Bartholomew, and on the morrow at St. Bartholomew's fair, levied a certain tronage³ in the fair in the name of the prior, and attacked citizens who wished to weigh with their own trons to the prejudice of the freedom of the city to the extent of £1,000. The freeman denied the charge and demanded an inquiry, but proceedings were taken against him for making illicit bargains and using a tron.⁴ There is nothing to show that this levying of the tronage was done with the knowledge or consent of the prior.

Another matter of dispute arose in the year 1377, when the fair had increased so much in size that it overflowed the monastic precincts into Smithfield. The question arose who should receive the fees for picking up the road for the erection of the booths. The prior was therefore summoned to the Guildhall on the Thursday before St. Bartholomew's Day, 1 Richard II (20th August, 1377), to show by what authority he took divers customs on the city's soil. The prior produced his charter of King Henry I (1133), but as the charter made no mention of pickage (*pykagium*) the Common Serjeant was instructed

¹ Translated from the Latin by H. T. Riley in his *Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs*, p. 13.

² Beam or scale for weighing of wool and heavy goods.

³ Payment for weighing by a tron.

⁴ Cal. Let. Bk. C, 13.

to levy pickage on all who opened the city's ground in Smithfield at the time of the fair, and to answer for the same to the commonalty. As to other customs levied on merchants trading at the fair, it was agreed that they should be collected by the Common Serjeant and the prior's bailiff, and a return made of the amount received.¹

In the year 1446 a composition was made between the prior and the city as to the manner of levying tolls. The journals of the Court of Common Council² give the names of the gatherers, the places of their standing, what money was levied, and the rewards to the toll-gatherers for their labour. But in the year 1453 an agreement³ was come to, as has been already mentioned,⁴ between the prior and corporation upon all outstanding differences. At that time the fair had extended to 'the further side of the great south gate of the priory in Duck Lane, up to the Bars in St. John Street on the north, and from the Bars to the steps of St. Sepulchre's church on the south next to the vicarage there; and from the tenement called "the Cock"⁵ belonging to the priory at the corner of Long Lane and Aldersgate Street at the east up to Holborn Cross at Hosier Lane end next West Smithfield at the west'.⁶

The agreement has been thus calendared: ⁷

'That on occasions when Bartholomew Fair is held, "pickage⁸ and stallage⁹" levied in Westsmythfeld outside the precinct of the priory prescribed by metes and bounds should thenceforth belong to the mayor and commonalty without objection being raised by the prior, and that the same tolls taken within the close and precinct of the priory should be the property of the prior and convent for the time being, without challenge by the civic authorities. It was further agreed that the mayor and commonalty, and their successors, should exercise the scrutiny of weights and measures, and of goods exposed for sale at the fair and adjacent places afore-said, outside the precinct of the priory, as well as within the said precinct, the prior for the time being and his successors being at liberty to join the mayor in his yearly visit for the purpose within the precinct; also that all forfeitures and tolls, excepting pickage and stallage, both within and without the precinct of the priory, should in future be levied and collected by officers appointed both by the mayor and aldermen and by the prior, the said officers making

¹ Cal. Let. Bk. H, 70.

² Journ. No. 4, f. 188 b, 18 Aug., 24 Hen. VI (1446).

³ Dated the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, 32 Hen. VI (27 Oct. 1453). Cal. Let. Bk. K, 354. Journ. C.C.C., Guildhall, v, 106 b, 107.

⁴ See above, p. 215.

⁵ This was the brewery of the priory: see Vol. II, chap. x.

⁶ Journ. C.C.C., No. 62, f. 260 b, where the agreement is recited.

⁷ Cal. Let. Bk. K, 354.

⁸ Toll paid for breaking ground.

⁹ Toll paid for erecting booths.

a return of the value of such forfeitures, etc., to the men of law presiding over the Fair Courts; that one half of the tolls should go to the sheriffs of the city; one half of forfeitures to the mayor and commonalty; and the other half, both of tolls and forfeitures, to the prior and convent. It was further agreed that the prior for the time being should hold his court of Pie-powder (*pedis pulver*) on the prescribed days by his steward or other person learned in law, in conjunction with the common serjeant-at-law of the city, one of the under-sheriffs, or some other person learned in law,¹ appointed by the mayor and aldermen; the said steward and his associate having suitable food and drink with the prior during the time of the fair. It was likewise agreed that no arrest, attachment or execution by authority of the court of Pie-powder, should be made except by sergeants-at-mace of the mayor or sheriffs, or by others specially appointed, and that all fines and amercements issuing from the said court should be for the use of the prior for the time being.'

The prior's part of the agreement was sealed with the common seal of the mayor and commonalty, and the city's part was sealed in the chapter-house of the prior and convent with their seal.² The tokens appointed to the toll-gatherers were struck on one side with the arms of the city and on the other with a crown for the priory.³

Forty-five years later (1498) there was still some friction between the priory and the city, for the Court of Aldermen that year⁴ resolved that the wardens of the Drapers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies should be advised that in consideration of 'the unkind disposition of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's (William Guy) and the master of the hospital' neither of their fellowships should take any booth at the fair of the priory but on the city land only.

The court of Pie-powder, referred to above (denominated *Pied poudre* or *Curia pedis pulverizati*), was incident to every fair as a court baron is to a manor. Blackstone says⁵ that 'it was the lowest and at the same time most expeditious court of justice known to the law of England, and was so called from the dusty feet of the suitors'; or, according to Sir Edward Coke,⁶ because justice is there done as speedily as dust can fall from the foot; upon the same principle that justice among the Jews was administered in the gate of the city, that the proceedings might be more speedy as well as public. But the etymology given us by a later writer⁷ is more ingenious and satisfactory; the name being derived, according to him, from *pied*

¹ As decided at a Common Council, 15 Mar. 1453.

² Journ. C.C.C., No. 62, f. 263.

³ *Ib.*, No. 4, f. 188 b.

⁴ Repertories Guildhall, i, f. 38.

⁵ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, III, iv, 32.

⁶ Coke, *Institutes*, iv, 273.

⁷ Daines Barrington, *Observations on the Statutes*, 3rd ed., p. 382.

puldreaux (a pedlar in old French), and therefore signifying the court of such petty chapmen as resort to fairs or markets. 'It is a court of record, of which the steward of him who owns or has the toll of the market is the judge; and its jurisdiction extends to administer justice for all commercial injuries done in that very fair or market and not in any preceding one. So that the injury done must be done, complained of, heard and determined within the compass of one and the same day, unless the fair continues longer. The court hath cognizance of all matters of contract that can possibly arise within the precinct of that fair or market; and the plaintiff must make oath that the cause of action arose there.' The cases which came before the court were mainly for trading without licences, or for not having the freedom of the city or for selling with false measures. It was because the city became entitled to a share of the tolls of the fair that they claimed to be represented at the court by the common serjeant and an under-sheriff.

The proclamation of the fair by the lord of the manor, at any rate after the suppression, was as follows: ¹

'OYEZ ! OYEZ ! OYEZ !

'All manner of persons may take notice that in the close of St. Bartholomew the Great and West Smithfield, London, and the lands and places adjoining, is now to be held a fair for this day and the two days following, to which all persons may freely resort and buy and sell according to the liberties and privileges of the said fair, and may depart without disturbance, paying their duties: And all persons are straitly charged and commanded, in his Majesty's name, to keep the peace, and to do nothing in the disturbance of the said fair as they will answer to the contrary, at their perils; and that there be no manner of arrest or arrests, but by such officers as are appointed. And if any persons be aggrieved let them repair to the court of Pie-Powder, where they may have speedy relief according to justice and equity.

'God save the King and the Lord of the Manor !'

The proclamation by the Lord Mayor in the eighteenth century was as follows: ²

'The Rt. Hon. Sir . . . Kt., Lord Mayor of the City of London, and his Rt. worshipful Brethren the Aldermen of the said city, straitly charge and demand, on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, that all manner of persons, of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition they be, having recourse to this fair, keep the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King.

'That no manner of persons make any congregation, conventicles

¹ Wilkinson, *Lond. Illust.*, The Priory St. Barth.

² Maitland, *London*, p. 1214 (1756).

or affrays by the which the said peace may be broken or disturbed, upon pain of imprisonment and fine to be made after the discretion of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

'Also that all manner of sellers of wine, ale, or beer, sell by measure ensealed, as by gallon, pottle, quart, and pint, upon pain that will fall thereof.

'And that no person sell any bread, except it keep the assize; and that it be good and wholesome for man's body, upon pain that will fall thereof.

'And that no manner of cook, pie baker, nor huckster, sell or put to sale any manner of victual, except it be good and wholesome for man's body, upon pain that will fall thereof.

'And that no manner of person buy nor sell but with true weights and measures, sealed according to the statute in that behalf made, upon pain that will fall thereof.

'And that no manner of person or persons take upon him or them, within this fair, to make any manner of arrest, attachment, summons or execution, except it be done by the officers of this city thereunto assigned, upon pain that will befall thereof.

'And that no person or persons whatsoever within the limits and bounds of this fair presume to break the Lord's Day in selling, showing or offering to sale, or in buying or offering to sale, or in buying or offering to buy, any commodities whatsoever; or in sitting, tippling or drinking in any tavern, inn, alehouse, tippling house, or cook's house, or in doing any other thing that may tend to the breach thereof, upon the pains and penalties contained in several Acts of Parliament, which will be severely inflicted upon the breakers thereof.

'And, finally, that what persons soever find themselves grieved, injured, or wronged by any manner of person in this fair, that they come with their complaints before the steward in this fair, assigned to hear and determine pleas; and they will minister to all parties justice, according to the laws of this land and the customs of this city.'

The annexed view (pl. XII *b*) of a case being tried in the Pie-powder Court, published by R. Wilkinson in 1811, is descriptive of the court determining a cause between two suitors (apparently actors) respecting some injury sustained in the fair. It is being held at the 'Hand and Shears' public-house, which still stands, where shown here, at the corner of Middle Street and Kinghorn Street, though it has been rebuilt since this view was taken. We have no record where the court was held during monastic times, but we may assume it was in the guest-house. After the suppression it was at first apparently held at the Barley Mow Tavern in Long Lane, where there was a house known as 'The Old Court House'.¹

In the Guildhall Library is a MS., known as the Smithfield Court

¹ See Vol. II, chap. xii, Cloth Fair.



THE 'HAND AND SHEARS'

(see p. 308)

b



THE PYE-POWDER COURT

(see p. 308)

Book,¹ which was the last official Court Book of the court of Piepowder. It gives :

- (1) A copy of summons issued by the court for payment for a licence.
- (2) A copy of the last appointment of the steward of the court (21 July 1840).
- (3) A copy of the notice that the court would be held at the 'Hand and Shears'.
- (4) The form of proclamation of the fair.
- (5) The prices of toll.
- (6) The warrant to take toll.
- (7) The proclamation on first opening the court.
- (8) The constable's oath administered after opening the court.
- (9) The tables of lawyers' fees.
- (10) Fees paid to the following :

The Merchant Taylors' Company . . .	11s. 2d.
The beadle of the company . . .	2s. 6d.
The Lord Mayor's officers . . .	6s. 8d.
The rector of St. Bartholomew's . . .	4s. 6d.
- (11) The Minutes of the court, including the dates when the court was held, the eve, the feast, and the morrow, which, in the first entry in the book (1790), were the 3rd, 4th, and 6th September respectively—(the new calendar having altered the dates),—the 5th being a Sunday, the fair was not held that day.
- (12) The names of the serjeants-at-mace.
- (13) The names of each licence-holder, together with the nature of his sale or show.

(In the year 1790 there were 87 licences, which realized £25 4s.; in 1812 there were 220, which realized £37 6s. In 1819 receipts from licences had fallen to £13 16s.; in 1832 to £5 18s.; in 1850 there were only 3 licences, and in 1853 only 4, which realized 10s. and 14s. respectively.)

We have no record when Bartholomew Fair was first proclaimed by the Lord Mayor. The custom probably commenced when the city first secured a share of the tolls. In the year 1598 Paul Hentzner, in his *Journey to England*, wrote : ²

'Every year it is usual for the Lord Mayor of London to ride into Smithfield, attended by 12 principal aldermen, dressed in their scarlet gowns and robes, and whenever he goes abroad a sceptre, that is to say, a mace and cap, are borne before him. When the yearly fair is proclaimed a tent is pitched, and after the ceremony is over the mob begin to wrestle before them, two at a time, and the conquerors are rewarded by money thrown from the tent. After this a parcel of wild rabbits are turned loose in the crowd,

¹ MS. Guildhall Lib., No. 95.

² B. and B., *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. x, pt. 3, p. 464.

and hunted by boys with great noise, at which the mayor and aldermen do much besport themselves. Before this time there was an old custom for the scholars of London to meet at this festival, at the priory of St. Bartholomew, to dispute in logic and grammar, upon a bank under a tree: the best of them were rewarded with silver bows and arrows.'

In the year 1549 Wriothesley¹ also refers to the Lord Mayor and aldermen riding to Bartholomew Fair in their scarlet, but he tells us that the wrestling that year had been put down by the Court of Aldermen because of the commotions in Norfolk; and no wonder, as two days before the fair the sheriffs had had to witness the hanging, beheading, and quartering of three men in connexion with Ket's rising.

When Nightingale wrote, in 1815,² the only ceremony observed was that of the Lord Mayor drinking the health of the gentlemen near him at the door of the keeper's house of Newgate, then bowing to the populace while he sat in his state carriage; he then proceeded to Smithfield, where he alighted from his carriage, entered a clothier's house on the south side of the gate, No. 59 West Smithfield (then occupied by Divett, Price, Jackson & Co.), and passed through it into Cloth Fair; from where the proclamation was read by the City Remembrancer, and after this only was it lawful to begin the fair.

There used to be a burlesque proclamation, the evening before the proclamation by the Lord Mayor, by a company of drapers and tailors who met at the 'Hand and Shears' (a title no doubt connected with the shears used in those trades), from whence they marched, shears in hand, to the archway leading from Cloth Fair into Smithfield, and announced the opening of the fair with a general shout and snapping of shears.³ From the seventeenth to early in the nineteenth century a body of blackguards, called Lady Holland's mob, used to assemble for a similar purpose⁴ and committed great excesses.

In the year 1348, it is recorded that the Black Death broke out at Bartholomew Fair and lasted until the next fair time, but we have found no record that the fair was then closed. In 1592, when over 10,600 citizens died of the plague, Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation forbidding the fair being held in Smithfield, and ordering 'that the sale of woollen clothes and linen be confined to wholesale trading only, and that all the goods should be brought within the Close-yard of St. Bartholomew's where shoppes are there contynned and have gates to shut the same place in the nightes'.⁵ The same occurred

¹ Wriothesley, *Chronicles*, ii, 21.

² Chambers, *Book of Days*, ii, 263.

³ Morley, *Barth. Fair*, 182, 348.

⁴ B. and B., *Beauties E. and W.*, 465.

⁵ Maitland, *London*, i, 275.

during the Great Plague visitations of 1603, 1625, 1630, and 1637, and in the Great Plague of 1665, when over 68,500 Londoners died.

At the suppression of the monastery in 1539, the fair continued, and in 1544 it was, with the rest of the monastery, sold to Sir Richard Rich,¹ at a price based on an annual value of £65 16s. 3d. Rich retained the fair until his death, not parting with it to Queen Mary in his grant to her of the church and monastic buildings. It descended, with the rest of the St. Bartholomew property, through his son to his grandson Robert, the 3rd Lord Rich, who, in 1612, conveyed it to his younger son Henry, created in 1624 Earl of Holland. Robert, the 3rd baron, seems to have covered the site of the fair with buildings² in a deplorable manner, for the leases of Cloth Fair houses mentioned in the survey of 1616 date from 1597 to 1612. The leases of houses in Newbury Street and Middle Street date from 1612 to 1614 and must be the ones referred to by Thomas Gundrey, who, when writing to the Earl of Middlesex in the year 1636, and speaking of the poor of the parish, said, 'which is the commodity the parish hath gotten by the Earl of Holland's building'.³

In order that the profits of the fair should not be lessened for want of space for erecting the booths, Lord Holland inserted the following clause in the leases of the houses he had crowded into Cloth Fair:

'Except and always reserved out of the present demise unto the said Robert Earl of Holland, the low room or shop of the same messuage or tenement for the space of seven days in every year during the term hereafter mentioned, that is to say the feast day of St. Bartholomew the Apostle and three days next before and three days next after the said feast, to be had and used as a booth or booths in the saide faire there by such person or persons to whom the said Robert Earl Holland shall from time to time yearly during the said seven days and for the use aforesaid let and dispose the same.'

(This example is from a lease granted by his son Robert, the 2nd Earl Holland, and his first wife Elizabeth, to John Wotten, cloth worker, of a messuage in Newman's Row, Cloth Fair, containing a cellar, a low room, a shop, two chambers and a garret;⁴ but all the leases seem to have had a similar clause.)

By a book of account in the Record Office,⁵ of the profits arising from the fair in the year 1629, it would seem that all the streets contributed their shops as booths, which brought the gross profit of the

¹ See above, p. 269.

² Some were demolished in 1914, others in 1917.

³ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 4, p. 292.

⁴ Rentals and Surv., R.O. Exhibits, Chancery bundle 18.

⁵ Rentals and Surv., 11, 5 Charles I.

fair to £96 1s., and net to £81 18s. 3d.; this was after paying £2 to the steward, £1 each to the assessor and the clerk, 10s. each to three serjeants, 15s. to the constable, 5s. to ten warders, &c.

The fair continued in the possession of the Earls of Holland until the death of Edward, the 5th Earl of Holland and 8th Earl of Warwick, in 1759, when the property reverted to William Edwardes, the younger son of Elizabeth Rich, by her marriage with F. Edwardes. The title having died out with the 5th earl, William Edwardes was created Baron Kensington of Ireland in 1776, and in 1829 his son William Edwardes, the 2nd Lord Kensington, sold his share of the fair to the mayor and commonalty of the city, the receipts from the fair at that time being probably lower than in any previous year.

The Corporation thus succeeded in acquiring complete control of the fair, but only after nearly 300 years of fruitless effort to do so; for, in the year 1553, there is a record that the Court of Aldermen appointed certain of their number to talk with Lord Rich touching the purchase of his interest in Bartholomew Fair to the city's use.¹ As the negotiations came to nothing, about ten years later a committee of aldermen was appointed to consider the formation of a new fair to be kept over and beside Bartholomew Fair,² but the scheme was not carried out.

When Robert, the 3rd Lord Rich named above, inherited the property of St. Bartholomew's in 1581, he apparently resented the city taking any part at all in even opening the fair, for, on the 16th August of that year, there is a record in the Repertories,³ that certain aldermen were to repair to Lord Rich that the Lord Mayor might, without interruption, ride into Bartholomew Fair with the sword before him as accustomed.

In 1596 the question of tolls was raised again between the city and Lord Rich, when it was resolved that 'the Recorder, the Sheriffs, and the Chamberlain should repair presently to the said Lord Rich touching the taking of tolls at the fair'⁴; and later it was resolved to 'signify unto his lordship that the city is content to stand to and abide by the composition between the late prior of the dissolved priory of St. Bartholomew and themselves made in the time of Henry VI (1453) touching the taking of tolls; more deliberation to be had hereafter'.⁵

In 1606 the Court of Aldermen appointed a committee to confer with Lord Rich concerning the purchase of all the late monastery, which it seems had been offered for sale.

¹ Repertories Guildhall, 13, f. 37, 27 Mar., 7 Edw. VI.

² *Ib.*, 15, f. 213 b.

³ *Ib.*, 20, f. 227 b, 16 Aug., 23 Eliz.

⁴ *Ib.*, 23, f. 562, 27 July.

⁵ *Ib.*, 23, f. 566, 6 Aug. 1596.

During the seventeenth century the records show that at any rate the part of the fair held outside what had been the priory walls had become disreputable and that, its duration having been extended to fourteen days, it had, in the year 1691, to be curtailed again by the Corporation to the original period of three days.¹ This was petitioned against, but the aldermen would not give way.² Before the time of the Commonwealth, St. Bartholomew's Day was still a great religious festival. John Stephens, writing in the year 1631 in *New Essays and Characters*,³ says, 'Like a bookseller's shop on Bartholomew's Day in London the stalls of which are so adorned with Bibles and prayer books that almost nothing is left within but heathen knowledge'. During the time of the Commonwealth all plays and interludes at the fair were stopped by the Act of 1647, but only to break out again with greater licence at the Restoration. The centre of the vice and immorality would seem to have been in the Long Walk and cloister of the hospital.

In the eighteenth century the Corporation made a great effort to put an end to the scandals of Bartholomew Fair and the Lady Fair of Southwark. In 1735 the Court of Common Council resolved that the fair, which had been extended—as mentioned above—to fourteen days, should be restricted to the eve, the day, and the morrow, and to the sale of goods; also that no acting should be permitted.⁴ Great resistance was offered to the enforcement of these regulations, so much so that in 1736 theatrical booths were again allowed, and later on the fair was extended to four days.

In December of the year 1760, the committee for letting the city lands were directed to inquire⁵ by what grants and authority Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs were held, who were interested in the fairs, and what perquisites or emoluments belonged to any of the city officers on account of those fairs. In the following August (1761) the committee presented their report.⁶ After quoting from Stow, the brief of Edward I in his 20th year (1292), and the settlement of Henry VI in his 32nd year (1453), they reported that William Edwardes of Johnson, near Haverford West, who was the owner of the benefits of the fair, said that if the fair was suppressed his estate would be greatly reduced in value, and that he could not consent to yield up his interest without a very considerable sum of money by way

¹ Repertories Guildhall, 94, f. 400 and 410.

² *Ib.*, 94, f. 419.

³ J. T. Smith, *Anc. Topog. of London*.

⁴ Min. Proceed. C.C.C. (printed), 1839, p. 244.

⁵ Journ. C.C.C., No. 62, f. 180 b, 3 Dec.

⁶ *Ib.*, 62, f. 260, 21 Aug.

of compensation.¹ The committee compiled a list of the fees received for the several shows, which consisted of five drolls, four puppet shows, two waxworks, one wild-beast show and one crocodile show, which, with stalls £4 15s. and roundabouts 12s., amounted to £56 5s. 6d., and they concluded by recommending that counsel's opinion be taken as to how far the city's powers might extend for suppressing the fairs. Counsel's opinion, i.e. that of the Recorder and of the Common Serjeant, was that it would be difficult to suppress the fairs legally without Parliament, but that the magistrates had powers to stop nuisances,² and this power it was resolved to put into force. Consequently in the following year the plays and drolls were prohibited, but again there was a disturbance in which the deputy City Marshal lost his life.

William Hone, in his *Every-day Book*, gives an excellent account of his visit to Bartholomew Fair on Monday, the 5th September, 1825.³ He shows how there were uncovered stalls on both sides of Giltspur Street, as far as Newgate Street. The covered stalls extended from Giltspur Street to Cock Lane, then to Hosier Lane, and from thence all along the west side of Smithfield to the Cow Lane corner. They then extended from the corner leading to John Street, Clerkenwell, to Smithfield Bars, and there ended. On the west side from the Bars these covered stalls went to Long Lane, and thence on the east side of Smithfield to the great gate of Cloth Fair. Crossing Duke Street (now Little Britain) they went to the great front gate of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and so on till they joined the uncovered stalls in Giltspur Street. These covered stalls had their fronts facing the houses with the pavement between; and here were sold gingerbread, oysters,⁴ hardwear, trinkets, and such-like. The shows of all kinds had their fronts towards the area of Smithfield, and their backs close against the backs of the covered stalls; thus leaving the area of Smithfield entirely open. They completely surrounded Smithfield, except on the north side, where no stalls were allowed to be erected. The sheep-pens occupied the centre of the area, and yet, although no vehicle of any kind was permitted to pass, this large unobstructed carriage way was so thronged as to be wholly impassable.

Hone describes each of the shows, but, being all in St. Sepulchre's parish, they hardly refer to the history of St. Bartholomew's. The

¹ From a rental and survey of the year 1629 in the R.O. it appears that at that time the net profits to Lord Holland from the fair were £81 18s. 3d.

² Journ. C.C.C., No. 62, f. 340.

³ Vol. i, p. 1169.

⁴ As the fair was still being held according to the Old Style Calendar in 1825, it fell in September instead of August, so that oysters were in season.

more serious business of the Cloth Market was held in Cloth Fair, the whole parish being protected at that time by locked gates.

The city continued its exertions to end the fair in the nineteenth century, until it was successful in 1854.

In 1816 the Court of Common Council resolved:¹ 'That it be referred to the committee for letting the city's lands to take into consideration the expediency and practicability of immediately abolishing Bartholomew Fair.' The committee reported that it was expedient to abolish the fair, but, as stated in 1761, it could not be abolished without the aid of Parliament, but that it was not improbable that Parliament might be induced to comply with such an application on the parties interested being compensated. There were, however, legal difficulties in the matter, as seen in the Recorder's opinion on this occasion. He pointed out that fairs and markets were granted because they were beneficial to the public, so that a non-user would not suppress the fair, but would enable the king to regrant the fair to some one else. For the same reason no agreement with Mr. Edwardes [Lord Kensington]² would avail the city.

Nine years later, in 1825,³ the Council again referred the matter to the same committee to report whether any and if so what measures could be taken for the removal of any nuisances existing in the same fair or for its ultimate suppression; but after considering their further report the court ordered that the fair should be held as usual.

However, on the 11th May, 1829, the City Lands Committee reported⁴ in favour of 'purchasing Lord Kensington's interest in the Pie-powder Court at Bartholomew Fair and other Droits there'. This report was thereupon 'read, agreed to, and referred back for execution', and in 1830 the purchase was carried through.

The Corporation now possessed Lord Kensington's moiety of the tolls as well as their own, but still there were the difficulties of suppressing the fair which the Recorder had pointed out; so, apparently forgetful of the report of 1761, they again, in the year 1830, directed⁵ the committee for letting the city's lands to inquire and report by what authority, and under what charter, if any existed, Bartholomew Fair was annually held, and also if any and what means could be adopted for speedily and effectually abolishing the scandalous and abominable nuisance.

But still the fair went on. The Corporation tried increasing the

¹ Min. Proceed. C.C.C. (printed), p. 95, 10 June, 1816.

² He had succeeded his father as 2nd Lord Kensington in 1801.

³ Min. Proceed. C.C.C., p. 92, 28 July 1825.

⁴ Ib., p. 44, 11 May 1829.

⁵ Ib., p. 172, 10 Dec. 1830.

tolls for stalls, which had the effect of increasing the income from the fair, but not of discontinuing the stalls.

In 1839 the committee of the London City Mission petitioned the Corporation for the suppression of the fair,¹ when the matter was referred to the Market Committee, who, in turn, referred it to Mr. Solicitor (Charles Pearson).² Pearson, in his report,³ disagreed with counsel's opinion (to which we have referred above) and considered that the fair could be ended without parliamentary powers: just as May Fair, which was a grant to the Abbot of Westminster, and Lady Fair, Southwark, which was held by a grant to the Corporation, both of which had been the scenes of practices as disgraceful as those that prevailed at Smithfield, had been suppressed without the aid of Parliament. Pearson showed that, as the interests of Lord Kensington in the fair were, in the year 1830, purchased by the Corporation, and were now held by the Chamberlain of London and the Town Clerk as trustees, all the rights of the fair were now vested in the Corporation.

Pearson argued that the fair was granted for the purpose of trade for the good of the public, and that, if the Corporation were satisfied that the interests of the public could not be otherwise protected than by confining the fair strictly to this original object and purpose, they might undoubtedly do so. By abridging the duration to two clear days, and by refusing to let standings for show booths, they would prepare the way for the fair's natural death, and not many years would elapse before the Corporation would be able to omit to proclaim the fair and thus suppress it altogether; and they could do that without exciting any feeling among the public that the Corporation were improperly interfering with the recreations of the humbler classes of the community.

In an excellent *résumé* of the history of the fair, Pearson showed how the depressed state of the revenues of the Corporation in the eighteenth century had compelled them to tolerate the irregularities which occurred there, for the Sword-bearer and other city officers were partly paid out of the proceeds of the fair. He showed how the result had been that gambling-houses were freely licensed, disgusting scenes of all descriptions publicly exhibited, and the most profligate vices of every kind openly practised; while the violence of Lady Holland's mob often broke out in frightful excesses and spread consternation and terror around, so that the fair was frequently presented by the Grand Jury as a nuisance.

¹ Min. Proceed. C.C.C., 26 Sept. 1839.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, p. 243, 2 July 1840.

On July 2nd, 1840, the court adopted Mr. Solicitor's report on the recommendation of the Market Committee, and at once the opening of the fair in state was discontinued and theatrical representations once more excluded. In 1843 shows of any kind were prohibited, though, as a sop to the public, arrangements were made for their continuance in Britannia Fields, Hoxton.¹ In 1850 the mayor found no fair worth proclaiming, so after that time the reading of the proclamation was left to the city officials; and by 1854 the natural death which Mr. Solicitor had foretold came to pass. The last entry in the Smithfield Court Book is:

'September 2nd, 1854. The Lord Mayor not having proclaimed Bartholomew Fair the court of Pie-powder consequently was not held.

'George Martin, Steward.'

¹ Walford, *Fairs*, p. 241.

CHAPTER XII

POSSESSIONS OF THE MONASTERY AND ITS SEALS

THE CONVENTUAL SEALS

BEFORE detailing the other possessions of the monastery, it would seem fitting briefly to describe the seals struck from time to time by the prior and convent, with which the acts and deeds of the convent were sealed in chapter (pl. XIII).

The seals, with the exception of Rahere's, are described in the catalogue of seals in the department of MSS. in the British Museum, and those descriptions are here followed with a few additional notes as to where the seals occur, the reference numbers from the catalogue being shown within brackets.

I. Rahere's is a circular seal measuring $2\frac{1}{10}$ in. in diameter.¹ It represents the south side of a church with four round-headed windows and a high-pitched tiled roof. There is an eastern chapel with a similar, though lower, roof and a cross at its eastern end. Three round towers are shown with conical roofs and projecting eaves. The centre tower is higher than the others, is surmounted by a cross, and has two small windows. The legend round the seal is imperfect, the impression being broken at the top. It runs :

... VM CONVEN. ECCLE. DI. ET S. BARTHOLOMEI
DE SM.

(*Sigillum conventus ecclesiae Dei et Sancti Bartholomei de Smethfelde*—the seal of the convent of the church of God and of St. Bartholomew of Smithfield).

The only impression known of this seal is attached to a deed² in the possession of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whereby Rahere and the convent, in the year 1137, appointed Hagno to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's. The other impression attached to the same deed is apparently that of the seal of the hospital, which had its own separate seals.

II. [3488]. This is also a twelfth-century seal, measuring, when perfect, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. It represents St. Bartholomew with a nimbus lifting up the right hand in benediction, with a shaft sur-

¹ Figured in *Archaeologia*, xix, 49.

² Referred to above, p. 77.



I



II



IV



IV reverse



V



III



VI

THE CONVENTUAL SEALS
(see vol. i, p. 318; vol. ii, pp. 4, 107)

mounted by a cross in the left hand. The figure of the saint is shown half-length above a section, or the west front, of a church with two round-headed arches flanked by two circular towers with conical roofs and small windows; between the arches is a circular centre tower with a window in the upper story surmounted by a cross. (The towers are very similar to those in Rahere's seal No. I above.)

The impression, which is attached to a grant by Prior Peter le Duc, in 1242, is damaged in the lower part.¹ The legend runs :

✠ SIGILL. CONV . . . S ECC . . . HOLO . . . I DE LVDON

(*Sigillum conventus ecclesiae sancti Bartholomei Apostoli de Lunden*). It also occurs among the charters at the hospital in 1198 and 1289.²

III. [3489]. This is a small circular counter-seal measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. It represents a church with a high-pitched roof surmounted by a tower with one fair-sized window and a cross at the left gable end of the roof and two narrow round-headed arches in the wall. The church is standing on a ship of antique shape with curved prows which terminate at each end of the ship, which is on the sea, in a bird's head. In the field on either side of the tower is the inscription NAVIS ECCL'IE, and on the left a wavy estoile of six points, and on the right a crescent. The legend, which is well preserved, runs :

SIGILL' PRIORIS ECCLESIE SCĪ BARTOLOMEI.

The impression of this seal is attached to the same deed as II above.

IV. [3492]. This is called the Common Seal of the convent and probably dates from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.³ On the obverse is represented St. Bartholomew seated on a carved throne (somewhat resembling the throne on the obverse of the Great Seal of Edward I); in the right hand is a book, in the left a flaying knife uplifted. In the field on the left is a crescent and on the right an estoile, each between two groups of three small spots. Around is the legend :

SIGILLVM COMMVNE PRIOR' ET CŌVĒTVS SCĪ
BARTHOLOMEI LONDON'.

On the reverse of the seal is depicted a church with a central crocketed spire, a cross at each gable end, masoned walls imitating ashlar work and traceried windows. The church is standing on a ship on the sea,

¹ St. Paul's Lib. 1358.

² Moore, *Hist. St. B.'s Hosp.* i, 528. Good impression shown.

³ Engraved in *Vet. Mon.* ii, pl. 36.

with a castle at each end of the ship. In the field at the sides is the inscription—*NAVIS ECCL' E*. The legend with beaded borders is :

CREDIMVS : ANTE : DEVM : PROVEHI : PER :
BARTHOLOMEVM.

(We believe that we are brought into the presence of God by the aid of St. Bartholomew.)

An impression of this seal is attached to a deed dated 25th September 16 Richard II (1392);¹ another is attached to a Harleian Charter dated in the chapter-house, 7th December, 25 Henry VIII (1533);² it is also an impression of this seal that is affixed to the surrender of the monastery, 25th October, 1539.³

V. [3495]. A seal *ad causas*; ⁴ it is a pointed oval measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., and is apparently of the fourteenth century. It represents St. Bartholomew standing on a corbel with a flaying knife in the right hand and a long shaft surmounted by a cross in his left hand. The impression is imperfect; all that remains of the legend is :

... ET CONV ... THOL'I LOND AD CAVS ...

(*Sigillum Prioris et Conventus Sancti Bartholomei London ad causas*).

We have met with no impression of this seal other than the cast in the British Museum. It would have been engraved to append to decisions of the prior and convent in matters of minor importance.

VI. [3496]. The seal of the Dominican, Preaching or Black Friars, set up here by Queen Mary 1555-58.⁵ It is a pointed oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. It represents St. Bartholomew standing with nimbus; in the right hand is the knife and in the left hand a book; the figure is under a dome-shaped canopy of the style of the Renaissance supported by two pilasters. In the exergue ⁶ is a floral ornament. The legend, with an inner border beaded, runs :

SIGILLV : COVET : S'CTI : BARTHOLOMEI : ORDINIS :
FRATRV : PREDICATORV : LODO :

(The seal of the convent of St. Bartholomew of the order of the Preaching Friars, London).

The matrix of this seal is in the possession of the rector and churchwardens of the church.⁷

¹ Allen, *London*, iii, 645.

² See above, p. 253.

³ See above, p. 284.

⁴ Small space below principal device on a coin or seal.

⁵ See above, p. 284.

⁶ See above, p. 246.

⁷ i.e., for ordinary business purposes.

The main sources of information regarding the possessions of the monastery are :

A charter of Henry II—*cir.* 1176,¹ enumerating the grants made by his grandfather, Henry I, and since.

Another charter of the same king—1187.²

A charter of Richard I—1190.³ (These three charters are practically identical.)

A charter of Henry III—1253.⁴

The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV—*cir.* 1291 (see the end of this chapter⁵).

The Rent Roll in the Bodleian Library—1306.⁶

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*—1535-6 (see the end of this chapter⁷).

The *Computi Ministrorum* (Ministers' Accounts)—1440-1 (see the end of this chapter⁸).

As the Bodleian Rental is the fullest of all the records, the order there adopted has been followed here in the description of the possessions.

By the Rental we find that the monastery possessed in London and in the counties 12 churches, 6 vicarages or rectories, 12 manors, 3 windmills, and rents and tenements in 53 London parishes, besides rents in the country.

The total gross income of the monastery, as given in the *Valor* of 1535 (four years before the suppression), was £773 os. 1½*d.*, and the total net income £693 os. 10*d.*, of which £451 3*s.* 7*d.* was derived from London. The valuation, made a year after the suppression, 1540-1, in the Ministers' Accounts, was not completed.

The valuation in Tunstall's spiritual benefices in the year 1522 is given as 'land and possessions 600 marks, goods 400 marks'.⁹

The following particulars of the possessions of the monastery outside the monastic walls are given in some detail; also the customs that prevailed in them because, apart from St. Bartholomew's, they are of general topographical and antiquarian interest. The particulars have been extracted and translated mainly from the Bodleian Rental of 1306, which is also printed *in extenso* in Appendix I; p. 428.

¹ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6; also above, p. 101.

² *Ib.*, p. 481, Chart. No. 8.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 127, 482, Chart. No. 10.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 485, Chart. No. 16; also below, p. 380.

⁵ See below, p. 378.

⁶ See below, p. 380.

⁶ App. I, p. 428.

⁸ Aug. Off. Ministers' Accts., 32 Hen. VIII, 2396, m. 121-126. See below, p. 384.

⁹ 10 Aug., 14 Hen. VIII, Malcolm, *Lond. Red.*, i, 285. The Valuation in Harl. MS. 60 is merely a copy of the *Taxatio Eccles.* Arnold, *Chron.* 249 (*cir.* 1519), gives the temporalities as £90 13*s.* 4*d.* only. See p. 230.

SUFFOLK

IN LITTLE YARMOUTH (called *Fernemuta*¹ and *Gernemutha*² in the records), in the hundred of Lothingland (Luddyingeland,³ Lugthing-launde),² the prior and convent held the church of Little Yarmouth,¹ with the chapel of Northville adjoining, by gift of Henry I, which, like the church in Great Yarmouth, was dedicated in honour of St. Nicholas.³ This church of St. Nicholas was in the hamlet of South Town, which, with that of West Town, was known as Little Yarmouth.⁴ It adjoins Gorleston and is connected with Great Yarmouth by a bridge over the Yare. There were no greater tithes (says the Rental) except as regards $3\frac{1}{2}$ ac. in Le Spitelcroft, abutting at the northern end on the close of the friary of the brothers of the order of St. Augustine. The profits of the church consisted entirely of oblations, lesser tithes, and sea fisheries. The church and chapel, with a share of the vicarage, were assessed, for Pope Nicholas in 1291,⁵ at £8 13s. 4d., and were considered worth £20 in 1306.⁶ The vicar received as his share a moiety of all revenues from the church and land, and bore the extraordinary charges, which affected his share, as well as the ordinary charges, as repairs to the chancel, the books and ornaments of the church and chapel. The nomination to the vicarage was with the Bishop of Norwich, who sent the new vicar to the prior and convent to be presented to their share of the vicarage. When instituted the vicar took the oath of fealty to the prior and convent, as did the chaplains of the chantry chapel of Northville.

The house of the Austin Friars referred to above was partly in the parish of Little Yarmouth and partly in that of Gorleston, and went by the name of both places. It was founded some time before the year 1261,⁷ when, in order that the churches of St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, and St. Andrew, Gorleston, should not suffer injury by the advent of the friars, a composition was made between William the provincial prior of the Austin Friars and Gilbert (de Weledon) (1261–63), the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, to whom both the churches belonged, whereby William promised to Gilbert and the vicars of these churches 13s. 4d. a year by way of compensation for the loss

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 428, from which these particulars are taken.

² Tax. Eccles. 116 b.

³ App. I, Cart., No. 15, Hen. III.

⁴ B. and B., *Beauties E. and W.* xiv, 398.

⁵ Tax. Eccles., p. 116.

⁶ Rent Bodl., p. 428.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, vol. viii, p. 1602, says latter end of reign of Edw. I, 1272–1307, but Gilbert, who is mentioned, was not prior after 1263, and Richard, Earl of Gloucester, was buried there in 1261.

of tithes,¹ including apparently, for the deed is in bad condition, an agreement that the parishioners were not to attend mass at the Friary. The 13s. 4d. for oblations in the *Valor* of 1535 and in the *Computi Ministrorum* of 1541 is probably this payment.

C. J. Palmer in his *Perlustrations of Yarmouth*² says that the benefices of West Town and South Town (Little Yarmouth) were consolidated with the vicarage of Gorleston in the year 1511; Lewis in his *Topographical Dictionary*³ says 1520; neither give their authorities. Lewis says the parochial church dedicated to St. Nicholas fell into decay; but Palmer says that St. Nicholas became the conventual church of the Austin Friary, which, in the face of the Twyne record (above) of compensation made by the friary to St. Nicholas, and from Palmer saying that it was 'at some distance from the friary', seems most improbable. That St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth, was consolidated with St. Andrew, Gorleston, in 1511 or 1520, accounts for the church not being mentioned in the *Valor* of 1535. There are no remains of the church now extant.

Reference has already been made to the relics from St. Bartholomew's being brought to the oratory of St. Nicholas.⁴ There then remains the question of the church of 'St. Mary *ultra pontem*', demolished in 1548, the site of which Palmer says was to the south of the present railway station on the west side of the road. That there was a church of St. Mary here is shown by a lease in the Record Office to Edward Weldon, dated the 22nd August, 27 Henry VIII (1535), of certain glebe lands at Gorleston in which the 'oblations, tithes, and other profits of St. Mary's near the bridge of Yarmouth' were specially excepted. Also among the grants to Fuller by Henry VIII in 1541 occurs 'oblations in St. Mary's chapel of Yarmouth, Norfolk'⁵ (an evident mistake for Suffolk, as St. Bartholomew's had no property in Norfolk, though a small portion of South Town does happen to be included in Norfolk).⁶ Probably these are the same oblations which were withheld from the lease of 1535. Palmer says this church of St. Mary was demolished in 1548 and that the stones were used in constructing the pier at the haven's mouth, and that no vestige of the edifice remains.⁷ Human remains have occasionally been found on the site of the graveyard of the church.

Nearly opposite, on the east side of the road, the present small

¹ The archives of Oxford, Twyne, MS. vol. ii, pp. 98, 99, Deed IV. The author is indebted to the keeper of the archives and to the Rev. H. E. Salter for a description of the two pages of the lost cartulary of the friary.

² iii, 273.

⁴ Book of Found. i, cap. xxv, below, p. 403.

⁶ Palmer, *Perlustrations*, p. 300.

³ p. 152.

⁵ See above, p. 259.

⁷ *Ib.*, 273.

church of St. Mary was erected under the Church Building Act, 5 George IV, and was consecrated in 1831.¹

As, from the above evidence, it is clear that this church of St. Mary belonged to St. Bartholomew's, we may reasonably assume that it was 'the chapel of Northville adjoining' Little Yarmouth granted to St. Bartholomew's by Henry I referred to above.

The profits of the sea fisheries mentioned were known as 'Christ's Dole'. In the fourteenth century they were withheld, but restored by the king on petition in 1322-3, as has been already fully described.² In 1409 we learn from the grant of indulgences by the pope that 'on account of the frequent impulse of the sea and its floods many possessions of the monastery in the parish of "Sowthton" of Jernemuth had been so much destroyed that for several years the prior had received little or nothing from them'.³

In GORLESTON,⁴ adjoining Little Yarmouth, the prior and convent held the church, also by grant of Henry I,⁵ 'with other churches and chapels in Luddyingeland':⁶ such as, no doubt, St. Nicholas just referred to, Lowestoft and Beleton, all of which, with Gorleston, are referred to in Testa de Nevill as being held of the king by Master Alan de Stok, who paid to the canons of St. Bartholomew's 10 marks a year, and were then worth 100 marks.⁷ The church of Gorleston was assessed at £20 both in 1291⁸ and in 1306;⁴ but it is not mentioned in 1535. The vicarage was assessed at £6 13s. 4d. in 1291,⁸ but the Rental says it was worth £20 in 1306,⁴ whilst in 1540-1 it was valued at £8⁹ only. The prior and convent presented the new vicar, who paid the prior and convent an annual rent of 15s.⁴ The friars (as above) on account of their house having been built partly in Gorleston parish, also paid a yearly rent of 13s. 4d.,⁴ as agreed at the time of their foundation. The list of presentations by the prior and convent from 1335 is recorded in the porch of Gorleston church at the present time.

The prior and convent also held the manor of Gorleston by gift of the same king, as glebe of the churches of Yarmouth and Gorleston. The close of the manor, with orchard and grass land, was valued at 2s. a year; and 40 acres of demesne land at 60s. a year.^{10 11} Henry of

¹ Mr. Zouch H. Turton supplied this and other information about St. Mary's.

² See p. 151.

³ See p. 197.

⁴ App. I, Rent Bodl., p. 428.

⁵ Test. Nev. 285 b, and Suckling, Suff. i, 72, are wrong in saying Henry II.

⁶ App. I, Chart. No. 6, p. 479.

⁷ Test. Nev., pp. 296 b, 300 b, 285 b.

⁸ Tax. Eccles., p. 116 b.

⁹ Min. Accts., 2396, m. 121-126.

¹⁰ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 429.

¹¹ Hund. R., 3 Edw. I, Lothingland Hund., No. 1, m. 28 (printed ii, 182), says 12 acres held by the prior of 'Smythfeld'.

Yarmouth paid 2s. rent for his windmill, and Lord John Bacun had been in the habit of paying the priory 1s. 6d. for the site of his mill; but Prior Hugh¹ had, without the convent, agreed with Bacun to forgo this 1s. 6d. during his life, and also to let him have an acre of the demesne lands in exchange for an acre of Bacun's land for the same term.²

The total value of Gorleston church and manor is given in the Rental as £23 4s. only, taking no account of the items £6 13s. 4d., 15s., and 13s. 4d. mentioned above.

In the *Valor* of 1535 the manor of Gorleston is valued at £8, but in the Ministers' Accounts of 1541, it is the farm (or lease) of the rectory there that is valued at £8. It consisted of glebe lands, tithes, and profits which were leased to Edward Weldon, 22nd August, 27 Henry VIII (1535).

In the year 1341 there was trouble between the parish church and the friary because there is a deed in the fragment of the Twyne MS., referred to above,³ recording 'the citation by William de Bergeveny, S.T.D., regent at Oxford and others appointed judges delegate by the pope, of Dom Jacobus, perpetual vicar of Gorleston, and Thomas, son of Richard of K[], parish priest of the said church, to appear before the Bishop of Exeter in the church of St. Frideswide, Oxford, on the fourth law day after St. Luke, to answer to Robert, Prior of the Austin Friars of Little Yarmouth, on the matters which would be put forth against them'; but what those matters were we are not told.

In LOWESTOFT, variously called in the records Lowescost, Leystoke, Lowestofte, the prior and convent held the church by grant of Henry I, together with the vicarage. The church was valued, in 1291, at £4 13s. 4d. and the vicarage at £4 6s. 8d. In 1306 they were said to be worth £6 and £20 respectively, but in 1535 and 1541⁴ the church is not mentioned and the rectory is valued at £4⁵ only, at which sum there was a lease running at the time of the suppression granted by Prior Bolton.⁶ The right of nomination at a vacancy was with the Bishop of Norwich,⁷ the prior and convent presenting the nominee,⁸ who made an oath of fealty like the vicar of Little Yarmouth. The

¹ Called Prior Henry in the Rental by error, above, p. 133; see also App. I, p. 429.

² The Rental says the worth of church and manor is £23 4s., but the above items amount to £31 5s. 8d.

³ Deeds I, II, V.

⁴ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁵ Suckling, Suff., gives value at suppression of church and vicarage as £44 4s. 5½d.

⁶ Aug. Off. Con. Leases, p. 287.

⁷ In 1384, the king having seized the temporalities, the Bishop of Norwich nominated William Smogger: Cal. Pat. 382.

⁸ In 1407 the prior presented Alan Glebe: Cal. Pat. 318.

vicar, besides the usual charges, repaired the books and ornaments and the chancel of the church.

There were no demesne lands, excepting where the tithe barn stood. The prior and convent received 6s. 10d. for rent of the glebe from the freemen and villeins there, besides 10 cocks and hens paid yearly by the tenants, worth 1s. 3d. The amount of the church, rent, and fowls is given in the Rental as £6 8s. 1d. Exact particulars are given in the Rental of what each villein paid, thus :

Thomas son of Walter for a messuage and 5½ acres paid 1s. 5d. and 2 hens and 1 cock ;

and so with the freemen :

John de Goseford and Henry Basset held 1 acre of land and they ought to pay 3½d. a year and 1 cock, 'but,' the Rental adds, 'they do nothing.'

William Reginald for ½ acre paid ½d. yearly and did fealty for it before Lords John and Robert Bacon, John de Gorleston, John May and William de Leegh, vicar of Gorleston and Lowestoft, but William said he did not know for what land he paid it.

When the villeins brought their cocks and hens to Lowestoft on St. Stephen's Day they were entitled to a meal of the lord and other customs, but they did no work.¹

After the suppression, viz. in 1542, the rectory² was leased by the king to William Burnell of London.³

In BELTON (Beleton),⁴ about four miles to the south-west of Gorleston, the prior and convent held the church there according to the confirming charter of Henry III in the year 1229;⁵ it is associated with the churches of Little Yarmouth, Gorleston, and Lowestoft, for which Alan de Stok paid 10 marks to St. Bartholomew's;⁶ though in the *Taxatio* it is not marked as being annexed to any monastic house, neither is it mentioned in the Rental; but it appears by a *Quare impedit*⁷ brought by the king against the Bishop of Norwich in the year 1345-6 that the prior had, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), alienated the advowson in mortmain without the king's licence to a predecessor of the bishop, and that therefore the right to present accrued to the king,⁸ and thus was lost to the priory before the Rental was composed in 1306.

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 430.

² Called a vicarage in the *Taxatio*, p. 116.

³ Cal. State Papers, vol. xvii, p. 703.

⁴ Chart. Rolls, 13 Hen. III, pt. 1, m. 4, No. 15.

⁵ App. I, p. 484, No. 15.

⁶ See above, p. 324.

⁷ A *Quare impedit* is a writ lying for him who has purchased an advowson, against a person who disturbs him in his right of advowson by presenting a clerk thereto when the church is void. Jacob, *Law Dictionary*.

⁸ Year Book, 20 Edw. III, pt. 1, p. 102, No. 31.

At WENHASTON (Wenlacston,¹ Wenhastone,² Wennachester,³ Wen-naxton⁴), the prior and convent had the chapel of St. Bartholomew by grant of the ancestors of Geoffrey of Wenlacstone,⁵ situated in his demesne lands. They had to find a chaplain to celebrate one day in every week.

The Wenhaston MS. in possession of St. Peter's Church there states that 'the chapell of Sainte bartholomew payeth in the daye of the solemnite of the aforesayd Saynte unto the chappelen of the mother church (St. Peter's) yerlly iiiis iiiid and the aforesayd Chappelane shall celebrate everie weke ons (once) there and shall take in the aforesayd solemne daye a sufficient candeale to celebrate by the yere (but the prior of sainte bartholomue's shall ffynde vestimentes copes and an hanging lampe for to kepe the lyght) and shall uphoulde the chapel in all thyngs'.

Nothing was attached to the chapel (except the oblations made on St. Bartholomew's Day, which were worth 10s.) besides the salary of the chaplain and the expenses of the bailiff who came to collect the oblations.¹ This is from the Rental, otherwise it is mentioned only in the charter of 1 Richard I (1190), where it is stated that the chapel was by the gift of Geoffrey.⁶

The chapel was situated in Bartholomew Lane, Wenhaston,⁷ but is now totally destroyed; though a field there is still called the 'chapel piece'. A sketch of the building made in the year 1629 was in 1894 in the possession of the late Rev. J. B. Clare, at that time vicar of Wenhaston.

The worth of this chapel and all the above churches and chapels in Suffolk is totalled in the Rental at this point at £40 12s. 1d., but it is impossible to say how the figures are arrived at. The chapel was allotted to the bailiff of the priory. At Wenhaston the prior and convent had, by gift of Geoffrey son of Ailwin, a moiety of the church there, for which the prior and convent of St. Mary's, Blythburgh, paid them 56s. 8d. as an annual pension payable half-yearly in the conventual church of Holy Trinity, Ipswich.⁸

We have already seen⁹ that Prior Hugh, in the year 1287, had to take action, terminated by fine. In 1410 Prior John Watford, to

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 430.

² Tax. Eccles., p. 116.

³ App. I, Chart. No. 6.

⁴ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁵ App. I, Charter 10, p. 482, says by gift of Geoffrey son of Ailwin.

⁶ App. I, No. 10, p. 482.

⁷ *Wenhaston Parish Record*, by Rev. J. B. Clare (Gale, Halesworth).

⁸ There is no record of this grant of the moiety of the church of Wenhaston in the Blythburgh Cartulary (now in a private library).

⁹ See above, p. 137.

enforce this annual payment, which was in arrears, had to issue a writ against the Prior of Blythburgh upon the fine, at which time the advowson of Wenhaston was valued at 40 marks.¹

In the *Taxatio* of 1291 'a portion of the church of Wenhaston' is valued at £2 16s. 8d., and in the *Valor* of 1535 'the church of Wenhaston' is entered at 30s. only; but in the Ministers' Accounts of 1541, the monastery of Blythburgh having been suppressed and the pension extinguished, there is no entry. This pension of 56s. 8d. in the year 1306 went to the cellarer of the priory.

ESSEX

In NEWPORT,² according to the *Taxatio* of 1291, the prior and convent had, in lands and rents, £6 os. 1½d., but we have found no mention of this in the Rental, charters, or other records.

The MANOR OF SHORTGROVE (Sortegrave), which is in the parish of Newport, may be the lands referred to. Here the prior and convent held, according to the charter of Henry II, two hides by gift of Milo de Verdun and William de Nineris;³ but according to the charter of Henry III they held lands and rents there of the fee of Henry de Merc and William de Verdun.

A fine, of the year 1226,⁴ records an agreement concerning a carucate of land in Shortgrove, whereby Henry de Merc warranted the same to the prior and convent in frankalmoign as the prior had it of the gift of Ailtrobus de Merc, the father of Henry de Merc, whose heir he was, paying yearly certain gilt spurs or the sum of 6d. The prior was to receive the said Henry and his heirs into all benefits of the church of St. Bartholomew.

In 1306 this manor⁵ was valued at £19 2s. 8½d. net a year, made up as follows:

	£	s.	d.
200 acres of arable land	12	0	0
The manor close with dovecot, orchard and pasture	10	0	
6 acres of meadow	1	4	0
5 acres of pasture	15	0	
Pasture for 100 sheep	10	0	
Rent of assize from free tenants and villeins.	2	9	1
Works of free tenants	1	16	0½
Rent for the view of frankpledge	2	0	
Pleas and perquisites of the court	6	8	

£19 12 9½

¹ Year Book, 11 Hen. IV, p. 68.

² About 4 miles south of Saffron Walden.

³ App. I, Chart. No. 6, p. 479; also above, p. 102.

⁴ Feet of Fines, Essex, 9 Hen. III, n. 143.

⁵ According to the Rental of 1306 the manor was then held of Thomas de Merc, s. and h. of Andrew de Merc. App. I, p. 431.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Brought forw.:</i>	19	12	9½
Less the following outgoings:			
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
To Sir Reginald de Grey for the manor of Depden ¹ (Deepedene) of 20 acres . . .	3	6	
To Robert Lenveyse for lands, etc., at Wid-dington . . .	4	1	
To the parish church of Newport for the lesser tithes by agreement with the prior and convent of St. Martin's le Grand, who owned the prebend and tithes . . .	2	0	
(Some other rent not detailed) . . .		6	
	—		
		10	1
	<i>£</i> 19	2	8½

In 1525,² the Manor of Shortgrove was valued at £10 only, at which sum, at the time of the suppression, there was a lease running of the mansion called 'Shortgrove Hall in the parish of Newporte and Wydyngton'. It had been granted by Prior Fuller, 20th July, 26 Henry VIII (1534) to John Wykham.³

The Rental sets out in detail the rents and services of the 11 freemen of the manor, and also of the 23 villeins; and these will be found in the rental in Appendix I.⁴ The following are a few examples:

The master of the hospital of St. Leonard of Newport paid for a dyke, called Longmade dyke, 3*d.* a year. Stephen, a clerk of Newport, held 4 acres and paid 8*s.* a year, and owed suit at the view of frankpledge. (The word *secta* is written in the margin of the Rental in many cases, which implies that attendance was due at the manorial court.) Katharine Attehill paid 2*s.* a year for a messuage, and had to find a man for two days' harvesting.

Among the villeins or freemen holding in villeinage:

Adam son of Eustace held a messuage and paid only a capon a year. Martin Bercer, for a messuage of 3 acres, paid 3*s.* a year and 1 hen and 3 eggs, and had to find a labourer for 3 days' harvesting. Sabina le Gold held 2 messuages and ½ acre, and paid 3*s.* 8*d.*, 1 hen, and 4½ eggs. Acins held 3 acres with a messuage, and paid 2*s.* 8*d.* a year, and with his co-owners he paid a hen at Christmas and 3½ eggs

¹ Valued at 10*s.* (Tax. Eccles., p. 29); now Debden, near Newport.

² Valor Eccles. i, 407.

³ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396: a 60 years' lease had been granted by Prior Bolton to Robert Harvey, 14 May, 12 Hen. VIII (1520); Aug. Off. Con. Leases, Nos. 231, 275.

⁴ p. 431.

at Easter, and did 3 days' harvesting in the autumn. He also held another 3 acres and a messuage, for which he did one day's work a week, paid 3 eggs and found a labourer for 6 days' harvesting. He further held a piece of meadow for which he reaped half an acre of oats. When this man and his fellows mowed the prior's meadow, they were entitled to a breakfast of bread, cheese, and beer.

All the tenants who paid hens to the prior were entitled to have, for every 6 acres of harvesting, one acre of stubble of the lord; and for every 3 acres, half an acre of stubble. Those who did work during the whole year within the close of the manor were entitled to a loaf. The lord had to give the harvesters, during three days, one meal a day, with ale on one day and water on the others.

The total receivable from the manor was 50s. 1d. in rents; and 8 capons, 16 hens, and 50 eggs, worth then 3s. 2d.; 60 days' harvesting, besides the work done by the customary tenants at 1½d. each, worth 7s. 6d. The work of the customary tenants, besides autumn work, was worth, at 1½d. each, 15s. 5½d., and the autumn work, at 1½d. each, was worth 11s. The customary tenants also had to reap 2 acres of wheat and 2 of oats, which was worth 1s. 8d.

The customs of the villeins as detailed show that on the creation of a new prior it was their duty to inform him, as their lord, of the amount that each paid in rent or service. They had to redeem (by a fine) the ordination of their sons and the marriage of their daughters (*debent redimere filios et filias suas ordinand' et maritand'*), and they could only demise their tenement at the will of their lord. The lord could choose whether they did their work or paid money instead. There was a custom here among the freemen and villeins that no heriot (i.e. a tribute of the best beast payable on the death of a tenant) ought to be given on their death to the lord of the manor; and that a widow in villeinage held the tenement of the husband as long as she remained a widow and was guardian of her sons. The further acquisition, by the prior and convent in the year 1359, of the tenant's interest in a messuage and an acre of meadow in 'Shortgrove and Langley next Clavering', has already been referred to.¹ The manor of Shortgrove Hall was sold in April 1544² by the king, with other property, to Edward Ebrington and Humphrey Metcalf.

At CHRISHALL about 7 miles to the west of Saffron Walden, the prior and convent possessed rents to the value of 21s.

At BIRCHANGER, a hamlet about 2 miles south of Stanstead, they

¹ See above, p. 166.

² L. and P., For. and Dom., No. 442 (16), grants in Apr. 1544.

held rents amounting to 2s. only : this was in the year 1291,¹ but we have no record concerning either of the places last mentioned after that date.

At FINCHINGFIELD, about 8 miles north-east of Dunmow, the prior and convent held a tenement for which they received 7s. a year,² for which the bailiff of Shortgrove manor was accountable. It was obtained in the year 1239 from Henry de Merc in exchange for the advowson of the church of Little Bardfield,³ as already stated.

At LANGLEY (Laindon,⁴ Langeleia,⁵ Langeleg⁶), in the north-west corner of the county on the border of Herts, the prior and convent held by gift of Robert Lebel,⁵ Henry Cawesnefes, and of Cecily, daughter of Robert Bloet, and others,⁴ the manor of Langley of the fee, in the year 1190, of Robert son of Roger,⁵ and in the year 1253 of Robert son of Roger and John son of Robert,⁷ and in 1306 of Lord Robert son of Roger,⁶ by the service of 4s. 6d. Langley was part of the demesne of the manor of Clavinger held direct from the king (*in capite*) by the same Robert.

In the same manor the prior and convent held lands called ELDFIELD from Richard de Kelshell by the service of one pound of cummin, worth 2d., for all land service.

In the same manor (a little to the south-west and over the border in Herts⁸) they held lands in MEESDEN (Mesedon in Rental).

The manor of Langley was in the parish of Clavinger, to the church of which the greater and lesser tithes were paid. They did not hold the view of frankpledge because the tenants were in the view at Clavinger. The prior paid a rent for the manor of 5s. 8d. The clear annual value of the manor, at the time of the Rental, is given as £12 13s. 6½d.; in the *Taxatio* as only £2 os. 6d.; in the *Valor* and Ministers' Accounts as £6, for which sum Prior Bolton had granted a 40 years' lease of the manor in 1530.⁹ There were some 275 acres of land in all, besides the manor close with its orchard and grass land. The 21 free tenants held in demesne 5 messuages and 45½ acres, and the villeins 11 messuages and 54½ acres.

Full particulars concerning the holding of each tenant are set out in the Rental; for example :

William Everard held 4 acres and paid 1s. 4d. a year and one new

¹ Tax. Eccles., pp. 28 b, 29.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 436.

³ Feet of Fines, Essex, 23 Hen. III, n. 305; see also above, p. 116, and below, p. 364.

⁴ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6; see above, p. 104. Laindon possibly a scribe's error in Chart. No. 10.

⁵ Ib., p. 482, Chart. No. 10; see above, p. 104.

⁶ Rent. Bodl., p. 436.

⁷ App. I, p. 485, Chart. No. 16.

⁸ See below, p. 364.

⁹ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

ploughshare. Gilbert Scott paid *1d.* a year for a right of way beyond the prior's lane. These and other tenants had to come or send an efficient substitute to make the prior's hay and cock it and stack it in the yard, and do a day's harvesting in the autumn; but the prior had to give them a meal of bread, meat, cheese, and *6d.* for the service; also to feed the other labourers. Some of the tenants had to do two days' carting as far as London. The customs in the manor of Langley differed from those of Shortgrove to the extent that the tenants had to give a heriot on death to the lord, and they had not the custom of commuting their day's labour for money.

At the time of the suppression Langley Hall was held by Thomas Thorowgood by lease from Prior Bolton at *£6* a year, the lease being renewed by Fuller in 1539 for a term of 40 years from Lady Day, 1541,¹ but in 1543 it was granted by the king to John Gate Esquire,² who, in 1550, alienated it to William Bradbury Esquire.³

At ELMDON (Elmedon),⁴ in the extreme north-west corner of the county, near Little Chesterford, the prior and convent received *5s.* a year from Philip Attecoise, and *1s. 10d.* from Philip Welston, for certain lands and tenements there,⁵ for which the bailiff of Langley was answerable.

At THEYDON BOIS (Taiden,⁶ Theyden de Bosco,⁷ Teyden Bosco,⁸ Thoydon⁹), south of Epping, the prior and convent had the presentation¹⁰ to the parish church by the gift of William de Bosco.⁶ The glebe was, until the year 1335, held by the rector with the church. The prior was entitled to receive 2 marks yearly for the glebe from the rector, but as certain lands of the demesne of the manor of Theydon Bois (held by the Abbot of Waltham by grant of Henry I) had for a long time lain uncultivated, it was agreed (says the Rental of 1306),¹¹ between the prior and convent and Master William de Norton (the then rector) that he should only pay one mark yearly until the lands should be cultivated. At this time the church was valued at *£5 6s. 8d.*; in 1291 it had been assessed at *£4 13s. 4d.* In the year 1335, however, the prior and convent obtained licence from

¹ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, Nos. 232, 266.

² *Ib.*, Particulars of Grants, 35 Hen. VIII, No. 470.

³ Morant, *Essex*, 614.

⁴ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 440 (Tax. Eccles., *1d.* less).

⁵ Tax. Eccles., 28 b, 6s. 9d.

⁶ App. I, Chart. No. 8, A.D. 1187, and Mem. R., 19 Edw. II, m. 31 d.

⁷ Tax. Eccles., p. 21 b.

⁸ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 440.

⁹ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

¹⁰ They presented Philip de la Lee, 11 Apr. 1323, and Thos. de Hazelwood, 28 July, 1330. Cant. and York Soc., London, vol. i, pp. 271, 293.

¹¹ Rent. Bodl., p. 440.

the king to appropriate the church,¹ whereby the glebe and tithes which had been the rector's came to them. In the year 1349 they were given 33 acres in Theydon Bois, amongst other lands, by Edmund de Grymesby, the king's clerk, for the endowment of a chantry at St. Bartholomew's, to celebrate for him every year on the anniversary of his death.² Ten years later, in 1359, they were given by Richard de Shamelesford, clerk, a messuage, a toft, 91 acres in Theydon Bois, with a lane called Pakeswey, and 2s. 6d. rent. Before the king gave his licence for this grant, inquisition was made, by which we learn that the lands were poor, part lying in the forest, and so together were only worth 27s. a year.³

In 1526, Prior Bolton granted a lease of the rectory and its appurtenances to Juliana Fenrother at a rent of £4 a year.⁴ In the following year he granted her the right to cut down and retain all the wood, except the great trees, for two years for the payment of £2, on condition that she did not damage the young springs, for security against which she had to deposit 5 marks.⁵ In 1535 the valuation was £4, at which figure Prior Fuller, in 1538, granted a lease of the rectory to Edward Elrington, the Chief Butler of England to Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. In 1541, in the Ministers' Accounts, the same value appears, from which record we learn that the rectory consisted of lands, tenements, rents, services, meadows, woods, tithes, fruits, oblations, &c. In 1543 the king granted the tithes and in April 1544 the rectory and advowson of the vicarage⁶ to the same Edward Elrington.⁷ The cellarer in the year 1306 received one mark of the rent from Theydon Bois.

At BOBBINGWORTH, about 8 miles to the north-east of Theydon Bois near Chipping Ongar, the prior and convent held a messuage and 10 acres, for which they received 5s. a year; and another messuage and 4 acres, for which they received 3s. a year. They were assessed at 8s. in 1291.⁸ In 1535 these messuages were not mentioned, so they had probably been disposed of. These rents also went to the cellarer.

In DANBURY (Danewebuy,⁹ Daningbyry,¹⁰ Danynggebiry,¹⁰ Danningebere,¹¹ Daingbere¹²), about 4 miles east of Chelmsford, the prior

¹ Cal. Pat., 9 Edw. III, 4 Oct. (1335).

² Ib., 23 Edw. III, 26 Mar. (1349).

³ Inq. a. q. d., Ser. I, file 329, No. 1; also Pat., 33 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16, 10 Mar. (1359). See also above, p. 166.

Aug. Con. Leases, p. 276.

⁵ Ib., 270.

⁶ L. and P., For. and Dom. xix, No. 442, Grants, Apr. 1544.

⁷ Morant, *Essex*, vol. i, Bk. ii, p. 163.

⁸ Tax. Eccles. 25 b.

⁹ Ib., 21.

¹⁰ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 440.

¹¹ Ib., Chart. No. 8, p. 481. (*cir.* 1176).

¹² Ib., No. 17 (1253).

and convent held the advowson of one moiety of the church by the gift of William de Mandeville, the 3rd Earl of Essex, who died in 1189.¹ The benefice was divided in ancient times because of the fertility of the fields, the size of the parish, and the number of the parishioners.² Two rectors were instituted and inducted as to two benefices, the prior and convent being the patrons of the one moiety and laymen of the other. In the year 1234 there was, apparently, a disagreement concerning the presentation, when Geoffrey de Heyno³ remised and quit-claimed to Prior Gerard all his right and claim in the advowson, the prior receiving Geoffrey and his heirs into all benefactions and prayers of the church. There are several records of the prior and convent presenting to their moiety of the benefice: thus, in 1318, they presented Walter de Draitone in succession to William de Casbellcoy resigned.⁴ On June 24th, 1324, they presented Nicholas de Usflet, and on the 29th November following they presented John de Harewes; and on the 22nd July, 1326, William de Drayton.⁵ In 1413 they presented William Goodefader by exchange.⁶ In 1440, the prior and convent's moiety being void by death of R. Smith, the Bishop of London, with the consent of the other rector and at the wish of Robert Darcy, Esq., united the two moieties into one rectory, the patronage being with the Darcys, whilst the prior and convent continued to receive 20s. a year from the rector. In 1428 there is a record of this payment in the Feudal Aids.⁷ It continued to be received until the suppression, for it appears in the *Valor* and in the *Computi Ministrorum*,⁸ but, as this 20s. was received of the abbot of the monastery of Beeleigh, Essex, it lapsed at the suppression of that monastery. The patronage went from the Darcys to the Windhams, and after the suppression to Sir Walter Mildmay. It was part of the income of the cellarer of the priory.

In BRADFIELD (Bradefeud,⁹ Bradefeld,¹⁰ Bradfeld¹¹), about 8 miles from Harwich, and by the River Stour, the prior and convent held, by gift of William de Rames, the church with the chapel of Manningtree, some 2 miles away. They held in Bradfield 16 messuages and 111 acres of land which their villeins held of them in villeinage by services fully set out in the Rental,¹² which messuages and land (except

¹ App. I, Chart. No. 8, p. 481, *cir.* 1176.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* ii, 203.

³ Referred to p. 116.

⁴ Reg. London, Baudake, f. 41. Printed, Cant. and York Soc., vol. Lond. i, 197.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 274, 275, 279.

⁶ Sussex Rec. Soc. xi, 326.

⁷ Cal. Feudal Aids, ii, 207.

⁸ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁹ Tax. Eccles. 23 b.

¹⁰ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6, *cir.* 1176.

¹¹ *Ib.*, Rent. Bodl., p. 441, and Val. Eccles. i, 407.

¹² *Ib.*, Rent. Bodl., p. 441; Newcourt, *Rep.* ii, 80.

one messuage and 7 acres of land which were in the fee of the church which John de Balton held) were held of Lord William de Rames (Reymis)¹ in frankalmoign, then of the heirs of John de Brokesborough, lord of the village of Bradfield. The prior and convent also had the advowson of the church (St. John Baptist and St. Lawrence), which was valued, with the portion of the vicarage, at £8.² They paid to the procurations of the Archdeacon of Colchester 6s. 8d. It was for the prior and convent to roof the chancel when necessary, to repair the books, and to find the ornaments of the parish church. Other ordinary charges, as to repairing and roofing the chapel of Manningtree,³ and as to finding books and ornaments there, belonged entirely to the vicarage. The vicarage, to which the prior and convent presented, was assessed at 6 marks, but worth, in 1307, 10 marks, including a messuage with 16 acres.⁴

In the year 1224 there had been a dispute—already referred to⁵—regarding the advowson of the church, when William de Rames (Rennes), grandson of the former William, claimed it. The jury found that Walter, the last priest, held the church by the gift of the Bishop of London by the authority of the council and not on the presentation of the prior; though it had been decided at a recent assize at Chelmsford that the presentation belonged to the prior; but as the jury now found that Adam, the predecessor of Walter, had been appointed by William de Rames (Ramis), grandfather of the then William, it was adjudged that William de Rames should recover his presentation and the Bishop of London be instructed to admit his clerk. In the year 1262, the prior and convent⁶ recovered the presentation by fine⁷ from one Hubert de Royby, who acknowledged the right to the advowson to belong to the prior; they also recovered the tenement the prior held in the town, and the right to common pasture in the heath, in frankalmoign, for which agreement the prior admitted Hubert and his heirs to all benefactions and prayers made in the church for ever.⁸

The earliest record extant of presentation by the prior and convent is on the 16th April, 1327, when, on the death of Sir Edmund,⁹ they

¹ An ancestor of his acquired the manor of Bradfield when the estates of Aluric were broken up at the time of the Conquest. *Vict. C. Hist., Essex*, i, 533.

² The same in *Tax. Eccles. and in Rent. Bodl.*, p. 441.

³ Manston in the Rental, p. 441.

⁴ For further details see *Rent. Bodl.*, p. 441.

⁵ See above, p. 112.

⁶ As stated above, p. 131.

⁷ Feet of Fines, *Essex*, 46 Hen. III, n. 776.

⁸ How the advowson had come into Hubert's possession is not shown.

⁹ *Reg. Lond. Steph.*, Gravesend, f. 66, *Cant. and York Soc.*, Lond. i, 283.

presented William de Tannour of Stowmarket, from whom an oath of residence was exacted; they continued to present until the suppression.¹

We have already referred to Prior Gerard disposing of a messuage and a carucate of land in Bradfield to the above William de Rames (Reymes) in the year 1238.²

The prior and convent held the view of frankpledge in Bradfield of all their tenants. They paid 2s. yearly for the guardianship of the fort of Colchester, which the villeins of the prior had to collect among themselves and pay to the chief lord over the fort.

The net value of the possessions in Bradfield is given in the Rental as £11 2s. 4d. The names of 18 tenants and the rents they paid in the year 1307 are given in full.³ The villeins had all the customs held by those of Shortgrove, excepting that they were not accustomed to do any work in Bradfield, but they were expected to give a heriot at death.

In the years 1303, 1346, and 1428, it is recorded in the Feudal Aids that the prior held a quarter of a knight's fee in Bradfield.⁴ In 1535 the vicarage was valued at £5 6s. 8d.,⁵ for which sum Prior Fuller granted a lease of it to Ambrose Woolley in 1538.⁶

At COLCHESTER (Colecestria,⁷ Colecestre⁸) the prior and convent held four tenements, the total rents of which amounted to 10s. 5d. The value in the *Taxatio* is 5s. 7d.⁷ It is not mentioned in the *Valor*.

At OSLAKESTER Milo de Verdun gave two parts of the tithes with all the movable property of his domains.⁹ This place may have been in Essex, since Milo de Verdun gave two hides of land in Shortgrove, as we have previously seen,¹⁰ but we have been unable to locate it.

At MALDEN (Maldon¹¹), at the mouth of the Blackwater River, the prior and convent held 6s. of rent of certain tenements (specified in the Rental)¹² which Oswald de Maldon gave to them, and which was confirmed to them by charter¹³ of King Henry II.¹⁴ Malden is not mentioned in Henry III's charter of 1253, but in 1267¹⁵ the prior had to claim against a tenant and his wife, that they should do him

¹ Newcourt, *Rep.* ii, 80.

² See p. 116.

³ App. I, Bodl. Rent., p. 441.

⁴ Cal. Feudal Aids, pp. 129, 154, 218.

⁵ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁶ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, No. 227. Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396, a lease granted 4 May, 19 Hen. VIII, to Thos. Hornesey, clerk, for 21 years from Christmas 1531.

⁷ Tax. Eccles. 29.

⁸ Rent. Bodl., p. 443.

⁹ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6 (1176).

¹⁰ See above, p. 328.

¹¹ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6 (1176), and Rent. Bodl., p. 444.

¹² Rent. Bodl., p. 444.

¹³ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6 (1176).

¹⁴ The Rental in error says: '*Willelmus, pater Henrici Regis Anglie, postea carta sua confirmavit.*'

¹⁵ As mentioned above, p. 133.

the accustomed services for their free tenement in Malden, which we may assume was one of the above.

This rent was allotted to the cellarer's office. It is not included in the *Valor* of 1535.

In WALTHAMSTOW (Welcomstowe,¹ Welconstowe²) the prior and convent held 7 acres of meadow land of Robert de Tony at a rent of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ It was valued at 28s. in the Rental, and at 21s. in the *Taxatio*.¹ We do not find it in any of the charters. In the *Valor* of 1535 it was valued at 20s., and at the same in the Ministers' Accounts of 1541, where it is described as '6 acres of meadow in Walcomstowe Meade'.

The church of BARDFIELD (Berdefeld)³ was, in the year 1176, one of the possessions of the prior and convent, as of the gift of Atrobus de Merc,³ but it was exchanged by fine, as we have seen,⁴ in the year 1239 by Gerard the prior with Henry de Merc (son of Atrobus), saving the ancient pension of the church, for 7s. rent in Finchingfield (as above) from Ralph de Herst. For this reason the church does not appear in Henry III's charter of 1253 or in the Rental.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

In MENTMORE (Montemore,⁵ Mentmor,⁶ Mentmore⁷), about 8 miles north-east of Aylesbury, the prior and convent held by gift of Hugh Buisel (or Bussel) a moiety of the church and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land in the same parish; ⁶ by gift of William son of Milo the other moiety of the same church; ⁸ and by gift of Walter 'de Dunn' a part which Robert de Cestresham granted them of his tithe at Grove (*Gravam*),⁹ a small place annexed to the parish of Mentmore soon after the Conquest.¹⁰

Hugh Bussel, the donor of the first moiety of the church, was the grandson of Warine Bussel, Baron of Penwortham, Lancashire, who founded Penwortham Priory in the time of William the Conqueror. William son of Milo may possibly have been the William son of Milo who, in the year 1234, as a canon of the house, acted as Prior Gerard's attorney in an action against Richard de Ydebir¹¹ (Hydebyr or Ideburg).

One of the moieties of the advowson of the church was confirmed to the prior and convent by fine on the 3rd February, 1202, by Roger de Argenton and Matilda his wife, and it was in consideration of this

¹ Tax. Eccles., 26.

³ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6 (1176).

⁵ Tax. Eccles., 46.

⁷ Ib., Rent. Bodl., p. 444.

⁹ Ib., p. 482, Chart. 10 (1190).

¹¹ Cal. Close, p. 555, 18 Hen. II (1234) (printed in full). See also above, p. 116.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 444.

⁴ As above, p. 116.

⁶ App. I, p. 479, Chart. 6 (1176).

⁸ App. I, p. 481, Chart. 8 (1187).

¹⁰ Lipscombe, *Bucks*, iii, 356.

that ¹ the prior and convent admitted Roger and Matilda and their heirs to all benefits and prayers made in the church; ² later, ¹ in 1206, they gave to the prior and convent a rent charge of 2s. a year on a messuage in Mentmore.³ The prior and convent continued to present to the church until the suppression in the year 1539. In the year 1234, when they presented Gerard the Chaplain, there is a note in the register of the institution by Hugh de Wells at Lincoln,⁴ that the vicarage consisted of the altarage and of the tithes of half a hide of land at Broke; but that by an assize before the king's justices the prior and convent had lost the dwelling-house belonging to the vicarage. The vicarage at that time was worth ordinarily 4 marks a year, the vicar paying synodals only. In the rental of 1306 the vicarage of the church was assessed at 40s., and was worth 10 marks. The church was assessed at £9: in the *Taxatio* of 1291 at £8: ⁵ in the *Valor* of 1535 the rectory and tithes were valued at £18, with a deduction of £2 13s. to the Vicar of Mentmore for the upkeep of the vicarage. It was the obligation of the prior and convent to roof the chancel, to find the church ornaments, and to pay the procuration fees (7s. 7½d.).⁶

The prior and convent also held the manor of Mentmore, together with 4 virgates of land, of Ralph le Poer by the service, in the year 1306, of 2s. a year, and 2s. for hidage for all land service.⁷ In 1241 as already seen,⁸ there had been a dispute between the prior and convent and Ralph le Poer, the prior's cattle being distrained because he had not done homage and suit of court to Ralph, and on account of reapings which Ralph demanded concerning a hide of land in Mentmore, held by the prior and convent of Ralph. These customs and services the prior did not acknowledge; there was therefore a lawsuit, with the result that an agreement was arrived at whereby Ralph granted the prior the hide of land on payment of 12d. a year and doing the service of the king, whilst the prior remised the damages he had had by the taking and detaining of his beasts.⁹ In the same manor the prior and convent held half a virgate of land of Ellis (Eya) de Hydeburgh ⁷ at a yearly rental of 2d. for hidage for all service.

In the year 1306, the extent of the manor was 160 acres of arable

¹ See above, p. 107.

² Hunter, Fines, 201, dated 3 weeks after the day of St. Hilary, 3 John.

³ *Ib.*, 236, 7 John.

⁴ Cant. and York Soc., Lincoln. Hugh de Welles, ii, 97. *Ib.*, Reg. Robt. Grosse-teste, p. 372. Sewallus instituted 1246.

⁵ Tax. Eccles., 33 b.

⁶ App. I, Rept. Bodl., p. 444.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 444.

⁸ See above, p. 117.

⁹ Feet of Fines, Bucks, 25 Hen. III, m. 21, 15 days from St. Hilary (28 Jan. 1241).

land in domain, worth then £8 a year; the close, orchard, garden, and yard, worth 1s. a year; 16 acres of meadow and pasture, 24s. a year; pasturage for 10 cows, 10s. a year; feed for 100 sheep, 6s. 8d. a year; rents of assize, 12s. 11d.; greater tithes, £13 6s. 8d.¹

Henry III's charter of 1253² states that their lands were held in fee of Ralph le Poer and of Walter son of Hugh Bussel (Hugh had given a moiety of the church), of Nicholas le Dun (probably a relation of Walter le Dun who gave them tithes at Grove), and of Richard de Ideburg (with whom there was the suit in 1234).

This Richard de Ideburg³ granted the prior and convent, in the year 1236, 3 acres of land and a rood of meadow, in exchange for half a virgate of land in Mentmore.⁴ There was a similar fine concerning the same lands, and at this time between Prior Gerard and Ingenulf de Suleby and Benselina his wife, who were apparently jointly interested parties in the exchange.⁵

The prior and convent did not hold the view of frankpledge in the manor, because the manor was within the liberty of Eyton, where the tenants were in the view.⁵

The tenants of the manor, and the rents they paid, are set out in full in the Rental.⁵ Several of the benefactors of the priory named above (or their descendants) were tenants of the prior; thus: Hugh Argenteim held a messuage and a virgate of land; Ellis (Elyas) de Hydebyrg, son of Richard de Hydebyrg, held a messuage; and William le Dun held half an acre of land and meadow in Leteburne.

In the year 1341,⁶ the question arose as to whether the prior and convent should not pay fifteenths with the laity for this property in Mentmore; but it was found, on reference to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291, that their lands and rents were there taxed at 29s. 10d.⁷ as spiritualities, and that therefore they had always paid tenths with the clergy and not fifteenths with the laity, and an exemplification of a certificate of the barons of the exchequer to this effect was granted.⁸

In the Rental⁹ the net value of the land, &c., of the manor is given as £23 2s., and of the rents 12s. 11d.

The manor was apparently alienated by the prior and convent before the suppression, hence it does not appear in the *Valor*. Lipscombe, in his history of Buckinghamshire,¹⁰ states that the manor

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 445.

² Ib., p. 485, Chart. No. 16 (1253).

³ See above, p. 116.

⁴ Feet of Fines, Bucks, 20 Hen. III, n. 9. Thursday before feast of St. Margaret (17 July, 1236).

⁵ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 445.

⁶ See above, p. 153.

⁷ Tax. Eccles., p. 46.

⁸ Cal. Pat., 15 Edw. III, 20 Feb. (1341).

⁹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 445.

¹⁰ Lipscombe, *Bucks*, iii, 417.

passed from the family of Bussel to the Zouches of Harringworth before the year 1352, making no mention of its earlier possession by St. Bartholomew's. After the battle of Bosworth Field, when John Lord Zouch was attainted, he says the manor escheated to the king (Henry VII), who granted it to Sir Reginald Bray, to whom, in consequence, 2s. a year rent from the rectory was paid.

The rectory was valued in 1535¹ and in 1541² at £18. It had been let to Thomas Wygge for 40 years from 1533 at that sum. The advowson of the vicarage was granted in March 1545 to Sir William Butte.³

BEDFORDSHIRE

At HOCKLIFFE (Hocclive,⁴ Hokline, Hokcline⁵) the prior and convent had two virgates of land which the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John of Hockliffe held of them at a yearly rent of 10s., at which sum it was valued in the *Taxatio* in 1291. These particulars are from the rental of 1306, but there is no reference to the place in any of the charters or in the *Valor*.

MIDDLESEX

At TOTTENHAM (Totenham^{6 7}) the prior and convent held an acre of meadow called Micheley by gift of Bartholomew son of Geoffrey de Cornhill in frankalmoign, worth 4s. And in the same place they held two acres, by gift of Gilbert son of William of Tottenham, at Michelheye in Brademade in frankalmoign, worth 8s., at 4s. an acre. The total value in 1306 was therefore 12s.; in 1291 it had been valued at 10s. This property is not mentioned in the charters or in the *Valor*, but at the time of the suppression there was a lease running, granted by Prior Bolton, of lands 'at Totenham and Edelmeton' at a rent of 6s. 8d., which probably refers to this land.⁸

At EDMONTON (Edelinton,⁹ Edelmeton¹⁰) the prior and convent held 3 roods of meadow at Stonygate, the gift of Ralph Heyron, in frankalmoign, valued in 1306 at 3s. a year. This land is not referred to except in the Bodleian Rental and in the lease in connexion with Tottenham referred to above.¹⁰

¹ Valor Eccles., i, 407.

² Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

³ Cal. L. and P., Hen. VIII, xx, pt. 1, 465 g (14).

⁴ Tax. Eccles., 49.

⁵ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 446.

⁶ Tax. Eccles., 13 b.

⁷ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 446.

⁸ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, 268, 7 Feb., 2 Hen. VIII (1511), leased to Geo. Henygham.

⁹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 446.

¹⁰ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, 268.

At ENFIELD (Enefend,¹ Enfeld²) the prior and convent held the following meadows in frankalmoign :

$\frac{1}{2}$ acre at Stonyherst by gift of Ralph son of Ralph Heyron, worth 2s. a year. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre at Popelers by gift of William Quarell, worth 2s. a year. 1 acre at Milnemers by gift of William de Gyvewell, worth 4s. a year. 1 acre at Hewenwere at Wildemers, by gift of Richard de Forde, worth 4s. a year. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre at Wilemers (*sic*) at Barbeflete, by gift of John son of Ascon, worth 2s. a year.

This possession is not referred to except in the *Taxatio*¹ and the Rental.²

The total value of these meadows in Tottenham, Edmonton, and Enfield was 29s., and was appropriated to the cellarer.

At CHARLTON (Cherbuton,³ Cherlinter,⁴ Cherdington,⁵ Chardington,⁶ Shardington⁷), a manor in the parish of Sunbury-on-Thames, the prior and convent held the greater tithes coming from the demesne lands of the Prior of Merton, rector of the same church, originally by gift of Alan Dapiper⁵ (Dapifer³⁴) of one carucate of land. It was assessed, says the Bodleian Rental, at 22s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and was worth yearly, in 1306, 26s. 8d. In the *Valor*⁶ Chardington is valued at 10s. only, which from the Ministers' Accounts of 1541 was the value of certain lands there let on lease to an auditor of the king. The 26s. 8d. was, in 1306, also given to the cellarer.

At SUNBURY-ON-THAMES the prior and convent received a portion from the church valued at 2 marks. The church was valued at 20 marks. There are records of this in the years 1291⁸ and 1428,⁹ but at no other dates.

In ISLINGTON (Iseldun,¹⁰ Iseldon,¹¹ Iseldone¹²) the prior and convent were granted, before the year 1176, ten shillings' worth (*solidatas*)¹⁰ (of rent) by Ralph de Berners, who had also given them half a hide at Peltend¹⁰ (a place we have been unable to locate). Here also the same Ralph gave them a manor of about 194 acres, afterwards known as Canonbury. The first mention of this grant occurs in Henry III's charter of 1253,¹² in which the king confirms all the lands and rents, with their appurtenances, which they had in the village of 'Iseldone'. As Ralph de Berners died in the year 1297,¹³ we may

¹ Tax. Eccles., 13 b.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 446.

³ App. I, p. 476, Chart. No. 6 (1176).

⁴ Ib., p. 482, No. 10 (1190).

⁵ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 446.

⁶ Valor Eccles., i, 407.

⁷ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁸ Harl. MSS. 60, p. 26.

⁹ Cal. Feudal Aids, iii, 379.

¹⁰ App. I, p. 476, Chart. No. 6 (1176).

¹¹ Ib., p. 482, Chart. No. 10 (1191); Rent. Bodl., p. 447.

¹² Ib., Chart. 16 (1253).

¹³ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 474, quoting Inq. p. m., 25 Edw. I, No. 39.

reasonably assume that the grant was made between (say) 1240 and 1253.

In the Rental of 1306 the estate is thus referred to : ²

‘ There the prior and convent have a manor called Iseldon which they hold of Edmund de Berners (the son of Ralph)¹ for 4s. payable at Michaelmas and Easter for all service except the outside service due therefrom, to wit, 2s. 9³/₄d. payable yearly to the Bishop of London by which the said Edmund holds for guarding the castle of Stertford (Bishop’s Stortford), and the manor is held of the said Edmund for the eighth part of a knight’s fee, and they have no view there because all their tenants are in the view of the Bishop of London at Stebenhede ’ (Stepney).

But it is recorded that Ralph de Berners at his death was seized of the manor of Iseldon, held under the Bishop of London by a like service. And this manor, known later as Berners or Bernersbury (now Barnsbury), continued in the family for several generations; we may therefore assume that Ralph divided the manor, both as regards the lands and the manorial rights (a division possible up to, but not after, the year 1285). The estate acquired by the Berners family had belonged to the Bishops of London from before the Conquest; for William I restored to the canons of St. Paul’s lands in Islington of which it was said they had been unjustly deprived.³

CANONBURY.—The name of ‘ Canonesbury ’ occurs in an inquisition ⁴ in the year 1373, in which it is stated that Ralph de Berners gave, in addition to Canonbury, ‘ a messuage called Cotelers ’; the name also occurs in the *Valor* of 1535, and was doubtless given in consequence of the manor being a possession of the canons of St. Bartholomew’s, the name of Canons in Stanmore being probably acquired in the same way.

It will be seen by the particulars below that there was a manor-house here in the year 1306, possibly ‘ the messuage called Cotelers ’ above, and we may assume that it stood on the site of the present house, known as Canonbury Tower, built by Prior Bolton. Bolton’s rebus does not occur in the house, but it does so in one of the wooden spandrels of a door inside the school-house which is at the south-east angle of the quadrangle.⁵ It also occurs carved on a large stone on the front of No. 4 Alwyne Villas, and can be seen from the road.⁶ This was one of the two octagonal garden houses which stood at the south-east and south-west corners of the garden wall shown in old

¹ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 474, quoting Inq. p. m., 25 Edw. I, No. 39.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 447.

³ Nichol, *Canonbury*, p. 1.

⁴ Inq. p. m., 47 Edw. III, No. 80, 2nd number.

⁵ Fincham, *Canonbury Tower*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 34.

prints of the south side of Canonbury Tower.¹ The garden house at the south-west corner is covered with stucco.

The extent of the manor is fully set out in the Rental, and may be summarized thus (giving a contrast to the Islington of to-day) :

	£	s.	d.
Arable land, 157½ acres @ 6d.	3	18	6 ²
The close or garden with the curtilage or land near the house		2	0
The herbage, 3 acres 3 roods @ 3s. an acre	11		3
Pasturage for plough horses and cows beside the roads round the corn 4 acres @ 2s.		8	0
Several pastures for sheep 30 acres @ 5d. ³	15		0
Pasture in several arable fields, in all sufficient for 26 sheep		5	0
Rent of assize	1	11	9
Court pleas and perquisites		3	0
Works of customary tenants		5	1
One capon and nine hens	1		1½
Total	£7	19	8½
Less 4s. and 2s. 9¼d. paid for the manor		6	9¾
Leaving clear	£7	12	10¾

Thomas Sefoule was the only free tenant, and he held a messuage and 39 acres of land in demesne by the service of one-sixteenth part of a knight's fee: he paid 10s. 6d. yearly. There were 18 other tenants, one of whom, Thomas le Woder, held 2 messuages and 3 roods of land. He paid 9d. a year and 1 hen at Christmas and ought to do 2 days' weeding and 2 days' autumn reaping.

Richard de la Pyry held 20 acres of land called Randulphffesfeld for a term of 15 years, by demise of the prior and cellarer by court roll, for which he paid 7s. 6d. a year. This was apportioned to the bailiff.

The prior and convent also had there a windmill, worth 40s. a year, which was apportioned to the cellarer.

In the *Taxatio* of 1291, the lands, rent, and meadows in 'Iseldon' were valued at £1 15s. a year; ⁴ in the Rental, as above, at £7 12s. 10¾d.; in the *Valor* of 1535, at £26 8s. 7d.; in the Ministers' Accounts of 1541, at £24 16s. 11d., with the remark that they were granted to Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, attainted of high treason. Henry VIII was desirous of acquiring the house and manor of Canon-

¹ Fincham, *Canonbury Tower*, p. 8.

² Error for 9d., apparently ½ acre not calculated.

³ Error for 6d.

⁴ Tax. Eccles., 9 b.

bury some time before the suppression (as already seen¹). Prior Bolton granted him a lease of the house and garden before the year 1531.² Prior Fuller granted a lease of Canonbury and Cutlers to Thomas Cromwell in 1532 (2nd September),³ and among his 'Revenues' in 1536 mention is made of the rent paid to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for the 'farm of Canonbury'.⁴ In the catalogue of documents in Cromwell's possession in the year 1533, occurs 'a copy of the indenture between my master and Giles Heron for his lease at Canbery'.⁵ In 1539 there occurs in Cromwell's Accounts, 'Abbot of Waltham for purchase of Canbury and other lands £296',⁶ only four months before the suppression. And yet immediately after the suppression, in October of 1539, the king granted the manor to Thomas Cromwell; but on his execution in the following July it again came into the king's hands. In 1541 an annuity of £20 a year was granted from the manor to Anne of Cleves. When Edward VI came to the throne he sold it to Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who, as Duke of Northumberland, was executed by Queen Mary in 1553. Mary then granted the manor to Lord Wentworth, who sold it, in 1570, to Sir John Spenser. Lord Compton was in occupation there in 1605. A date in Arabic numerals, 156-, much weather-worn, occurs on a stone let into the wall on the garden side of the school-house and probably records work by Lord Wentworth; whilst the date 159-, in similar characters in a finely moulded ceiling on the first floor, would record the work of Sir John Spenser. From 1627-35 it was rented by Lord Keeper Coventry. The Earl of Denbigh died there in 1685, as did Samuel Humphreys, the poet, in 1737, and the author of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* in 1740. Oliver Goldsmith lodged there in 1762, and it was there he wrote *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Canonbury Tower underwent a complete restoration in the year 1907-8 by the Marquess of Northampton, when it was formed into a Social Club and local Museum for his tenants and their friends in Canonbury, Islington, and Clerkenwell.

The usual tradition of a subterranean passage from Canonbury to Smithfield in this case probably arose from the existence of spacious brick arched conduits through which the water-pipes were at one time carried to the priory.⁷

In addition to Canonbury, the prior and convent acquired, in the year 1334, another messuage and 110 acres of land in ISLINGTON and

¹ Above, p. 242.

² *Ib.*, No. 1339.

³ *Ib.*, 1533, No. 1299.

⁴ See Vol. II, p. 191.

⁵ Cal. State Papers, 2 Sept. 1531, No. 1285.

⁶ *Ib.*, 21 July, 1536, No. 135.

⁷ *Ib.*, 4 June, 1539.

KENTISH TOWN, which latter is in the parish of St. Pancras, by grant from Henry le Heyward of West Smithfield and Roger de Creton, chaplain, to find a chaplain to celebrate daily for the soul of Prior John de Kensington.¹ Of this land, 54 acres were held of the priory by the service of 10s. 6*d.* yearly, 52 acres were held of Henry Bydyk by the service of 26s. yearly, and 4 acres of John de Berners by the service of 9*d.* yearly. Henry le Heyward held from the Bishop of London, who, with John de Berners, held from the king.

In the year 1349 a grant of land in Acton, made by Edmund de Grymesby, included 3 acres in Islington and 5 acres in Kentish Town;² and in 1525 Prior Bolton granted to Richard Hawkes of London a lease of lands called Iremongers in the parish of St. Pancras, Kentish Town,³ which probably relates to the same.

In PORTPOOL (Portepole),⁴ in the parish of St. Pancras, where Gray's Inn now stands, the prior and convent held land granted them in the year 1315 by John de Grey, who gave 30 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 10s. rent in Kentish Town and St. Andrew's, Holborn, to found a chantry in the chapel of his manor of Portpool, to be served by a chaplain from St. Bartholomew's.⁵ These possessions were valued at £10 in the year 1535,⁴ but out of that had to be paid £6 13s. 4*d.* for the chaplain, and 20s. yearly to the master and benchers of Gray's Inn. In the Ministers' Accounts of 1541 the gross amount appears as £9 6s. 8*d.*, where the following account is given.

John Archer, the receiver of the lord the king, 'renders account of £6 13s. 4*d.* of the farm of 2 fields late in the tenure of William Huddeson in the parish of St. Pancras, Co. Middlesex, containing 26 acres demised to Richard Hudson and his assigns by indenture dated 14th January, 24 Henry VIII (1533), for 41 years' (payable Lady Day and Michaelmas), the tenant 'to scour and amend the hedges and ditches when necessary' . . . 'And' (he renders account) 'of 53s. 4*d.* of the farm of one field late in the tenure of Robert Brynett in the parish of St. Pancras, containing 10 acres demised to Henry Whare by indenture dated 8th February, 22 Henry VIII (1531), for 20 years.'

Also in the parish of St. PANCRAS, in the year 1530, Henry VIII granted licence to the prior and convent to acquire 4 acres of land, called 'les Pytts',⁶ and also granted licence to the prior and convent 'of the Carthusian house of the Salutation of the Mother of God'

¹ See above, p. 157.

² See above, p. 164.

³ L. and P., For. and Dom., 30 Aug. 1525, No. 1599.

⁴ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁵ Described above, p. 147.

⁶ L. and P., For. and Dom. iv, 6542 (23).

to alienate to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's 7 acres of land in a field called Lenisdown, in the parish of St. Pancras.

At NORTHALL (adjoining Harrow) the master and brethren of St. Thomas of Acon held of the prior and convent one virgate of land called Lachefeldis, opposite to the manor of the same brethren, for which they paid annually 6s. 6d., and this was allotted to the cellarer.¹

At HENDON, at the time of the Rental (1306), Robert Robert² held a messuage and half a virgate of land of the prior and convent, paying therefor 4s. yearly; which was also taken by the cellarer.³ We have no other record of this possession.

But the *Valor* of 1535 and the Ministers' Accounts of 1541 value the possession at Hendon at £6 13s. 4d., and from the latter we learn that the manor called 'RENTERS' (or 'Romers') is referred to. This possession, as previously mentioned,⁴ consisted in all of 318 acres, of which 150 were in Hendon and 168 in Great Stanmore. It was the grant, as to 298 acres, of Hugh de la More of Carleton, and as to 20 acres in Great Stanmore of John of Affebregg. Whether all this land was included in the manor of Renters does not appear.

An inquisition⁵ was held in West Smithfield on the 9th May, 1358, to inquire whether it would be any damage to the king to allow these two grants to be made, and as the jury found that it would not be so, licence to grant was given by the king on the 10th March, 1359. The jury found that 1 messuage, 130 acres of land, 10 acres meadow, 4 acres pasture, 6 acres wood, and 11s. 4d. of rent in Hendon were held of the Abbot of Westminster by the service of 5s. 4d. yearly, and doing suit at the abbot's court at Westminster at Michaelmas and Easter; that the messuage was worth 6d. yearly, the land 10s. 10d. (not more, because the land was stony and could not be sown), the pasture thereof 1d., the meadow 8s. 4d., the 4 acres of pasture 12d., and the wood 6d. (not more, because it was cut that year and could not be cut oftener than once in twenty years, and then was worth 4d. an acre).

They found that the other messuage in Great Stanmore and 90 acres of land there, 5 acres of meadow, 55 acres of wood, and 18 acres of furze, were held of the Abbot of St. Albans by the service of 13s. 4d. yearly. The messuage was worth 6d.; the land 7s. 6d.; the meadow 4s. 2d.; the wood 3s., and the furze 9d.

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 449.

² Robertus Robert in the MS.

³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 449.

⁴ See above, p. 166.

⁵ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d. Ser. I, File 329, No. 12 (old ref.: Ch. Inq. p. m. Ser. I, 32 Edw. III, 2nd nos. 78).

The manor of Renters was let on lease, dated 30th June, 1537, to Roger Elderich for a term of 60 years at a yearly rent of £6 13s. 4d., and the following particulars are given of what was comprised in the lease when particulars for a grant were made for the king in 1543.¹ 'One field called Highfield, a field and a croft called Kechin croft, another called the Long Croft, and a meadow called the prior's meadow; a croft called Renters Rede, a small croft east of Braunte (or Braynte) lane, a field called Bedford (or Hodford) Field, a croft called Akenhege, three fields called Carter's field, a croft called Barne (or Berne) croft, a field called the Plain (or Playne) field, another called Water forrow, another called Grove field, a croft called Letter land, and a croft on the south part of Burlane.'² The manor was in February 1543 leased by the king to Sir John Williams and Anthony Stringer in fee farm, and in 1548 it was alienated by the king's licence to Sir Roger Cholmeley, the founder of Highgate Grammar School.

The name of 'Renters' survives in Renters Hill in the neighbourhood of Golders Green, and 'Carter's field' is still so called: it is on the south-west side of Golders Green Road.

In STANMORE MAGNA or GREAT STANMORE (Stanmere in all the ancient records) the prior and convent also held the manor, which consisted of 73½ acres and 4s. 1¾d. rent in Harrow (Harwe), the grant of David de Wolloure. An inquisition was held³ at West Smithfield, on the 22nd March, 1360/1,⁴ to inquire what damage it would be to the king to allow this grant of the manor of Great Stanmore and 73½ acres to be made. The property was then held by Maud (Matilda), who was the wife of Simon Franceis, for her life, of the said David with remainder to David. The jury found that it would be no damage to the king to allow the grant, which was to provide for certain chaplains to celebrate daily in the priory for all Christian souls (deceased) for ever. They found that the manor was held of the Abbot of St. Albans by the service of 10 marks and 8d. yearly, and was worth nothing beyond the rent; that the land in Harrow was held of the Archbishop of Canterbury as his manor of Harrow; that the land was worth 11s. 2d. for pasture; and the meadow was worth 2s. only because it lay in the common field and could not be mown except at the time the field was sown. The king, therefore, on

¹ Particulars for grants, 35 Hen. VIII, No. 470. Among the convent leases, No. 272, is a lease to the same Roger Elderich dated 8 June 1528, No. 272; see also Ministers' Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

² Cal. State Papers, xviii, pt. 1, No. 226 (79).

³ See above, p. 167.

⁴ Dated 'the Monday after Palm Sunday, 35 Edw. III'.

the 16th January, 1362,¹ gave licence for the grant to be made and to the priory to hold after the death of Matilda.

This manor, and also that of WELLHALL, Hertfordshire, were held of the Abbot of St. Albans by certain rent and service and also by the service of doubling the rent of the manors as a relief after the death of every tenant; but, as the manors were now held by the prior and convent as a corporation, there was no tenant to die (i.e. they were in mortmain), and the abbot stood to lose very considerably. He therefore, in the year 1392, obtained from the king licence to receive on every voidance of the priory 5 marks for the manor of Great Stanmore and 24s. for that of Wellhall; for which licence the abbot paid 20s. to the king.²

The manor was valued in the year 1535 at £20, subject to an annual payment to the Abbot of St. Albans of £6 13s. 4d.³ On the 10th April, 29 Henry VIII (1538), it was demised for fifteen years to one Geoffrey Chambers,⁴ at a rent of £13 13s. 4d. free from this payment to St. Albans; and at this sum it appears in the Ministers' Accounts of 1541.⁴

The manor so let at that time consisted of a tenement with a cottage near the cross in Stanmore called 'a bruckhouse'; a tenement called 'Waxewell' ⁵ or Page' lying upon the hill with gardens, orchards, and pastures; two closes of arable land adjoining the fields called the 'Common Field', and the '20 acre Field', adjoining the field called 'Staples' in Stanmore Parva.

There were also waters and fisheries on 'Bushes Heath' near 'Pary Wood' in Stanmore Parva, and other lands in the parishes of Stanmore Magna and 'Harough (Harrow) upon the Hill'.⁶

In the year 1547 the manor was granted with others to Sir Peter Gamboa, a Spaniard, for his services in the king's wars.⁷

At STANMORE PARVA, or Stanmore the Less, or Little Stanmore, now called Whitchurch,⁸ by Edgware, the prior and convent held the manor of 'Stanmore Parva', with the advowson of the church of St. Lawrence,⁹ by gift of Roger de Ramis¹⁰ (or Rames). These were held 'of the king in chief by service of one knight's fee,¹¹ when it happened'; but the Rental¹² says they ought to be quit therefrom, to wit of scutage,¹³ by charters of the kings.

¹ Pat., 35 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 5 (1362).

² Cal. Pat., 16 Rich. II, 28 Sept. (1392).

³ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

³ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁵ This survives and is in Pinner.

⁶ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁷ L. and P., For. and Dom. xxi, 771 (34).

⁸ So called in leases by Bolton and Fuller: *Aug. Conv. Leases*, 218, 251, 290.

⁹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 449.

¹⁰ App. I, Chart. No. 6 (*cir.* 1176).

¹¹ Cal. Feudal Aids, iii, 373.

¹² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 450.

¹³ A tax on those who held lands by knight's service towards furnishing the king's army.

This gift by Roger de Ramis must have been made at some period between the time of the foundation of the monastery in 1123 and of the confirming charter of *cir.* 1176. Prior Gerard, in the year 1238, obtained further from William de Reymes, great-grandson of Roger, the reversion of all the land which Egidea de Reymes, William's widowed mother, held in dower in Stanmore Parva. This was effected by exchange for 1 messuage and 1 carucate of land in Bradfield, Essex, and a payment by the prior of £42 sterling.¹

This grant by William is described as being in demesnes, rents, homages, reliefs, wards, services in villeinage, escheats, woods, meadows, and feedings. Three years later, viz. in 1241, Egidea had married again one William Hannselin, and had begun to commit waste on her dower lands; ² whereon Prior Gerard made complaint both of this and of the sale of lands and woods; there was therefore a plea between them in court when William Hannselin and Egidea acknowledged that the lands and woods were the right of the prior. Whereupon it was agreed that William and Egidea should hold them of the prior during Egidea's life, paying one pound of cummin or 2*d.* yearly; and if William survived he was to have one of the tenements during his life, paying 2*d.* yearly: for this agreement the prior also had to give William and Egidea 40*s.* sterling.³

As already stated,⁴ in 1293 the prior was served with a writ of *Quo Warranto* concerning his claim to view of frankpledge, and to assize of bread and beer, and infangtheof and outfangtheof and gallows in the manor of Little Stanmore, the result of which was to confirm the rights of the prior as to the first two items, but the last three were found to belong to the king.

In the same year as said ⁵ the prior had to defend an action regarding his land in the manor. There was another landowner, Henry Boycoynte (*Bequeynte*), who, on the marriage of Isabel, sister of Henry III, with the Emperor Frederick, paid half a knight's fee for his lands in Stanmore Parva ⁶ held of the barony of William de Reymes.⁷ This man had three granddaughters who, as heiresses, claimed against the prior 24 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow in Stanmore Parva, which they said belonged to their grandfather and when he died descended to their father Ralph. The prior contended that Ralph had an elder brother Henry, who entered into possession at his father's death, but this the granddaughters denied. On this issue

¹ Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 22 Hen. III, n. 164.

² *Ib.*, 25 Hen. III, n. 191. See also above, p. 116.

³ Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 25 Hen. III, n. 191.

⁴ See above, p. 136.

⁶ Lysons, *Environs*, ii, pt. 2, 670.

⁵ See above, p. 136.

⁷ Testa de Nevill, p. 360.

the case went to a jury, but the sisters withdrew, leaving the prior in possession.¹

The conditions in the year 1306 are fully set out in the Rental.² The prior and convent held the view of frankpledge of the whole of the village: they held it yearly on the Thursday before Whitsunday, when they paid the king 2s. for the view.

The advowson of the church was assessed at 40s., the value being 20s. yearly, besides the service of the chaplain, the procuration of the archdeacon, and the greater and lesser tithes, which the prior and convent had not to pay because it was their own parish.

This income, together with that from a windmill in the same place, went to the cellarer.

The total value of the lands of the manor, besides the church and the mill, was, after paying 2s. for the view, £10 10s. 6d., for which the bailiff was responsible. The extent of these lands as given in the Rental is: 156 acres arable at 3d. an acre; the close of the manor with the courtyard and herbage (1s.); 56½ acres of wood and underwood at 3d. an acre; 54 acres pasturage at Lugpyt and Pyrifield, for cows and cart-horses at 2d. an acre; 113 acres pasturage at Grymedich at 2d. an acre; making 379½ acres in all, besides separate fields and commons for 140 sheep.

There were in all 44 tenants, the majority of whom held in villeinage. The terms on which they all held are set out in the Rental,³ some being interesting. John Pers held a messuage and 15 acres, for which he paid 11d. a year. He had to go with two men to the great autumn reaping, and to see that the men did their work well; as, if done badly, he himself would be amerced on their account, if the lord so willed. He was entitled to food three times a day: bread, cheese, and beer for breakfast; bread, beer, potage, and two dishes, meat and cheese, at 'none',⁴ and in common with the other reapers at vespers. The villeins had all the same customs as those of the manor of Langley (*Langele*), with the exception that the widows could not hold for their lives more than a third part of the tenements of which their husbands died seized. The total rent paid by the tenants was £3 7s. 11d. In addition they gave 2 hens and 1 cock, worth 4d.

The total of works of customary tenants at weeding was 22 at ½d. each; at gathering hay the same; at harrowing 11 at ½d. each; at reaping 26 at 1d. each; and at two great reaping days of the lord

¹ Assize R. No. 544, 22 Edw. I, Roll 13.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 450.

³ Ib., Rent. Bodl., p. 450.

⁴ *ad nonam*, from about 2 p.m. to vespers.

and lady 28; 'but', says the Rental, 'they are worth nothing because they take more than the value of the works'. The total value of the works and the hens was thus 4*s.* 9½*d.*

After the Rental was made out the prior and convent acquired still larger grants of land in Little Stanmore; thus in the year 1314 Edward II granted licence for the alienation in mortmain to them, by William Pypard of Little Stanmore, of a messuage, 135 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow, and 35 acres of wood in Little Stanmore,¹ by fine of £10.

In the year 1316 a similar licence was granted to John de Barnevyle, to grant to the prior and convent a messuage, 180 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 10 acres of wood, and 7*s.* 6*d.* rent in Little Stanmore, by fine of 5 marks.²

In the year 1330 the king gave licence to the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, to grant to the prior and convent 6 acres of meadow in Little Stanmore in exchange for a rent and a release, as related in a previous chapter.³ And a further licence was granted in the following year (1331) for alienation in mortmain to the prior and convent, by John son of John le Blount of 'Bickeleswade' (Biggleswade), of 30 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow in Little Stanmore for the purpose⁴ of finding wax lights to burn at daily celebrations.

In the year 1335 the king (Edward III) granted a similar licence to Henry le Heyward and Roger de Cretone concerning a messuage, 120 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 30 acres of wood, and 4*s.* 6*d.* rent in Little Stanmore.^{4 5}

The total of these additional grants is 578 acres, which, with the total given in the Rental, make 957½ acres in all in Little Stanmore, the largest of all the properties of the monastery.

In the year 1291 the lands, meadows, and rents here were valued at £4 7*s.* 4*d.*, and the church at £2.⁶ In 1306 the various valuations amounted to £17 9*s.* 8½*d.*⁷ In 1535 the total value, including woods and perquisites, was £84 16*s.* 11*d.*,⁸ and in 1541 £97 19*s.* 4*d.*⁹

The last valuation gives, besides the names of the leaseholders, the terms and dates of their leases and the nature of their holdings, which seem to be of sufficient interest to give here.

¹ As mentioned, p. 146.

² *Ib.*, also *Inq. a. q. d.*, 10 Edw. II, No. 124-5.

³ See above, p. 158.

⁵ *Inq. a. q. d.*, 232.

⁷ App. I, *Rent. Bodl.*, p. 455.

⁹ *Min. Accts.*, Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁴ See above, p. 157.

⁶ *Tax. Eccles.*, 13 b, 17 b.

⁸ *Valor Eccles.* i, 407.

	£	s.	d.
The <i>Manor of Canons</i> , so called, no doubt, from the canons of St. Bartholomew's, its possessors, consisted of houses, gardens, orchards, ponds and waters called Pole and Le Mote and other fisheries, a grove, and rents of free and customary tenants let on lease for 50 years from 1535	13	6	8
Houses and buildings pertaining to the Manor of Stanmore, called the Hoggehouse, Cookhouse, Cowhouses, Dairy, Stables, the Mylhouse, the Buttinge House, the Carthouse; also fields called Hudefelde, Brodefelde, and 2 fields called Grymesdich; 2 groves called Clith Clay Croft and Cloyster; the moiety of a wood called Hegerowe; let on lease for 25 years from 1527	20	0	0
Fields called Grene Marsle, Hamistlyne, Luddepittes, and Anne Marsh in the parish of Whitechurch; let on lease for 30 years from 1520	13	8	9
Three closes of arable land and pasture called Quarter lands, in the parish of Little Stanmore; let on lease for 41 years from 1538	4	0	0
Two fields called Hillfeld and Dousemerefeld; 3 little crofts, horse croft; two groves, Chaynes Grove and Wrennes Grove; let on lease for 31 years from 1536	15	0	0
Three acres on lease for 30 years from 1526	1	0	0
Fields called the Mare, Great Stones, Little Stones, Perry Well, a croft called Chalke Croft; 2 groves called Holman Grove, Bartholomew Grove; and two little parcels called Terretts adjoining the yard of St. Bartholomew's in the parish of Edgeware; also field and meadows in the parish of Whitechurch; let on lease for 30 years from 1527	13	6	8
Meadows called Potters Meade, Hokemedede and Sharp Crofts, Nether Hokewell; let on lease for 31 years from 1531	4	10	0
Five fields between the High Beeches (<i>Altas fagos</i>) in Whitechurch; let on lease for 31 years from 1533	4	0	0
Lands called 'Wimboroughe' in Little Stanmore	6	0	0
Rents of lands in Stanmore (3 items)		6	0
Autumn work issuing from lands (33 names)	3	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<u>£97</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4$\frac{1}{4}$</u>

Some reference must here be made to the subsequent history of the church and Manor of Canons.

The property¹ was granted by the name of the Manors of CANONS and 'WIMBOROUGH', in WHITCHURCH, to Hugh Losse, Esq.,² whose

¹ Cal. State Papers, xviii, No. 623, p. 364, and ib. xix, No. 1036.

² 'Lose' in L. and P., For. and Dom., 1546, No. 332 (61). Malcolm (*Lond. Red.*

descendant, Sir Hugh Losse, sold it to Sir Thomas Lake in the year 1604. The manor continued in the family of Lake until the marriage of James Brydges, Esq., afterwards Duke of Chandos, with Mary, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Lake. The Duke of Chandos, in the year 1712, built on the estate a magnificent mansion at a cost, with the furniture, of £200,000. Pope's satire on false taste was supposed to have been directed against Canons and its owner.

'The suffering eye inverted nature sees,
Trees cut like statues, statues thick as trees.

And now the chapel's silver bell you hear
That summons you to all the pride of pray'r.

But hark ! the chiming clocks to dinner call,
A hundred footsteps grace the marble hall.'

At the death of the duke the mansion, being too expensive to keep up, was taken down and the material sold by auction.¹

The church of St. Lawrence, which was neither a rectory nor a vicarage, but a donative or curacy,² was rebuilt by the duke in 1715, but not completed until 1720.

Handel was organist here from 1718 to 1721, and chapel master to the duke,³ with whom he often stayed at Canons. And here he is said to have composed his *Esther* for the re-opening service of this church, which took place on August 29th, 1720. At this time Dr. Randall, of Cambridge, with Beard and Savage, were in the choir, and Dr. Pepusch composed the morning and evening services. Handel's 'Harmonious Blacksmith' is said to have been composed in the village. William Powel was the blacksmith and the parish clerk. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Lawrence, with the inscription over his grave: 'Sacred to the memory of William Powel, the Harmonious Blacksmith, died February 27th, 1780, aged about 78.'

285) quotes sale of lands in Stanmore in 1556 to show that land at that time sold at 28 years' purchase.

¹ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 672.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 731.

³ Armstrong, *Little Stanmore*, p. 8.

The Family of Rames or Rennes or Reymes.

(They held great possessions in Essex, which constituted a barony.)¹

- Roger de Rames, or an ancestor,² acquired the manor of Bradfield, Essex. *cir.* 1066
He held the manor of Stanmore at the time of Domesday.¹ 1080-1086
- Robert de Rames gave the church of St. Bartholomew, Tydulfneestre (Elstree),³ to the prior and convent. *ante* 1176
- Roger de Ramis gave the church of St. Lawrence, Stanmore,³ and was father of William⁴. 1176
- William de Reymes
m. Sarah. conceded certain property in Edgware³ (Eggeswere) to the prior and convent. *ante* 1176
He gave the church of Bradfield³ (Brade-feld) with the chapel of Mannester (Manningtree). *ante* 1176
Henry Bocointe paid a mark into the Exchequer that he might implead William de Reymes for the manor of Edgware.⁵ 1171
He (William) granted to Adam, son of Ralph son of Adam, half his land in Edgware and Stanmore which Ralph, Adam's father, held of Roger, William's father; witnessed by Prior Roger (1176) and a Richard de Rames (possibly a son).⁴ William's wife was named Sarah.⁴ 1176-1189
- ?Richard m. Egidea who on the death of her first husband married Wm. Hannselin⁶ and made waste of her dower lands. *cir.* 1241
- William de Rames described as grandson of William: successfully claimed the advowson of the church of Bradfield.⁷ 1224
Described as great-grandson of Roger, exchanged with Prior Gerard the reversion of the land in Little Stanmore which his mother Egidea held in dower for land in Bradfield. ⁸ 1238

¹ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 2, p. 670.

² V.C.H., *Essex*, i, 533.

³ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6, *cir.* 1176.

⁴ Cat. Anc. Deeds, R.O., A. 2146, Hen. II? (1154-1189).

⁵ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 1, p. 155.

⁶ Feet of Fines, 25 Hen. III, n. 191.

⁷ Cur. Reg. R., No. 87, m. 13 d.

⁸ Feet of Fines, 22 Hen. III, n. 164.

At EDGWARE (Eggeswere,¹ Heggwere²) there is no mention of the possessions of the prior and convent either in the *Taxatio*, Rental, *Valor*, or Ministers' Accounts; but in his charter *cir.* 1176 Henry II confirmed to the prior and convent 'whatever William de Ramis, or Adam Buchiunte (Bocoynte), or Earl Patrick,³ or Countess Ela have conceded to them in the village of Eggeswere and at Tidulnestre' ¹ (Elstree, Herts).

Lysons says the first mention of Edgware he found was in the year 1171,⁴ when Henry Bocoynte paid one mark that he might implead William de Reymes for the manor. Soon after he says it belonged to Ela Countess of Salisbury, when, from the above record, she evidently made some small grant in Edgware and Elstree to the priory.

About the same time (*cir.* 1176), Prior Roger, who we have assumed succeeded Prior Thomas on his death in 1174, appears ⁵ as a witness to a grant by William de Rames to Adam (Bocoynte) of half his land in Edgware and Stanmore,⁶ which was on the opposite side of the main road which passes through Edgware to that of the canons of St. Bartholomew's.⁷

In the year 1202, another Henry Buchiunte (for he is described as 'the clerk son of Humphrey Bucunte') sold by fine to Prior Richard a virgate of land in 'Heggwere' for which the prior paid two marks in silver.⁸

There is also a record of an exchange by the prior and convent of 2 acres of arable land for the ditch made from Adam son of Roger atte Marsh's land round the grove at 'Eggeswere'.⁹ And in the year 1374, the king (Edward III) granted licence for the gift to the prior and convent of 2 messuages and 2 acres of land in 'Eggeswere and Iddestre'.¹⁰

Why none of this small property, like Elstree, is mentioned in the *Valor* or in the Ministers' Accounts, is not clear, unless it be that the property, including the manor of Elstree (which is described as in the township of Edgware), was alienated before the suppression; but no record in confirmation of this has been met with, and at the time of the suppression there was a lease of lands in Edgware, granted

¹ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6, *cir.* 1176.

² Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 4 John, No. 20.

³ de Evereux the first Earl of Salisbury, slain 1167.

⁴ Lysons, *Environs Middlesex*, ii, pt. 1, p. 155; see also above, p. 99.

⁵ Above, p. 99.

⁶ Cat. Anc. Deeds, Middlesex, ii, A, 2146.

⁷ *Ib.*, A, 2314.

⁸ Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 4 John, No. 20.

⁹ Cat. Anc. Deeds, Middlesex, A, 11650.

¹⁰ Pat., 47 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 5.

by Prior Bolton for £6 13s. 4d., and another by Prior Fuller for £15.¹ But in October 1545 numerous messuages, cottages, lands, rents, and services in 'Edgwarth' and Stanmore Parva, and the farm of Wimborrowe in Little Stanmore, were sold to Hugh Losse and Agnes his wife,² by the king.

At FULPASHE, according to the *Valor*, the prior and convent had possessions valued at £4. We have been unable to locate this place, but in the Ministers' Accounts³ it is stated that the rent and farm there had been granted to 'Sir Thomas Crumwell, Kt., late Earl of Essex of high treason attainted', so no value given. (It is the following entry in the *Valor* to Charlton and is included among the Middlesex possessions.)

ELSTREE is now in Hertfordshire, just over the Middlesex border, on the road that runs through Edgware and Little Stanmore, to which Elstree adjoins. (The ancient names were *Tithufes*, in the tenth century;⁴ *Tydufnestre* in 1176;⁵ *Tydalnestre* in 1187⁶; *Tidulnestre*⁷ in 1190⁷ and 1253;⁸ *Idelstre* in 1306,⁹ and *Ilstrey* in the sixteenth century.)⁴ As it is stated in the Rental that the place was in the same county and hundred as Little Stanmore (i.e. in Co. Middlesex and Gore hundred) and that it was in the township of Edgware; and further, as the grants of possessions in Elstree were in the year 1176⁵ included in those of Edgware, it will be convenient to describe the Elstree possessions here.

The Rental says, 'There the prior and convent have a manor called Idelstre, of which manor they hold the site and 50 acres of land, 9½ acres of wood, and 6 acres of meadow, which are in the township (*villata*) of Edgware, in frankalmoign, by grant of Philip,¹⁰ formerly Count of Sarum, now of the Countess of Lincoln,¹¹ who is the heiress of that count. And they hold in respect of the said manor of the fee of Little Stanmore from our Lord the King by military service 150 acres of land, 3 acres of wood, and 4 acres of meadow' (&c.). The three tenants held in domain 5 messuages and 13½ acres of the fee of Edgware and were in the view of the prior and convent at

¹ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, Nos. 229, 237, 257.

² Cal. State Papers, xx, pt. 1, No. 707 (44), grants in Oct. 1545.

³ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, draft No. 2376.

⁴ V. C. H., *Herts*, ii, 349.

⁵ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6.

⁶ *Ib.*, Chart. No. 8.

⁷ *Ib.*, Chart. No. 10.

⁸ *Ib.*, Chart. No. 16.

⁹ *Ib.*, Rent. Bodl., p. 456.

¹⁰ Should be Patrick (not Philip): see above.

¹¹ Countess of Salisbury (the 2nd Ela) intended. She was granddaughter of Patrick and only child of William the 2nd Earl. She married William de Longespée, illegitimate son of Henry II, and he thus became Earl of Salisbury *iure uxoris*.

Little Stanmore. The total value is given at 73s. 10d. There is no mention of this manor, either in the *Valor* or in the Ministers' Accounts; but there is a record¹ that Pope Clement, in the year 1188, granted to the kitchen of St. Albans the whole land of Elstree and the wood of Boreham for the feeding of the swine; which land St. Albans retained until the suppression.

In addition to the manor, the charters of *cir.* 1176, 1187, 1190, and 1253, all confirm to the prior and convent, 'by gift of Robert de Ramis, the church of St. Bartholomew of Tydulfnestre with all appurtenances'. There is no record of this church or chapel in Elstree: the parish church there of St. Nicholas was part of the possessions of the abbot and convent of St. Albans. Also there is no mention of it in the Rental under Elstree, but under Aldenham, some three to four miles north-west of Elstree, mention is made of a payment, as stated below, of '2s. 6d. a year on the feast of St. Bartholomew at the chapel of Idelstre'. There seems to be some confusion concerning these Elstree possessions, which we cannot explain.

ALDENHAM (Aldnam) is also included in the Rental as belonging to Middlesex, though really it is in Hertfordshire. There is no mention of the place in the early charters, nor in the *Taxatio* of 1291, nor yet in the *Valor*, nor in the Ministers' Accounts. The Rental of 1306 thus describes the possessions there: 'There they have 2 crofts, lying in the parish of Bushey, and they pay 2s. 6d. a year on the feast of St. Bartholomew at the chapel of Idelstre'. There were 8 tenants (named), who paid in all 7s. 7d. rent.

'At the same place the said prior and convent have one chapel within their court, to which oblations come on St. Bartholomew's Day, and they are worth 24s. a year', which sum was taken by the cellarer.

In ACTON (Co. Middlesex) the prior and convent acquired by grant from Adam de Herewynton, the king's clerk, in the year 1328² (i.e. after the date of the Rental) land, &c., already referred to,³ namely 1 messuage, 1½ carucates of land; 7½ acres of meadow; 60 acres of pasture; 40 acres of wood; 4s. 1d. rent, and the rent of 1 lb. of pepper. At that time the value was as declared at the inquisition,⁴ of the messuage, 2s. a year; of 270 acres of land, 2d. per acre beyond what was due to the chief lord; the meadows, 1s. an acre; the pasture, 3d. per acre; the 40 acres of wood, 6s. 8d. only, because the wood was young.

¹ Matthew Paris (Rolls Ser.), vi, 46.

² Feet of Fines, Middlesex, 2 Edw. III, n. 11.

³ See above, p. 155.

⁴ Inq. a. q. d., File 195, No. 11.

In the year 1349 the prior and convent acquired a further 100 acres of land here by grant of Edmund de Grymesby,¹ who in the same year also gave 33 acres at Theydon Bois.²

In the year 1374 their possessions here were still further increased by the grant by John Chishull, chaplain, and others,³ of a toft, 116 acres of land; 5 acres of meadow; and 6 acres of wood in Acton.

Prior Bolton, on the 25th May, 1528, granted a lease of the manor of Acton for 40 years, from Michaelmas 1536, to Geoffrey Wharton, for £17, and of another portion to the same man for £2 6s. 8d.,⁴ and these were running at the time of the suppression.

In 1534 Prior Fuller and the convent granted an annuity of 4 marks of rent, issuing out of the manor of Acton, to one Humphrey Barrett.⁵

In the *Valor*⁶ the manor of Acton is only valued at £15 3s. 4d., but in the Ministers' Accounts at £17, where the above lease to Geoffrey Wharton, clerk, is quoted as including all the lands, meadows, feedings, &c., to the same manor belonging, except and reserved all those trees now growing or being near the aforesaid manor, *pro umbracione* of the manor.⁷ The prior held half a knight's fee here in the year 1428.⁸

The manor of Acton was sold with other property in May 1543 to John Russell, K.G., Lord Russell, and Keeper of the Privy Seal.

HERTFORDSHIRE

At AMWELL⁹ (Emewell,¹⁰ Amewell¹¹), between Hertford and St. Margarets, the prior and convent had, of the gift of Alexander de Swereford,¹¹ 5 acres of meadow called Brademede, and one in the fee of the Abbot of Waltham; and 1 acre by the town of Hertford, in a meadow called Bassemede in Wydemeryse, all held of Philip de Hertford in frankalmoign, in the fee of Philip Basse. The value of the 5 acres at 3s. an acre was 15s., which was taken by the cellarer.

This small possession does not appear in the *Valor* or in the Ministers' Accounts.

Amwell, originally Emma's Well, named, it is said, after Emma the wife of Cnut, was one of the springs used by Sir Hugh Middleton, in 1613, for the New River to supply London with pure water.

¹ See above, p. 164.

² See above, pp. 164 and 332.

³ See above, p. 169.

⁴ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, 271, 289.

⁵ Aug. Misc. Bks., p. 95.

⁶ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁷ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁸ Cal. Feudal Aids, iii, 383.

⁹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 457.

¹⁰ Tax. Eccles., p. 15.

¹¹ App. I, p. 485, Chart. No. 16 (1253).

At PONT'TEGULE (Pontetegula,¹ Pons de Thele, Punt de Tyull, Pons Tegule, Pons Tegleri; modern name Stanstead St. Margaret²) in the same hundred (of Hertford) William de Goldington held of the prior and convent a granary for which he paid 1s. 6d. a year, and this went to the cellarer.³

At HERTFORD, in the same hundred and in the Bishopric of Lincoln, the prior and convent had rents from tenants by grant of Alexander de Swereford,⁴ Canon of St. Paul's (described in the Rental as Magister Alexander de Scherford), in fee of the king, the Abbot of Waltham, and John de la Mare. Fifteen tenants were outside the town and did homage at Amwell: 22 tenants were within the town and did no homage. One of the tenants outside the town, for 6 acres of land, paid 1 penny and 1 pair of gauntlets. The total rent from the 37 tenants was, in the year 1306, £1 13s. 4d. and 3 pairs of gauntlets.⁵

At one of the many inquisitions held at the direction of Edward I on the death of his father, the jury found that the prior held here one carucate of land by grant of 'Alexander de Suereford' in prejudice of the king.⁶

At 'GORMELEG' in the same hundred the prior and convent held 2 acres of meadow of Lord Richard de Perers in frankalmoign, worth 8s. a year, which went to the cellarer.⁷ As this place does not appear in any of the other records, it may be a slip of the scribe of the Rental for Wormley, which is in the Hertford hundred.⁸

At TEWIN (Thewynge,⁹ Tywinge,¹⁰ Twenge,¹¹ Tiwynges,¹² Tywinge,¹³ Tewynge,¹⁴ Tewinge¹⁵), in the hundred of Hertford and bishopric of Lincoln (some three miles to the west of Hertford), the prior and convent held the manor of Tewin and the advowson of the church there, which together formed one of the more important possessions of the monastery.

It is first mentioned in Henry III's charter of 1253,¹⁶ wherein he confirms 'all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they have in the township of Tywinge by gift of Alexander de Swereford, sometime treasurer of St. Paul's, London, of the fee of Godfrey de Tywinge, son of Richard de Tywinge, and John, son of John, son of Vitalis, together with the church of the same township'. Alexander

¹ Hund. Rolls.

² V.C.H., *Herts*, vol. iii, pp. 472, 476.

³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 457.

⁴ App. I, p. 485, Chart. No. 16.

⁵ Ib., Rent. Bodl., p. 457.

⁶ Hund. Rolls, vol. i, p. 191.

⁷ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 460.

⁸ Mr. W. Page and Mr. H. S. Kingsford suggested this to the author.

⁹ Assize Roll No. 323, 6 Edw. I, rol. 35 (1195).

¹⁰ App. I, p. 485, Chart. 16 (1253).

¹¹ Tax. Eccles., p. 37 (*cir.* 1291).

¹² Test. Nevill, 271 b (13th cent.).

¹³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 460 (1306).

¹⁴ Valor Eccles. i, 407 (1535).

¹⁵ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 1541.

¹⁶ App. I, p. 485, Chart. No. 16.

de Swereford (who was also a baron of the exchequer and may have been son of the Master Richard Shoreford) probably made his grant, as already explained,¹ about the year 1242. At any rate he put the prior and convent in possession before his death² in the year 1246. At that time Godfrey de Tewinge, who held a half knight's fee in Tewin, confirmed Alexander's grant of lands and of the advowson of the church to the prior, Peter le Duc, and his church for ever, paying therefor yearly one penny at Easter, and for this confirmation the prior gave Godfrey 5 marks in silver.³

In the year 1266-7 some dispute arose concerning a holding of the convent in Tewin. John, son of Godfrey de Tewinge, thereupon brought an action of novel disseisin (practically an action of ejectment) against Godfrey de Tewinge (apparently his father) and the prior of St. Bartholomew's.⁴ The verdict of the jury was in favour of John, who took possession and subsequently granted the holding to Eleanor, the queen of Henry III. The subsequent action of Prior Hugh to regain possession in the year 1269 has already been fully related.⁵

In the year 1273, in addition to the lands granted by Alexander de Swereford, Prior Hugh acquired by fine⁶ from Symon Tayllepast 1 messuage and 214 acres of land in Tewin and 5 acres of meadow in Amwell which Symon first held of the prior. For this fine the prior agreed to pay yearly to Symon for his life 10 marks of silver with right of distrain in case of non-payment, but to be quit of the payment on Symon's death.⁶

In the year 1278⁷ his claim to view of frankpledge in a tenement of Tewin was not allowed by the jury, who recommended that the king should recover the view.

In 1279 Prior Hugh was again in conflict with John son of Godfrey de Tewinge;⁸ this time concerning the payment of 2s. a year due to

¹ See above, p. 119.

² *Ann. Dunstap.* iii, 130, Rolls Series.

³ Feet of Fines, 31 Hen. III, n. 329, 11 Nov. (1246).

⁴ Pat., 51 Hen. III, m. 13 d (1266/7).

⁵ See above, p. 134.

⁶ Feet of Fines, Hertford, 1 Edw. I, n. 17, 11 June (1273).

⁷ See above, p. 136.

⁸ The following table will enable the ownerships to be more clearly understood, being gathered from the V. C. H., *Herts*, iii, 480:

Godfrey de Tywyngne held one half fee in Tewin; Brian de T. the other half.

Richard de T., son of Godfrey, was sheriff of Hertford in 1180.

Godfrey de T., son of Richard, granted land to Alexander de Swereford, and confirmed the same to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's in 1246.

John de T. = Amabel. Guy de T. succeeded on death of Amabel, John's widow.

The mesne lordship apparently died with him. In 1303 the half fee was held immediately of John Comyn by John Godefroi, the

the king for 180 acres of land in Tewin. On this occasion the prior came off best, as already seen.¹

In 1306 the Bodleian Rental thus describes (translated) the possessions at that date :

' There the said prior and convent have a manor called Tywinge which they hold of John son of Godfrey de Tywinge in frankalmoign and the said John ought to warrant that manor as against Lord Edmund Comyn, of whom the said John holds it for the fourth part of a knight's fee. In the same manor the said prior and convent hold a field, called Chelestresfeld, where there are 16 acres of land, of the Prior of Widmundel (Wymondley), paying therefor yearly 2*d.* at Michaelmas and Easter, for all service. In the same manor they hold a field called Baldwynesfeld, where are 26 acres of land and 2 acres of wood ; paying therefor yearly to lord William Mulksoppe, of whom it is held, 4*s.* 3*d.* for all land service. In the same manor they hold one messuage and half a virgate of land in Locklege, which Robert Kyffeit holds of them, and another half virgate of land which other tenants hold of them in Lockeleye of Ada de Maundevile ; paying therefor 5*s.* yearly for all service. In the same manor they hold one acre of meadow of John Godfrey ; paying therefor 1*d.* yearly for all service. In the same manor they have the view of frankpledge of all their tenants, and they give nothing to the king for their view. And the advowson of the church of the same township belongs to the said manor, which is assessed at £10 and is worth £20, to which church they present at the time of a vacancy. The amount of rent payable therefrom is 9*s.* 5*d.* Thereof Robert Kiffeit is appointed to pay 5*s.* to Ada Mandevile.'

' And they have in the same manor in all 199 acres and a water-mill, worth altogether clear £9 6*s.* 3*d.*'

Then follow the names of 21 tenants in Tewin and 8 in Lockeleye, with particulars of their rents, &c.²

' Memorandum that all the aforesaid tenants are free and have free customs, except that John Gounild, the serf, and Robert Kyffeyte hold in villeinage.'

Subsequent to the date of the rental the prior and convent added further to their holdings in Tewin.

In the year 1342³ the prior and convent acquired by gift of John Darcy le Cosyn⁴ 200 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, 6 acres of wood, and 38*s.* rent, in Tewin, Hertingfordbury, and Panshanger. The

Prior of St. Bartholomew's, Roger de Luda, John de la Penne, and John the chaplain (see Cal. of Feudal Aids, ii, 434).

In 1347 the portion of Roger de Luda was conveyed to the prior by Richard de Birton. In 1428 the half fee was held by the prior and his co-owners.

¹ See above, p. 135.

² App. I, p. 461.

³ See above, p. 159.

⁴ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d. 262/16, 26 Aug. 1342.

inquisition held showed that 180 acres were held of Sir William de Lodewyk, Kt., who held from William de Botereans and Muriel his wife in her right; and they held from the king in chief as parcel of the manor of Little Berkhamstead.

Ten acres in Hertingfordbury were held of William de Newcastle and Alice his wife in her right, who held of Richard Talbot, lord of Hertingfordbury, and he of the king in chief as parcel of the manor of Hertingfordbury. The other 10 acres were held of the Prior of Wylemondale (Wymondley), and he held of Richard Talebot aforesaid. For this grant the king gave licence three days later, on the 29th August.¹

In the year 1347² they acquired by gift of Richard de Birton and Roger de Creton³ 2 messuages and a carucate of land and 34 acres and 16s. rent in Tewin. At the inquisition it was shown that 1 messuage and 65 acres of the said carucate were held of Roger de Luda, who held of the heirs of Edmund Comyn, chevalier, as of the manor of 'Sencampe', and the heirs held of the king in chief. The residue of the premises was held of the prior of Wymondley, who held of Richard Talbot, chevalier, as of the manor of 'Hertfordingebury', and he of the king in chief. Much of the land was poor and stony and part uncultivated. The total net value was declared to be worth £2 12s. 9d. a year only. For this grant the licence of the king was given a month later,⁴ where the yearly value was £1 16s. 9d.

In the year 1359^{5 6} the prior and convent acquired by gift, of Robert de Thorpe and Master Roger Kempele, 16½ acres in Tewin. The inquisition showed that 34 acres were held of Henry Melksop; 4 acres of John Colyn, for 4d. yearly, and the service of finding one lamp burning in the church of Tewin; 39¾ acres were held of Smithfield priory; and 2 acres of Ralph Rolf. The total value was only 2s. 6d. a year clear. Licence was granted by the king on the 10th March following.⁷

In the year 1377 they acquired by gift of John Chishull, clerk, and John Mirfeld,⁸ 27s. 5½d. rents and one rose in Tewin; and of John Chishull alone, 186½ acres and 5d. rent in Tewin and Hilwen, Dacheworth and Knebworth (places near); and by gift of both of

¹ Pat., 16 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 17, 29 Aug. (1342).

² See above, p. 159.

³ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d. 232, 9 Sept., 21 Edw. III.

⁴ Pat., 21 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 32, 6 Oct. (1347).

⁵ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d., Ser. 1, File 329, No. 1, 33 Edw. III, 18 Jan. (1359).

⁶ See above, p. 166.

⁷ Pat., 33 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16, 10 Mar. (1359).

⁸ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d., File 390, No. 16, 51 Edw. III, 13 Apr. (1377); and above, p. 169.

them the reversion of the other manor of Tewin¹ after the death of Joan, who was widow of John Spendelove. The inquisition showed that 184½ acres were held of the priory by the service of 3s. yearly; and the manor and the residue of Sir William de Morlee, marshal of Ireland, as of his manor of Walkerne. The total value was £4 clear. Licence to grant² was given by the king on the 27th May.

In the year 1532 a lease of the manor of Tewin for 61 years was granted by Prior Fuller to John North, otherwise John Parsonage, at a yearly rent of £20, he doing all the repairs to houses and buildings.³ In 1535⁴ the possessions of the monastery in lands and rents in Tewin were valued on the basis of this lease at £20 a year. The value of the wood is given separately at 20s. and the perquisites on an average at 11s. 4d. a year.

In 1541 the valuation was the same, viz. £20,⁵ but it included all woods and underwood, lands, meadows, and pastures, all the rents of assize, warren of coney, &c., and the advowson of the church.

In 1544 the manor of Tewin and the advowson of the church were sold with other property to John Cock of Broxbourne, Herts.⁶

In SHENLEY (Schenle⁷), about 5 miles to the north of Elstree, the prior and convent held the manor of HOLMES, also called Canon Holmes.⁸ It was the gift of Adam de Somery and Saer, son of Henry,⁹ 'for which they had to find two canons to celebrate there for ever for the soul of Adam, his ancestors and descendants'. In the manor, in the year 1306,¹⁰ they held 51 acres by knight service, and 9 acres of the manor of Shenley next the White Way, called Neleslond; also 7 acres of pasture called the Hoke. They paid ½d. a year for having a way by the field of Henry de Durehem. They also paid 5s. a year to the mother-church of Shenley for a chantry and a bell there. They did not hold the view of frankpledge because their tenants were in the view of Shenley and with Thomas de Musham. There were in demesne 244 acres in all, and pasturage for 100 sheep. There also appertained to the manor in London in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles 20s. a year from a messuage with 4 shops. The total clear value of the manor was £8 2s. 9½d., but the Rental states the prior and convent made no profit out of it because they had to pay more. It was granted after the suppression to one John Brockett.

¹ As the prior and convent already had the main manor of Tewin in 1306, the V. C. H. assumes that the two manors now became united.

² Pat., 51 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 8 or 9, 27 May, 1377.

³ Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, London, 291, 6 Nov., 24 Hen. VIII.

⁴ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁵ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396.

⁶ L. and P., For. and Dom. xix, pt. 1, No. 80 (48), Grants in Jan. 1544.

⁷ Rent. Bodl., p. 464.

⁸ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁹ App. I, p. 485, Cart. No. 16 (1253).

¹⁰ Rent. Bodl., p. 464.

In the year 1291 the yearly value of the lands belonging to the priory of St. Bartholomew in Shenley was 10s.¹ In the year 1512 Prior Bolton granted a lease of the manor to Sir John Cutts for £4 13s. 4d.² In 1533 Prior Fuller granted a lease of the same to Robert and William Basse³ for the same sum, at which amount it was valued in 1535,⁴ and also in 1541,⁵ when the Ministers' Accounts said Cutts' lease was still running.

In 1543 it was sold by Sir Edward North, treasurer of the Augmentations, to Nicholas Bristow.

The Manor of Wellhall or Walhale⁶ was given to the prior and convent by John Mirfield the physician and by John Harpelsfeld in the year 1392.⁷ The date being later than that of the Rental accounts for its not being there mentioned. Cussans says it is an estate of 400 acres, the greater part of which is in the parish of Aldenham.⁸ The inquisition held at Barnet on the 16th September, 1392,⁶ only refers to 162 acres and various rents, viz., 'The site of the manor, 86 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow, 2½ acres of wood, and 14s. 1d. rent, and a rent of 2 capons in the vills of Parksokne and Watford.' They were held of the Abbot of St. Albans by knight service for 24s. 2d. a year. The value was returned at 13s. 4d. yearly. Other parcels of the manor were 60 acres of land, 1½ acres of wood, a rent of 31s. and 1 lb. of cummin in Aldenham. These were held of the Abbot of Westminster by 6s. 8d. rent, and the yearly value was then 6s. 8d. beyond reprises.⁹

It was valued in 1535, also in 1541, at £4 13s. 4d., at which rent it was demised to William Sampson by indenture 20th April, 28 Henry VIII (1537), for 70 years,¹⁰ but in 1544 it was sold with other property to Edward Ebrington and Humphrey Metcalf.¹¹ It is described as in the parish of St. Stephen, Co. Herts. (i.e. St. Stephen, St. Albans).

At MEESDEN (Mesdon),¹² a small village in the north-east of the county, not far from Clavering in Essex, the prior and convent held, in the year 1291, some land and meadows of the heir of Dionisius Lord Montchesney (*de Monte Canisio*) assessed at 7s. 6d.;¹³ but no further record has been found concerning them.

¹ Tax. Eccles. 52 b.

² Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, No. 222.

³ Ib., No. 252.

⁴ Valor Eccles. i, 407.

⁵ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, No. 2396.

⁶ Inq. a. q. d., File 417, n. 9.

⁷ As mentioned above, p. 182.

⁸ Cussans, *Herts*, iii, 276.

⁹ Rent-charge, &c., made yearly out of an estate.

¹⁰ Min. Accts., Hen. VIII, 2396, and Aug. Off. Conv. Leases, No. 224.

¹¹ L. and P., For. and Dom. xix, No. 442, grants in Apr. 1544.

¹² Tax. Eccles., f. 15.

¹³ Ib., f. 15.

Chauncy states¹ that the manor of AYOT ST. LAWRENCE was held by the prior and convent by the gift of Henry I, but no evidence has been found in support of this statement; on the contrary, it has been shown that the manor was held by the Mandevilles from the year 1086 until it passed to Mary de Bohun, Queen of Henry IV. In 1525 it had descended to Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, who was beheaded in 1539, and so came into the hands of the king, who, in 1543, granted it to John Brockett and two others, together with the manor of Canon Holmes,² as stated above, p. 363.

At HEMEL HEMPSTEAD (between St. Albans and Berkhamstead) the prior and convent at one time held the advowson of the church (dedicated in honour of 'the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ'), now St. Mary's, in that place, but of whose gift does not appear. It is, however, recorded that, in the year 1201, they gave King John 200 marks for the confirmation of the grant.³ The church is not mentioned in Henry III's charter of 1253, though it must have been in their possession at that time. In 1323 John de Pekesden released the church for 60 marks to the rector of Assherigge.⁴

THE CITY OF LONDON AND SUBURBS

The possessions in London are confirmed in the charter of Henry II, *cir.* 1176,⁵ and consist of: the place in Smithfield where the church was built; the church of St. Sepulchre in the 'Bayly'; the church of St. Martin Pomeroy; a moiety of the church of St. Mary Aldermary; and the church of St. Michael's Bassishaw.

In 1253⁶ the same confirmations occur with the addition of 'the site of the Hospital of the Poor'. In 1291⁷ the rents, which came from tenements in 49 different parishes in London, were valued at £72 5s. 8d. In 1306⁸ the rents, which then came from 53 parishes, amounted to £126 7s., and in 1535⁹ they amounted to £451 3s. 7d.

The site in Smithfield has already been dealt with in the chapter on the Founder.¹⁰

The CHURCH OF ST. SEPULCHRE has also been referred to.¹¹ It was, with its tithes and appurtenances, granted by the great Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, to Rahere in or before the year 1137. It was the most important church possessed by the prior and convent, and it is said

¹ Chauncy, *Herts*, p. 322.

² L. and P., For. and Dom. xviii, pt. 1, No. 981 (95).

³ Oblation Roll, 2 John.

⁴ As already mentioned, see p. 155.

⁵ App. I, p. 479, Chart. No. 6.

⁶ *Ib.*, No. 16.

⁷ Tax. Eccles., see below, p. 379.

⁸ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 465.

⁹ Valor Eccles., see below, p. 380.

¹⁰ See above, p. 44.

¹¹ See above, p. 77.

to have been the finest church in London. The Rental thus describes it: 'There the prior and convent have the church of St. Sepulchre without Newgate to their own use, which is assigned to finding the vesture and shoes of the canons of the house. And the church, without the vicar's portion, is assessed at £8 and is worth £12 a year; and the vicarage is assessed by itself at £5 a year and is worth 10 marks a year; and to this vicarage the prior and convent present when there is a vacancy.' In 1535 the church, with the tithe, was valued at £42.¹

The church was, about the middle of the fifteenth century, in part rebuilt or enlarged by Sir John Popham,² who added a large chapel on the south side of the church. The dispute between the prior and convent and the vicar, Robert Dyker, concerning the tithes and profits of the church, has been already referred to;³ also that Henry VIII desired and obtained from Prior Bolton the advowson of the church for his notorious chaplain, Rowland Lee, in the year 1532;⁴ and that Prior Fuller willed to be buried in Corpus Christi chapel in the church.⁵

In the year 1550 one Nicos Yettiwort obtained the advowson, then in the hands of the Crown, for one turn, and presented John Rogers, who was deprived when Mary came to the throne. He was the first person to be burnt in Smithfield as a heretic by that queen, the execution taking place on the 4th February, 1555. His name is inscribed on the tablet on the wall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The church remained in the hands of the crown until 1610, when James I granted it to Francis Philips and others; after which the rectory and its appurtenances were purchased by the parishioners and held in fee farm of the Crown, and the advowson of the vicarage by the president and fellows of St. John's College, Oxford,⁶ who are the present patrons.

The church was burnt in the Great Fire in 1666, but the tower, porch, and walls were left standing. The six monastic bells, which were acquired from St. Bartholomew's at the suppression, were unfortunately 'run out' in the fire, but the metal was again used when the present bells were recast.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN POMEROY was in Ironmonger Lane. It is first mentioned in the year *cir.* 1176, when Henry II confirmed to the prior and convent the church of St. Martin *in Pomerio* by gift of Ralph Trichet (or Trochet), a benefactor to the monasteries of Holy

¹ Valor Eccles., see below, p. 381.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 530.

³ See above, p. 232.

⁴ See above, p. 233.

⁵ See below, p. 259.

⁶ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 530.

Trinity, Aldgate, and St. John of Jerusalem. The derivation of the word 'Pomeroy' is doubtful. There was a Ralph de Pomeroy in Domesday who gave the name to Berry Pomeroy; and in the same way it is possible that a member of the family may have given the name to the church of St. Martin, as the church of St. Martin Orgar derived its name from the donor of the church, one *Odgarus* or *Ordgarus*.¹ Mr. C. L. Kingsford has pointed out² that in mediaeval Latin *pomarium* means an orchard, so that *in pomerio* probably means the church in the orchard. The Latin dictionary³ describes *pomerium* as the space kept open within and without the walls of a Roman town, bounded by stones, within which the city's auspices were taken. St. Martin's was in the ward of Cheap, and it has been suggested⁴ that the *pomerium* in which this church was subsequently built (St. Martin did not die until 399) was the *pomerium* of the first Roman London, destroyed by Boadicea, *cir.* A. D. 60. (The first city was much smaller than the second, round which the Romans built London's wall, but this theory requires confirmatory evidence.)

In 1383 the prior and convent obtained licence in mortmain from Richard II to appropriate the church of which they already held the advowson.⁵ They always presented to the church at the time of a vacancy,⁶ excepting in the years 1361 and 1367, when the king (Edward III) exercised the patronage, and in 1499, when John Agmudesham presented for that turn, and in 1538, when Sir Richard Rich did the same.⁷ After the suppression the patronage was with the Crown. The church was burnt in 1666 and never rebuilt; afterwards the parish was united with that of St. Olave Jewry.

The church was taxed in 1291 at £3 8s.⁸ In 1306 it was valued at £4.⁹ The master of the infirmary also received 8s. from the church.

The moiety of the church of ST. MARY ALDERMARY (Aldermarichirche) was the gift, according to the charter of Henry II (*cir.* 1176), of Ralph Trichet, the same donor as of St. Martin's Pomeroy, but according to the charter of Richard I (1190) it was the gift of Roger Pirroni. It is not mentioned in Henry III's charter of 1253 as belonging to St. Bartholomew's, nor in any subsequent record. In the years 1234 and 1271, the king (Henry III) presented to the living. From 1288 to 1399 the prior and chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, did so, and from 1401 to 1665 the Archbishop of Canterbury was

¹ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 416.

² C. L. Kingsford, *Survey of London*, by J. Stow.

³ Lewis and Short, *Lat. Dict.*

⁵ Cal. Pat., 367, 7 Rich. II, 10 Dec.

⁶ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 476.

⁸ Tax. Eccles. 9 b.

⁴ Gomme, *Making of London*, p. 55.

⁷ Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, p. 283.

⁹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 476.

patron, the church being one of his 'peculiars'. The prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's apparently disposed of their interest in the church at an early date. Its name was derived from the fact that it was older than any other church of that dedication in the city.

The church of ST. MICHAEL BASSISHAW (formerly called Bassing Hall, after the great family of Bassing) is first mentioned in the charter of 1187,¹ thus: 'By gift of G. Bishop of London the church of St. Michael Bassingheh.' It occurs again in the charters of 1190 and of 1253.² In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the church is valued (beyond a pension) at £6 13s. 4d. among the spiritualities of the archdeaconry of London. The pension (or payment), which was 2s., is alone mentioned as belonging to St. Bartholomew's,³ and the same 2s. is also included in the Rental of 1306 among the receipts of the kitchener.⁴

The G. Bishop of London who gave the church to the prior and convent must have been either Gilbert the Universal (1128-1134), or Gilbert Foliot (1163-1188). There is no record of the time or the reason for the disposal of the church by the prior and convent, but it must have occurred between the years 1253 and 1291. There was a presentation to the living in the year 1286,⁵ but by what patron is not recorded. One Henry Bodyk presented in 1327, and King Edward III in 1351. In 1437 the patrons were the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and they continued to be so to the year 1879, when the benefice was united by royal assent (dated May 3rd) to the benefices of St. Lawrence Jewry with St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street. The church of St. Michael Bassishaw, which stood on the west side of Basinghall Street, was pulled down in the year 1900.

The Rental sets out the income from the London possessions in detail, arranging them according to the office or obedientiary of the monastery to which they pertained, that is, to the office of the cellarer,⁶ of the fraterer, of the sacrist, of the master of the farmery, of the kitchener, or of the chamberlain.⁷ The parish in which the possession existed is given, but as all the rents from a parish did not necessarily appertain to the same office, the names of the parishes occur in some cases more than once.

For fuller details than are given here the Rental, printed in full in Appendix I, should be consulted.

¹ App. I, p. 481, Charter No. 8.

³ Tax. Eccles. 19.

⁵ Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* 331.

⁷ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 465.

² Ib., Nos. 10 and 16.

⁴ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 471.

⁶ See above, pp. 31-4.

PERTAINING TO THE CELLARER.

ST. MARTIN'S LUDGATE: from a tenement formerly belonging to Richard de Herford 29s. a year. The cellarer had to give, on the death-day of the said Richard, 8s. 4d. to 100 poor people, 1d. to each; the remainder for pittance of the convent, that is, for addition to the usual food.

ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE WEST (*versus novum templum*): from a tenement of the Prior of Royston (*de Croyros*) 5s. 6d. a year, of which the cellarer had to give 1d. each to 60 poor persons.

ST. SEPULCHRE'S: from two tenements £3 13s. 4d. and from six shops £1 15s. 8d.

ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY (*in Iudaismo*): from two tenements £1 12s. 8d.

ST. MARTIN'S OUTWICH: from a tenement 20s.

ST. MARY-LE-BOW'S (*de Arcubus*): from a tenement £2; from a stall or shop (*selda*) £1 6s. 8d. (In the year 1410 this shop had the sign of 'le Trelegges').¹

ALL HALLOWS, BREAD STREET (*omnium sanctorum*): from a tenement £2.

The total of the above rents is given as £14 2s. 10d.²

There were also the following OBLATIONS pertaining to the cellarer:

Coming to the HIGH ALTAR of St. Bartholomew's on St. Bartholomew's Day, £12.

Coming to the HIGH ALTAR by small amounts (*particulariter*) throughout the year, besides the sacrist's portion, £4.

To the same altar by ANNIVERSARIES throughout the year, £4.

There were also the tolls and customs of the FAIR held there for three days at the feast of St. Bartholomew, £1.

And the FRUIT OF THE GARDEN in the priory close, 13s. 4d.³

These oblations, fair, and garden fruit amounted to £17 17s. 4d. a year.

PERTAINING TO THE KITCHENER.⁴

ST. SEPULCHRE'S: from 46 tenants £23 8s., in addition to a pound of pepper and a pound of cummin (valued at 8d. a lb.).

ST. BOTOLPH'S ALDERSGATE: from 27 tenants £7 13s. 11d., one of whom was the Abbot of Kirsted, and another Lady Johanna de Tyborn, for a certain garden for which she paid 1s.

ST. GILES' CRIPPLEGATE: from 9 tenants £2 17s. 8d.

¹ Cat. Anc. Deeds, II, A, 2509.

² Should be £15 2s. 10d.

³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 471; see also Vol. II, chap. xi, gardens.

⁴ Ib., p. 466; see also above, p. 32.

- ST. ANDREW'S HOLBORN : from 1 tenant 2s.
 ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE WEST : from 1 tenant 4s.
 ST. BRIDE'S (*Brigide*, Bridget), Fleet Street : from 1 tenant 3s. 6d.
 ST. MARTIN'S LUDGATE : from 2 tenants 19s. 4d.
 ST. ANDREW'S WARDROBE (*de Castell Baynard*) : from 3 tenants 14s.
 ST. BENNET'S PAUL'S WHARF (*Benedicti de Wodewarne*) : from 4 tenants £1 13s.
 ST. MARY'S SOMERSET : from 1 tenant 12s.
 ST. MARY MAGDALENE'S and ST. NICHOLAS' COLEABBEY, Old Fish Street (*in piscaria*) : from 6 tenants £1 5s.
 ST. MARGARET'S IN FRIDAY STREET : from 1 tenant 1s. 6d.
 ALHALLOWS',¹ BREAD STREET (*omnium sanctorum*) : from 3 tenants £2 6s.
 HOLY TRINITY THE LESS (Knightriders Street) : from 3 tenants £1 7s.
 ST. JAMES' GARLICKHITH : from the house sometime of John de Stratford £3 5s. 4d.
 ST. MICHAEL'S QUEEN-HITH (*de Ripa Regine*) : from 1 tenant 2s.
 ST. MICHAEL'S ROYAL (*pater noster strate*) : from 1 tenant 3s. 4d.
 ST. MICHAEL'S CROOKED LANE : from 1 tenant 9s.
 ST. LEONARD'S EAST CHEAP : from 1 tenant 6s. 8d.
 ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE EAST (*versus Turrin*) : from 2 tenants £1 5s. 4d.
 . . . FENCHURCH (probably St. Gabriel's) : from 1 tenant 3s. 4d.
 ST. MICHAEL'S CORNHILL : from 2 tenants 15s.
 ST. OLAVE'S SILVERSTREET (Bradestrade) : from 1 tenant 3s. 4d.
 ALL HALLOWS' ON THE WALL (*omnium sanctorum super murum*) : from 1 tenant 1s.
 ST. STEPHEN'S COLEMAN-STREET : from 2 tenants 2s. 4d.
 ST. MARGARET'S LOTHBURY : from 2 tenants 12s. 8d.
 ST. MARY'S WOOLCHURCH (*Wolchirchhawe*) : from 1 tenant 15s.
 ST. MARY'S COLE-CHURCH (*Colmanchirch*) : from 2 tenants £3 9s. 4d.
 (one, the shop (*selda*) of Merton, was £3 6s. 4d.).
 ST. PANCRAS' SOPERLANE : from 2 tenants 8s. 8d.
 ST. MARY-LE-BOW'S (*de Arcubus*) : from 9 tenants £5 18s. 8d.
 ST. STEPHEN'S WALBROOK : from 2 tenants 5s. 1d.
 ST. MATTHEW'S FRIDAY STREET : from 1 tenant 3s. 6d.
 ST. ALBAN'S WOOD STREET : from 1 tenant 5s.
 ST. VEDAST'S FOSTER LANE (*in foro*) : from 5 tenants £1 18s.
 ST. MARY'S ALDERMANBURY : from 2 tenants 8s. 8d.
 ST. MICHAEL'S BASSISHAW (*Bassinghawe*) : from 3 tenants 5s., and

¹ Newcourt spells thus here and elsewhere.

2s. from a pension of the church of Bassishaw on the morrow of All Saints.

ST. ALPHAGES BY CRIPPLEGATE: from 2 tenants 4s. 4d., and from the fee of St. Martin 3s., and that of St. Paul 6d.

ST. MARY'S STAINING (*Stanynglane*): from 1 tenant 16s.

ST. JOHN'S ZACHARY (in Maiden Lane): from 1 tenant 2s.

ST. AGNES' ALDERSGATE: from 1 tenant 13s. 4d.

ST. LEONARD'S FOSTER LANE (*iuxta Sanctum Martinum*): from 1 tenant 3s.

ST. NICHOLAS' OLAVE (*de Macella*): from 3 tenants 18s.

ST. EWINS' (*Audoeni*) infra Newgate; also known as

ST. OWEN'S AND ST. AUDOWEN'S (within Newgate Market): from 1 tenant 6s.

The TOTAL of the rents pertaining to the kitchener as above amounted to £64 10s. 7d., and 1 lb. of cummin on the feast of St. Bartholomew.

In addition the kitchener had the garden of the MOREHAWE,¹ worth 20s., and the soil of the GREAT GARDEN within the Close, worth 6s. 8d. a year, bringing the kitchener's income up to £65 17s. 3d. gross.

From this had to be deducted various items, as 10s. paid yearly to the church of ST. MARTIN LE GRAND for certain lesser tithes of animals reared within the Close of the priory, and of the above gardens; various rents for tenements held; for socage of the king, 2s. payable at the door of the priory church and 4s. at the Guildhall; socage to the Abbot of Westminster, &c. Deductions also had to be made for vacant tenements, of which there were twelve at the time of the Rental, leaving clear, according to the Rental, £56 16s. 11½d. as the value of the office of kitchener, in the year 1306, beyond what he received from the manors in the country and from the cellarer's office; but how the scribe arrived at this figure is not clear.

PERTAINING TO THE SACRIST.²

ST. SEPULCHRE'S: from 4 tenements the prior and convent had 8s., and from land 1s.; one of the tenements had late been held of Odo the priest, opposite Holborn Bridge (*versus pontem de Holeborn*).

ST. BOTOLPH'S ALDERSGATE: from Arnulph the cornmonger, 7s.

ST. MARY'S STAINING: from a tenement 13s. 4d., from which they had to pay 2s. to the heirs of Ely of St. Olave's, and 2s. 4d. to the church of 'Stanynglane'.

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 471; also Vol. II, chap. xi, gardens.

² App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 473; also above, p. 31.

ST. MICHAEL'S WOOD STREET: from a tenement 20s., from which they owed the lord of the fee 7s. a year.

ST. STEPHEN'S COLEMAN-STREET: from land and houses in Coleman Street 6s., from which they owed the heirs of Edmund of the Belfry (*Campanarii*) $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a year.

ST. MARGARET'S LOTHBURY: from land 12s., from which they owed 1s. to Walter Cardoun.

ST. MICHAEL'S CORNHILL: from land and houses on Cornhill 9s.

ALL HALLOWS' GARLICKHITH (*omnium sanctorum de Garlykhyde*), (this church is not mentioned by Stow, Strype, or Newcourt): from 1 tenement 33s. 4d., wherefrom they owed to the various lords of that fee two pairs of gauntlets (*cirothecarum*) or $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to each of them.

ST. ETHELBURGA'S, BISHOPSGATE (*Sancta Werburga infra Bisschopesgate*): no doubt Ethelburga is intended. There is no church of St. Werburga in the city. In Birch's Saxon Charters of the seventh century, in No. 90, printed from the original MS. at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the queen is called Æthelburga; in No. 95, printed from a late eleventh-century copy, and in No. 91 from a twelfth-century copy, the same queen is called Werburga; in Nos. 92 and 93, from fourteenth-century copies, she is also called Werburgh, from which it would seem that the name of the queen was corrupted to Werburga about the time of the Norman conquest. From a house within Bishopsgate the prior and convent had 1s.

ALL HALLOWS' ON THE WALL: from the brothers of the hospital of St. Katharine for land, 1 lb. of cummin or a penny.

ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE'S (in Knightriders Street): from a gift 2s., from which they owed 4 peppercorns.

ST. STEPHEN'S COLEMAN-STREET: from shops 6s.

ST. MARY-LE-BOW'S (*de Arcubus*): from the stall (*selda*) of James the pepperer in the London market, £2 13s. 4d.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S (Milk Street): from a shop in Milk Street 20s., from which they owed Henry, son of Stephen, the embroiderer, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cummin.

ST. BENNET'S PAUL'S WHARF (*Benedicti de Wodewharfe*): the Rental says 'from the quay of St. Paul, which belonged to Robert Buscar and now is in the hand of the sacrist and worth 100s. a year, from which they owed for socage to the king on the vigil of Easter 2d. for pittance to the convent on the death-day of Adam (Ade) of Milk Street 10s. which pertained to the kitchener and 10s. which pertained to the fraterer'.

ST. MICHAEL'S QUERNE ¹ (*Michaelis ubi bladum venditur*): from 1 tenement 13s. 4d.

ST. MARTIN'S LUDGATE: from 2 tenements 4s. 4d.

ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE WEST: from 1 tenement 8s.

... (BLANK): from the heirs of Peter Donkoy in Distaff Lane, by the hand of the kitchener, 1s. 4d.

... (BLANK): from a tenement by the hand of the kitchener, 1s. 6d.

The total gross rent for the sacrist from the above was £16 1s. 5d., which, less the above deductions, £1 11s. 8½d., left clear £14 9s. 8½d. In addition to the rents, the sacrist had the oblations which came during the year to the ALTAR OF HIPPOLITUS (*Ipoliti*), worth £4 a year. Also every fourth penny from the oblations coming to the high altar, excepting on St. Bartholomew's Day when they went to the cellarer,² which amounted to £1 16s. 8d. He also had STALLAGE (fees for erecting stalls at the fair) at the feast of St. Bartholomew; from those (stalls) that were INSIDE THE CHURCH and those FIXED TO THE CHURCH outside, worth 6s. 8d. He also had the GRAZING of the two cemeteries, worth 4s. a year;³ and the FRUIT growing in the garden and cemeteries, worth 4s. a year: bringing the total value of the office of the sacrist to £20 11s. 0½d.

PERTAINING TO THE MASTER OF THE FARMERY (Infirmary).⁴

ST. MARTIN'S POMEROY ⁵ (*Martini de Pomerio*): from the church 8s.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S (at the west end of Watling Street, near St. Paul's): from 3 tenants £1 6s.⁶

ST. BENNET'S (which of the four is not specified): from 1 tenant 13s. 4d.

ST. ANTHONY'S (or St. Antlin's), Budge Row: from 1 tenant 10s.

ST. SEPULCHRE'S: from a tenement opposite Sempringham Hall (*contra aulam de Sympringham*) 6s. 6d., and from John the gardener 3s.

ST. STEPHEN'S WALBROOK: from 2 tenants 5s. 10d.

The total of these rents, £3 15s. 2d., added to the value of the fruit of the garden, 2s., brought the total value of the office of the *infirmarius*, after deducting the socage 2d., to £3 17s.

¹ A corruption for 'corne'. There was a corn market adjoining.

² See above, p. 369.

³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 475.

⁵ See above, p. 366.

⁴ Ib., p. 475.

⁶ St. Paul's Lib., MS. A, Box 2, No. 585.

PERTAINING TO THE FRATERER.

ST. BENNET'S PAUL'S WHARF: from a tenement by the hand of the sacrist, 10s., and from the tenement of Randolph the canon, 1s. 10d.¹

Thus the TOTAL value of the office of fraterer from London rents was only 11s. 10d.

PERTAINING TO THE CHAMBERLAIN.

ST. SEPULCHRE'S Church, which has been described above,² was assigned, as there stated, to finding the vesture and shoes of the canons of the house and therefore pertained to the chamberlain whose duty it was to attend to their clothes. The church, as we have seen, was assessed at £8 and was worth £12 a year.

TOTAL VALUES.

This being the last possession to be described, the total values of the different offices in London and the country are thus summarized in the Rental:

	£	s.	d.
TOTAL of the value of all goods pertaining to the			
CELLARER	190	4	6
Total of goods pertaining to the KITCHENER	56	16	11½
" " SACRIST	20	11	0½
" " MASTER OF THE FARM- ERY	3	17	0
" " FRATERER	11	10	
" " CHAMBERLAIN	12	0	0
Total value of all property (<i>bona</i>) pertaining to the priory (which is the addition of these figures though the Rental gives the total at £10 less)	£284	1	4

The Rental concludes with certain assessments of the spiritual and temporal property of the priory and the amount of the tithe payable on the same, which is given as £15 5s. 8¼d. (but according to the figures should be £16 6s. 7¼d.).³

In the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* the following entries appear among the temporalities, which are not in the Rental.⁴ We may assume that these properties had been disposed of, or had become extinguished between the dates of the two records (1291-1306):

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 476; also above, p. 32.

² Above, p. 365.

³ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 477.

⁴ Below, p. 378.

	£	s.	d.
All Hallows, Honylane	2	17	0
St. Gregory's by St. Paul's		2	0
St. Bartholomew's the Less		8	0
St. Mildred's Walbrook (Poultry)		2	6
St. Peter's Thames Street		8	0
St. Peter's Wood Street	3	4	0
All Hallows' Lombard Street	1	13	4

A rent of 5s. a year, issuing from a dwelling-house in 'Eldedeneslane', in the parish of St. Faith, which they had for the purchase of wine for divine service, the prior and convent sold for 60s. in the year 1257.¹

In the absence of the cartulary of the monastery or of the deeds of grant themselves, it is not possible to say who were the donors of all these London possessions, though many have already been traced by means of wills and licences in mortmain.² A list of those acquired after the date of the Rental (1306) is given below. How and to whom many of the possessions were sold after the suppression has been traced by means of the grants calendared in the State Papers and by the 'Particulars for Grants' among the augmentation papers in the Record Office; but the matter is not of sufficient importance to chronicle here.

POSSESSIONS IN LONDON ACQUIRED AFTER THE YEAR 1306

as recorded in the Court of Husting, London, and in the Calendar of the Wills in the Court of Husting :

Thomas de Brauncestre, rents in the parish of St. Michael le Quern for keeping his anniversary. ³	1312
John de Honnesdone, chaplain, 6 shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre. ⁴	1314
Richard de Ewelle, clerk, 2 shops for the maintenance of the work of the church. ⁵	1314
Agnes de Stanes, rents in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, near the old Fish Market, to keep her anniversary. ⁶	1318
James de Mohun, his houses in London for providing a chantry in St. Mary's chapel in the parish of St. Sepulchre, and another in the church of St. Bartholomew's priory. ⁷	1322
Robert de Schordich granted to John the prior quit claim of a cellar under a selde (shop), called Haverille selde, in Chepe in the parish of St. Peter, Wood Street. ⁸	1324

¹ St. Paul's MSS. A, Box 9, No. 342.

² As above, p. 169.

³ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 234.

⁴ Ib. i, 245.

⁵ Ib. i, 249.

⁶ Ib. i, 278.

⁷ Ib. i, 301.

⁸ Ct. Hust. Roll, 53, m. 10, 18 Edw. II.

- Peter de Newcastle, surgeon, shops, messuages, gardens and rents in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in 'Brettone-strete', (Little Britain), and elsewhere.¹ 1329
- Stephen de Clopton, janitor of the priory, shops in the parish of St. Mary 'Aldermannebury', for the maintenance of the work of the chapel of St. Mary newly constructed in the priory (these shops had been left to him 18 years before by Agnes de Stanes).² 1336
- Roger de Creton and James of White Nottlelee, one messuage in St. Botolph's parish, Aldersgate, contiguous to the Close of the priory on the north, worth 40s. yearly; one messuage in St. Sepulchre's, worth 10s. net yearly; and three shops in 'Holebourne', worth 13s. 4d. net.³ 1340
- John de Bredstrete, the reversion of 8 shops for the maintenance of a chantry.⁴ 1341
- Henry Frere de Iseldon, certain houses in the street and parish of 'All Hallowes de Bredestrete'.⁵ 1347
- John Tovey, cutler, quit claim of lands and tenements in the parish of St. Sepulchre.⁶ 1348
- Roger de Creton, chaplain, brother of Robert de Creton, houses, &c., in the lane and parish of St. Mary 'de Stanynghlane' and in 'Wendageyneslane' and elsewhere in the parish of St. Sepulchre, that the testator may partake of all the spiritual good things done by the prior and convent and their successors.⁷ 1349
- William son of Martin de Isyldon, house in the parish of St. Michael 'de Cornhull' for the good of the souls of himself, his brother, his wife and others. Dated at the hostel within the Close.⁸ 1349
- Edmund de Grymesby, Rector of the church of 'Barewe' (Barrow-upon-Humber), his tenements in the parish of St. Leonard, St. Vedast Street (Foster Lane), and in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate; also shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre in 'Wendagayneslane' and elsewhere to maintain a chantry.⁹ 1353
- Roger Sharp and Katharine his wife to Prior Thomas, quit claim of houses near the gate of the priory.¹⁰ 1365
- John Burstall and his wife Cecilia, a lease of a tenement called 'Brewhouse' with a shop, reserving themselves a pension of 13s. 4d. a year.¹¹ 1368
- Robert de Watford, carpenter, rents in the parishes of St. Mildred in the Poultry, St. Michael de 'Hoggenlane' (Wood Street), and St. Nicholas Shambles, lands and tenements in 'Medelane' in the parish of St. James 'de Garlekhithe'.¹² 1368

¹ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 350.² Ib. i, 427.³ Chanc. Inq. a. q. d. 2^{ss} 17, 14 Edw. III.⁴ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 451.⁵ Ib. i, 494.⁶ Ct. Hust. Roll, 74, m. 8, 21 Edw. III.⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 531.⁸ Ib. i, 578.⁹ Ib. i, 683.¹⁰ Ct. Hust. Roll, 93, m. 21, 39 Edw. III.¹¹ Ib., Roll 96, m. 36, 42 Edw. III.¹² Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 115.

- John Copeland, vintner, and Isabella his wife, surrender of a grant of 2 loaves of bread called 'Besamitz' and 2 flagons of beer formerly made to the said Isabella and Katharine her sister, daughters of 'Robert Sharpe' and house adjoining the priory.¹ 1376
- Adam Rous, surgeon, reversions of tenements and rents in the parishes of St. Andrew 'de Holbourn', St. Mildred, St. Edmund the King in Lombardstreet, and All Hallows the Great in the Ropery (Thames Street).² 1379
- Henry Cok and Agnes his wife, quit claim of a garden in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate.³ 1383
- John de Shalyngford, tailor, and Isabella his wife, quit claim of a shop in the parish of St. Nicholas, Shambles.⁴ 1384
- John Bathe, all his lands and tenements in 'Westchepe', 'Goderounlane' and elsewhere in the parish of St. Vedast (Foster Lane).⁵ 1390

Wills bequeathing money have not been included in the above. Some of the other entries of the Court of Husting are of interest, as when in 1300 John the prior forgoes his claim upon a messuage in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, *in gaveleto*⁶ (*gaveletum* was a custom for recovery of rent peculiar to London and Kent); and in 1329,⁷ when William Pippard of Little Stanmore granted the priory release from a corody.

The prior had to defend the rights of light of his various city houses. In one instance (about the year 1500) a case of that nature came before the Court of Aldermen,⁸ when it was decided that John Partriche, a butcher, should give the prior a boar's head in full recompense for stopping certain lights of a tenement belonging to the prior.

¹ Ct. Hust. Roll, 104, m. 14, 50 Edw. III, probably the same as Roger Sharp above.

² Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 207.

³ Ct. Hust. Roll, iii, m. 18, 6 Rich. II.

⁴ Ib., Roll 113, m. 11, 6 Rich. II.

⁵ Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 284.

⁶ Ct. Hust. Roll 29, m. 94, 28 Edw. I.

⁷ Ib., Roll 57, m. 116, 3 Edw. III.

⁸ Repertories Guildhall, vol. i, f. 161 b, 1495-1505.

TAXATIO ECCLESIASTICA

PROPERTY (*bona*) OF THE PRIORY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.(Translated from the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 1291.)

		Tempor- alities.			Spiritu- alities.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
p. 9 b.	St. Dunstan in the West		17	6			
	All Hallows Honylane	2	17	0			
	St. Mary, Staining	1	5	0			
	Alhallows the Wall		4	0			
	St. Gregory		2	0			
	St. Bartholomew the Less (by the Exchange)		8	0			
	St. Martin Outwich	1	0	0			
	St. Thomas Apostle		2	0			
	St. Mildred Walbrooke (Poultry)		2	6			
	St. Anthony		10	0			
	St. Botolph Aldersgate	7	3	6			
	St. Mary Woolnoth		15	0			
	St. Margaret Lothbury		12	2			
	St. John Zachary		2	0			
	St. Agnes Aldersgate		13	4			
	St. Stephen Jewry (Coleman)		6	4			
	St. Martin Ludgate	2	16	8			
	St. Bridget (Bride)		3	6			
	St. Peter Thames Street (Paul's Wharf)		8	0			
	St. Nicholas Tower (Acon)	2	0	4			
	St. Mary-le-Bow	4	10	0			
	St. Vedast Foster	1	9	0			
	St. Dunstan in the East	1	4	0			
	St. Michael Candlewick (Crooked Lane)		7	10			
	St. Augustine by the Gate		18	6			
	St. Lawrence Jewry	1	15	8			
	Holy Trinity the Less	1	4	0			
	St. Matthew Friday Street		3	6			
	St. Alban Wood Street		5	0			
	St. Mary Aldermanbury		3	0			
	St. Andrew Holborn		2	0			
	St. Peter Wood Street (Cheap)	3	4	0			
	St. Alphage		7	6			
	St. Michael Cornhill		19	0			
	St. Michael in Hoggen-lane (Wood Street)		13	0			
	St. Andrew Baynard (Wardrobe)		18	0			
	St. Martin Pomary (or Pomeroy)	3	8	0			

Carried forward: £44 0 10

		Tempor- alities.			Spiritu- alities.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward :</i>		44	0	10			
	St. Giles, Cripplegate	1	18	8			
	St. Leonard next St. Martin (East- cheap)		3	0			
	St. Olave (Hart Street)		6	0			
	St. Bennet Woodwharf (Paul's Wharf)	3	0	0			
	St. Nicholas Coleabby		6	8			
	St. Mary Magdalen in Fish Street . .	11		4			
	St. Michael of the Corne (Querne) . .	13		4			
	Islington, land rents and meadows .	1	15	0			
	Alhallows, Bread Street.	1	16	0			
	St. Michael Paternoster Church (Royal)		3	4			
	Alhallows Grassechurch (Lombard Street)	1	13	4			
	St. Sepulchre without Newgate . .	15	18	2			
Total London parishes		72	5	8			
p. 13 b.	In Tottenham (Middlesex), meadows		10	0			
	„ Enfield (Middlesex), meadows . .		9	0			
	„ Little Stanmore, lands, rents, and meadows	4	7	4			
p. 15.	„ Amwell (Herts), meadows		12	0			
	„ Meesden (Essex), lands and meadows		7	6			
p. 17.	„ Sunbury (Middlesex), a portion of the church				1	6	8
p. 17 b.	„ Little Stanmore (Middlesex), the church				2	0	0
p. 19.	„ St. Michael's Bassishaw by a pay- ment				2	0	
p. 21.	„ Danbury (Essex), patronage of the church				3	0	0
	„ Theydon Bois (Essex), the church .				4	13	4
p. 23 b.	„ Bradfield (Essex), the church . .				8	0	0
p. 25 b.	„ Bobbingworth (Essex), rents . . .	8	0				
p. 26.	„ Walthamstow (Essex), meadows .	1	1	0			
p. 28.	„ Bradfield (Essex), rents	1	0	0			
p. 28 b.	„ Elmdon (Essex), rents		6	9			
	„ Clavering and Langley (Essex), lands, meadows, rents, and cus- toms	2	0	6			
	„ Newport (Essex), lands, rents, and customs	6	0	1½			
	„ Chrishall (Essex), land and rents .	1	1	0			
<i>Carried forward :</i>		£90	8	10½	£19	2	0

		Tempor- alities.			Spiritu- alities.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward :</i>		90	8	10½	19	2	0
p. 29.	In Depden (Essex), land . . .		10	0			
	„ Birchhanger (Essex), rent . . .		2	0			
	„ Colchester (Essex), rent . . .		5	7			
p. 46.	„ Mentmore (Bucks), land and rent . . .		9	10			
p. 33 b.	„ „ „ the church . . .				8	0	0
p. 49.	„ Hockliffe (Beds.), rent . . .		10	0			
p. 52 b.	„ Shenley (Herts.), land . . .		10	0			
p. 116.	„ Lowestoft (Suffolk), church . . .				4	13	4
	„ „ „ vicarage . . .				4	6	8
	„ Gorleston (Suffolk), church . . .				20	0	0
	„ „ „ vicarage . . .				6	13	4
	„ Yarmouth (Little) (Suffolk), church . . .				4	6	8
	„ „ „ vicarage . . .				4	6	8
	„ Mellys and Wenhaston (Suffolk), a portion of the church of Wen- haston . . .				2	16	8
p. 133.	„ Thorpe (Suffolk), rent . . .		15	0			
Totals . . .		93	11	3½	74	5	4
Total assessed value of the income of the monastery in the year 1291 .		£167 16 7½					

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS

PROPERTY OF THE PRIORY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

(Translated from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,¹ 1535.)

	£	s.	d.
The value of the monastery, courtyards, gardens, orchards, and houses in the Close —no profit rental shown			
Rents in the City of London and suburbs . . .	45	1	3
The manor of Canonbury (Middlesex) . . .	26	8	7
Portepole . . .	10	0	0
Acton . . .	15	13	4
Hendon . . .	6	13	4
Great Stanmore . . .	20	0	0
Little Stanmore . . .	80	18	8½
Charlton or Chardington . . .	10	0	
Fulpashe ² . . .	4	0	0

Carried forward : ³£615 7 6½¹ Vol. i, p. 407.² Unable to trace.³ Valor gives £632 14s. 1½d.; some item of £17 6s. 7d. therefore not detailed.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS

381

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward :</i>				615	7	6½
Average value in wood in Hendon				1	4	0
" Little Stanmore				3	10	0
Perquisites in Great Stanmore				1	3	10
" Little Stanmore					8	2½
St. Sepulchre's Church with the tithe				42	0	0
Essex Rents :						
Theydon Bois	4	0	0			
Langley	6	0	0			
Shortgrove	10	0	0			
Danbury	1	0	0			
Walthamstow	1	0	0			
Woods, average value of, in Langley		6	0			
" Shortgrove		4	0			
Rectory and tithes in Bradfield	5	6	8			
				27	16	8
Suffolk :						
Manor of Gorleston	8	0	0			
Rectory of Lowestoft	4	0	0			
The church of Wenhaston	1	10	0			
Oblations from Yarmouth ¹	13	4				
				14	3	4 1
Hertfordshire :						
Rents in Tewin	20	0	0			
" Walhall	4	13	4			
" Canon Holmes	4	13	4			
Woods in Tewin, 20s. ; in Walhall, 9s.		1	9			
Perquisites in Tewin		11	4			
				31	7	0
Buckinghamshire :						
Rectory and tithes, Mentmore				18	0	0
				755	0	7
Add difference to make the total ² given in the <i>Valor</i> (as above)				17	19	6½
Total of the Monastery				£773	0	1½

Deductions.

	£	s.	d.
London and Middlesex :			
Rent paid St. Paul's from St. Sepulchre's	5	6	8
" Churchwardens St. Sepulchre's for the seven steers		1	0
<i>Carried forward :</i>	£5	7	8

¹ Probably S. Yarmouth, which is in Suffolk.² See note 3 above, p. 380.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward :</i>	5	7	8
Rent paid Prioress Clerkenwell from St. Sepulchre's .	2	5	0
„ Chamberlain of London from St. Sepulchre's	0	8	0
„ Churchwardens St. Sepulchre's for the chantry of William Andrewe, issuing from St. Sepulchre's	5	6	8
„ Dean and Chapter St. Peter's York, from St. Sepulchre's	13	6	8
„ Master of Hospital St. Thomas, Southwark, from St. Sepulchre's	2	0	
„ Abbess of Barking, from St. Botolph's, Aldersgate	17	0	
„ Dean of St. Martin's, from St. Botolph's, Aldersgate	1	0	0
„ Abbot of Kirkestede, from St. Botolph's, Aldersgate	8	0	
„ Abbot of Malmesbury, from St. Bride's, Fleet Street	13	4	
„ St. Paul's, from St. James's Garlickhithe.	1	4	0
„ Prior St. Mary Overy, from St. James's, Garlickhithe	1	2	0
„ Churchwardens St. Mary Overy, from Al- hallows Bread Street	4	3	4
„ William Polkyn, from the 'Seven Steers', Bread Street	10	0	
„ Master St. James's ¹ in the suburbs of London, from St. Nicholas Tower	6	0	
„ Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from St. Dunstan's in the East	12	0	
<i>D'no</i> Saunders, from Canonbury	5	0	
Prebendary of <i>Cantelands</i> , ² from Canonbury	1	6	8
Paid Master and Benchers of Gray's Inn, for the salary of a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel there, with 20s. paid yearly to the Master and Benchers	7	13	4
„ Abbot and Convent St. Peter's, Westminster, from lands in Hendon	6	8	
„ Archbishop of Canterbury, for lands in Great Stanmore	6	2	
„ Abbot and Convent St. Albans, from lands in Great Stanmore	6	13	4
	54	2	10
Deduct error in addition in the <i>Valor</i>			4
<i>Carried forward :</i>	£54	2	6

¹ Hospital of St. James's, Westminster, now St. James's Palace.² i.e. of Kentish Town, prebend of St. Paul's.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward :</i>				54	2	6
Annual fees paid Geoffrey Chambers, late chief steward, Great Stanmore	4	0	0			
„ „ Thomas Roberts, late steward, Little Stanmore	1	0	0			
„ „ John Burgoyne, Auditor	3	0	0			
„ „ John Deane, Rector of Little Stanmore	6	13	4			
„ „ Henry Downer, bailiff of Little Stanmore	1	13	4			
„ „ Vicar of Little Stanmore, for enlarging and upkeep of vicarage	2	6	8			
„ „ Archdeacon of Middlesex, visitation and procuration fees for the Rector of Little Stanmore			6 8			
„ „ Archdeacon of London, for the Bishop's synodical council, for the Rector of St. Sepulchre's			4 0			
				19	4	0
Hertfordshire :						
Rent paid John Cutte, for land in Canon Holmes	18	4				
„ College of St. Lawrence Pountney		3	0			
„ Abbot and convent St. Albans, from Walhall	1	6	5½			
„ Abbot and convent St. Peter's, Westminster, from Walhall		7	8			
				2	15	5½
Annual fees to John Kyngton, senior steward, Tewin				13	4	
Buckinghamshire :						
Rent paid Lord Bray, from the rectory, Mentmore		2	0			
Annual payment to the Vicar of Mentmore, for the upkeep of the vicarage	2	13	0			
				2	15	0
Total deductions				79	10	3½
Remaining clear				693	0	10
Add error in calculation in <i>Valor</i>					9	0
				£773	0	1½
The tenth (for which the valuation was made), instead of £69 7s., is shown as				69	0	7

COMPUTI MINISTRORUM

(Abstract translated from Ministers' Accounts, 32 Henry VIII (1540-1),
2396 m. 121-126.)

Late the Priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield, next
the City of London.

		£	s.	d.
Co. Middlesex :				
Canonbury.	Farm of the Manor	24	16	11
Portepole.	„ various fields in the parish of St. Pancras	9	6	8
Acton.	Farm of the Manor	17	0	0
Hendon.	„ the Manor called Renters	6	13	4
Great Stanmore.	„ the Manor	13	13	4
Little Stanmore.	„ the Manor of Canons	13	6	8
„	„ a house and building	20	0	0
„	„ the green marsh and other lands	13	8	9
„	„ that called Quarter lands	4	0	0
„	„ other lands, &c.	47	3	11
Shardington.	„ lands	10	0	0
Co. Essex :				
Theydon Bois.	Farm of Rectory	4	0	0
Langley.	„ Manor called Langley Hall	6	0	0
Shortgrove.	„ Manor	10	0	0
Danbury.	Pension of the Abbot of Beeleigh ¹	0	0	0
Walthamstow.	Farm of meadows	1	0	0
Bradfield.	„ Rectory	5	6	8
Co. Suffolk :				
Gorleston.	Farm of Rectory	8	0	0
Lowestoft (or Leystoke).	Farm of Rectory	4	0	0
Wenhaston.	Pension from the Monastery of Blyth- burgh ²	0	0	0
Co. Norfolk :				
Yarmouth.	Farm	13	4	
Co. Hertford :				
Tewin.	Farm of Manor	20	0	0
Shenley.	„ Manor of Holmes	4	13	4
St. Stephen's (St. Albans) Parish.	Farm of the Manor of Walhall	4	13	4
Co. Buckingham :				
Mentmore.	Farm of Rectory	18	0	0
		<hr/> £256 6 3 <hr/>		

¹ Entered by Dugdale 20s. in error, as the pension was extinguished by the suppression of Beeleigh.

² Ib., formerly 30s.

APPENDIX I

(for Contents see Table of Contents, p. xiv above.)

THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATION

OF

THE CHURCH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, LONDON¹

LIBER I

FOR asmooche, that the meritory and notable operacyons, of famose goode and devoute faders yn God, sholde be remembred for instruction of aftyr cummers to theyr consolacion and encreas of devocion thys Abbrevyat Tretesse, shal compendiously expresse and declare, the wondreful and of celestial concel gracious fundacion of oure hoely placys callyd the Priory of seynt Bartholomew yn Smythfyld, and of the hospital by olde tyme longyng to the same, with other notabiliteis expediently to be knowyn. And most specially the gloriouse and excellent myraclys wroghte with yn them, by the intercessions suffragys and meritys, of the forsayd, benygne feythfull and blessid of God apostyl sanct Bartholomy, yn to the laude of almyghty God and agnicon of his infinite powere.²

FFYRST SHAL BE SHEWYD WHO WAS FFUNDER OF OWERE HOELY PLACES, AND HOWH BY GRACE, HE WAS FFYRST PRYOR OF OWR PRIORY ; AND BY HOWH LONGE TYME THAT HE CONTYNUED YN THE SAME.

Thys chirche yn the honoure of most blessid Bartholomew apostle, fundid Rayer, of goode remembraunce and theryn to serve God, aftir the rewle of the moost holy fader Austyn, aggregat to gidir religiouse men and to them was prelate xxii yere, usynge the office and dignite of a priore : not havyng cunnyng of liberal science, but that that is more emynente than all cunnyng, ffor he was richid yn puryte of conscience ; ayenste³ God by devocyon, ayenste his brethryn by humylite, ayenste his enemyes with a benyvolence. And thus hym self he excercised them paciently sufferynge, whoose provyd puryte of soule, bryght maners with honeste probyte, experte diligence yn dyvyne servyce, prudent besynes yn temperalle mynistracyun, in hym were gretely to prayse and com-

¹ For description of the MS. (Brit. Mus. Vespasian B. ix) see Records and Authorities, p. xx.

² The above is not in the Latin copy, which has for a heading 'Liber fundacionis ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum'.

³ Towards.

mendable. In festis he was sobir, and namely the folowere of hospitalite, tribulacions of wretchis, and necessiteys of the pouer peple oportunyly admytting, patiently supportyng, competently spedyng. In prosperite nat ynprided;¹ in adversite paciente; and what sumevre unfortune ranne ageyn hym, he restyd hymself undir the schadowe of his patron, that he worshippid, whom he clippid² to hym, with yn the bowell of his soule. In whose helpe for all perelles he was sekyr and preservyd. Thus he subgett to the kyng of blisse with alle mekenesse, prevydyd with alle diligence, that were necessarie to his subiectys, and so provydyng he encresid dayly to hymself, before God and man grace, to the place reverence, to his frendes gladnesse, to his enemyes payne, to his aftircummers joye. And suche certeyn was the lyef of hym aftir his conversyon bettyr than hit was beforin, in goodnes ever more encresid. And yn what ordir he sette the fundament of this temple, yn fewe wordys lette us shewe, as they testified to us that sey hym, herd hym, and were presente yn his werkys and dedis, of the whiche summe have take ther slepe yn Cryste, and summe of them be 3itte a lyve and wytneseth of that that we schall aftir say.

CAPITULUM II.

WHAT LYEF HE LEDDE AFORN HIS CONVERSION.

Thys mann sprongyng or boryn of lowe lynage, whan he attayned the floure of youghth, he began to haunte the housholdys of noble men and the palices of prynces, where undir every elbowe of them, he sprede her coshynys with japys and flatterynges, delectably anoyngtyng her eerys, by this maner to drawe to hym ther frendschippis.³ And 3itte he was nat content with this, but ofte hawntid the kynges palice, and amonge the noysefull prese of that tumultuous courte inforisid hymself with jolite and carnale suavyte, by the whiche he myght drawe to hym the hertys of many oone, ther yn spectaclis, yn metys,⁴ yn playes, and othir courtly mokyys and trifyllys intyndyng, he ledeforth the besynesse of alle the day. And now to kynges attendens, now followyng the entente of grete men presid yn proferynge servyce that myght plecthem, besily so occupied hys tyme that he myghte opteyne the rathir the petitions that he wolde desire of them. Thiswyse to kyng and grete men gentylls and courtyours y knowen, famylier and felowly he was. This manere of levyng he chose yn his begynnnyng, and yn this exercisid his youghth; but the inwarde seer and mercyfull God of all, the whiche oute of Mary Magdalene cast oute vii feendys, the whiche to the ffyssherye 3ave the keyes of hevyn mercyfully convertid this man fro the erreure of hys way, and addid to hym so converted many 3iftys of vertu, for why: they that are fonnysche⁵ and febill in the worldys reputacion, oure Lorde chesith, to founde the myghte of the worlde.

¹ Elated.² Embraced.³ Sowing pillows upon all elbows (Ezek. xiii. 18), he drew to friendship with himself those whom he had soothed with jokes and flatterings.⁴ Banquets.⁵ Foolish.

CAPITULUM III.

HERE FOLOWETH HOWE CONVERTID HE WENTE TO ROME.

This man therefore by the grace of God, of hys synnes sumtyme penytent a parposyng to halfe¹ his dayes, that he myghte obteyne parfite and plenere pardon and indulgence of his synnes : to that entente he decreid yn hym self to go to the courte of Rome, covetyng yn so grete a laboure to do the worthy fruytes of penaunce. The whiche habite of hevynly inspirid soule and purpos he wolde nat with a slowthfull mynde be deferrid yn to tymes and yeres, but the conceyved goode dede by feithfull desire constawntly executyng, he toke his way, oure lord God directyng his pace, and hole and sownde whydir he purposid came, where at the martirdomes of the blessid Apostles Petir and Poule, he wepyng hys dedis and reducyng to mynde the scapis² of hys youghth and ignoraunces, prayd to oure Lorde for remyssion of them, behestyng furthermore, noon like to do, but thyes utterly to forsake, ever devoutly his will promyttyng to obeye. These ii clere lightys of hevyn, ii men of mercy, Petir and Poule, he ordeyned mediatoures betwyn hym and the lorde of all erthe, promysyng that he wolde be ware, of all passid unhabilnesse,³ and yeve affectually his diligence and laboure, to that he hathe promysyd, and whyle he taryed ther, in that meene whyle, he began to be vexed with grevous sykenesse, and his doloures, litill and litill, takyng ther encrese, he drewe to the extremyte of lyf, the whiche dredyng with yn hymself, that he nat ȝitte for his synnys hadde satisfied to God, and therefore he supposid that God toke vengeance of hym for his sinnys a monges owte landisshe peple, and demyd the last oure of oure⁴ of his deith drewe hym nygh. Thys remembryng inwardly, he schedde owte as water his herte in the syght of God, and albrake owte in terys, than he avowyd yf helthe God hym wolde grawnte, that he myght leffully returne to his contray, he wolde make an hospitale yn recreacion of poure men,⁵ and to them so there i gaderid,⁶ necessities mynstir, aftir his power. And nat long aftir, the benigne and mercyfull lord, that byhelde the terys of Ezechie, the kyng, the importune prayer of the woman of Chanabee rewardid with the benefeit of his pite, thus lykewyse mercyfully he behelde this wepyng man, and gaf hym his helth, approvyd his avowe, so of his sykenes recoveryd he was, and in short tyme hole y maade, began homwarde to come, his vowe to fulfille that he hadde made.

CAPITULUM IV.

OF THE VISION THAT HE SAWE IN THE WAY, AND OF THE COMMAUNDEMENT OF SEYNT BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE.

Whan he wolde perfete his way that he hadde begon, in a certayne nyght he sawe a vision full of drede and of swetnesse, whan aftir the labourous and swetyng that he had by dayes, his body with reste he wolde refresshe. It semyd hym to

¹ *Dimidiare* : halve.² *Delicta* : faults, scrapes.³ *Ineptiis* : follies.⁴ *Ultimam horam* : the final hour.⁵ *Ad pauperum recreationem* : for the restoration of poor men.⁶ Gathered together.

be bore up an hye, of a certeyn beiste havynge viii¹ feete and ii wyngges and sette hym yn an hye place, and whan he from so grete an highnesse wolde inflecte and bowe down his yie to the lower party donward, he behelde an horrible pytte whose horrible beholding ynpressid in hym the beholder grete drede and horroure, ffor the depnesse of the same pytte was depper than eny man myghte atteyne to see. Therefore he, secrete knowere of his defautes, demyd hym self to slyde in to that cruell a downcast, and therfore as hym semyd ynwardly he fremyshid,² and for drede tremelyd, and grete cryes of his moweth procedyd. To wham dredyng and for drede crynge apperid a certeyn man pretendyng in chere³ the majeste of a kynge of grete bewte, and imperiall auctorite, and his yie on hym fastynd, he seyde goode wordes, wordes of consolacion bryngynge goode tydynges as he schulde sey in this yn this wyse, 'O man,' he seyde, 'What and howe muche servyce shuldes thou yeve to hym, that yn so grete a perele hath brought helpe to the : ' annone he answerde to this seyinge, 'whatsumever myght be of hert and of myghtys, diligently shulde I yeve, in recompence to my delyverer.' And than saide he, 'I am Bartholomew the Apostle of Ihu Crist that come to socoure the, yn thyn angwysse, and to opyn to the the secrete mysteryes of hevyn, knowe me trewly, by the will and commanndemente of the hye Trinite, and the comyn⁴ favoure of the celestiall courte and consell to have chosyn a place yn the Subbarbis of London at Smythfeld wher yn myn name thou shalte founde a chirche and it shall be the house of God : ther shalbe the tabernacle of the lambe, the temple of the Holy Gost. This spirituall howse almyghty God shalle ynhabite and halowe yt and glorifie yt and his yen shall be open and his eerys yntendyng on this howse nyght and day that the asker yn hit schall resceyve, the seker shall fynde and the rynger or knokker shall entre. Trewely every soule convertid penytent of his synne and in this place prayng, yn hevyn graciously schall be herde : the seekere with perfite herte for whatsumevyer tribulacion withowte dowte he schalle fynde helpe : to them that with feithfull desire knoke at the doyr of the spowse, assistant angelys shalle opyn the gatis of hevyn, receyvyng and offeryng to God the prayers and vowys of feithfull peple. Wherefore thyn handys⁵ be there confortid in God, havynge in hym truste, do thou manly nethir of the costis of this bilydng dowte the nowght, onely yeve thy diligence, and my parte schalbe to provyde necessities, directe, bilde and ende this werke, and this place, to me accepte, with evydent tokenys and signys protecte and defende contynually hyt. Undyr the shadowe of my wyngys, and therfore of this werke knowe me the maister and thy self onely the mynyster : use, diligently thy servyce, and I shall schewe my lordeschippe.' In these wordes the vision disparyschydde.⁶

¹ *Quatuor* in the Latin.

² *Inhorruit* : shuddered.

³ *Vultu* : in his countenance.

⁴ *Communi* : common.

⁵ *Confortentur ergo manus tue* : therefore let thy hands be strengthened.

⁶ Disappeared.

CAPITULUM V.

WHAT HE YN HYMSELF TRETID OF THYS VISYN.¹

He awakid began to revolve wysly in his mynde that he hadde seyn. In that meene while, to his flittyng soule² was mewyd to have a dowtable sentence,³ whethir it schulde be hadde, and take for a fantasykke illusyon, that ofte happyth to men yn ther slepe, or for an hevynly warnyng or answere, the whiche he demyd himself nat worthy to have. Thus stryvyd togedyr in his herte, feithfull mekenesse and drede and uncertayn he was, to whom more credence schulde be gowyn, and as a meke man he wolde them have hydde and nat presume hier thynges above hym self, than he undrestode. Also tymorosely he dred to laches⁴ the preceptis of the apostle, and so lachesynge,⁵ nat meke, but prowte, to be bownde, with the streite examinacion of the hie juge. Therfore, with worthier sentences and better allegacion whan he was informyd, drede of God and the apostle optenyd the victorie, to whom grace was felowschippe, and blessedly areysed up the meke man, confortid the faynthertid, the suatperynge man⁶ stedfastid. The goode forseyd dede in stabill degre with his welsumme and happy purpose to performe. He therfore, techynge hym inwardly, as we beleve, by his unccion that beforne hadde instructe hym by nyghtly vision, ordaynyd to make perfite that was commawnded, namely, whyle he was commawnded oonly and grettely to yeve diligence and laboure. And soethly the overplues shulde be as the commawnder wolde ordeyne. Trewly by dremys many secretis of Goddis wille hath come to the knowleche of men. In the seryous scripture of the olde and newe testamentis, as nat onys but oftyn we have redde, wherof oone wittnesse of them bothe sufficith us to bryng-forth. Holy Danyel in his dreame lernyd the dreame of the kynge, and the interpretacionn of the same, oure Lorde revelynge he knewe. Rightwus Joseph yn his slepe was warnyd nat to drede to take Marye his wyf, and stondynge the article of persecucion to flee with her in to Egipte. And whan Herode the autoure of persecucion was deed, by the angle he was commawnded to returne azen in to Jurye. Visions in nyght tymes i made pretende nat alway cause of deseit but sumtyme pregnant and frutefull sentences of heavenly mystery, worthy to be trowid⁷ with feith and admiracion. With theys and many moo auctorites of scripture, we ben taght of the whiche to have perfite discrecion. I trowe yt nat of mannys witte, but of a godly gyfte and therfore after the lawe the residue of the lambe lat us leve yt to the fyre⁸ that ys the Hoely Gooste.

¹ *Quid de visione apud se tractaverit* : what he pondered with himself concerning the vision.

² *Fluctuanti animo* : wavering mind.

³ Opinion.

⁴ *Negligere* : neglect.

⁵ *Negligendo* : by neglecting.

⁶ *Nutantum* : faltering.

⁷ *Credere* : trowed, believed.

⁸ *Fyre* : inspiration ('that is the Holy Ghost' not in the Latin).

CAPITULUM VI.

EXPOSICION OF THIS VISION.

Forthermore what yf it be inquerid what pretendith the vision of the federyd beiste, what the horrible pitte, what setting of the man an hye what I feill of this in fewe wordis I schalle expresse. I deme the beiste to signifie the devyl, the which in Ezechiel mysterially ys callid the grete egle. Nowe for the dignite of hevenly nature. Nowe for magnitude of spirituall wykkednes, the whiche bothe there yn Ezechiel, and also in this vision, the beyste semyd grete wynges to have, by that ys understonde he swollyn with pride of elacion purposid in will to be like almyghty God, and to the same elacyon man with deceyvable promysse proudly he arysyd ¹ agenste his creator, with the whyche synne never cesith he to attaste ² alle the kynde of men, many to ynfoldeyn, ³ and many with hym to adde, to everlastyng fyre, no houre ne tyme cessith not, hys iv feete ben iiij wyndys of the which is spoken yn zacharie : or els iiij gendrys of temptacion, the which anumbrith the psalmyst, or els iiij vices of whiche spekih the prophete Joel, seiying : the residue of the Eruce etyth the buttyrflye, and the residue of the buttyrflye etyth brucus, and the residue of bruce etyth rubigo, undirstondyng lecherie by Eruca, by the buttyrflye vaynglorie, by brucus glutteny, by rubygo ire signifying and wrath. [Note well that Eruca ys a worme, that growith of the worttys, Locusta that fleith frome floure to floure, brucus is the issue of the buttyrflye, or he have wynges.⁴] Of iiij wyndys remembrith zacharie⁵ seiying I lyfte up my eyn and sawhe, and to me was seyed beholde iiij hornnys, and I seied to the angle that spake in me, what ben theys, and he seide to me, these ben the hornnys that shall blowe and ventilatte ⁶ Jude, Israel and Jerusalem. By the which iiij wyndys he signified iiij passions of the soule that ys to seye, drede, and hevynesse, love and gladnesse, that dissipate alweyes the quyetie of mynde, and no soule ther is bownde with bridyll where theys regne. Of iiij gendres of temptacion seide David of the rightwes man, thus, Thou schalt nat drede for the nyghte drede, ne for the arrowfleyng in the day, ne for the besynes walkyng in derknesse, ne for the yncourse and mydday devyl.⁷ The fyrst temptacion is lighte and hydde, the secunde lighte and opyn, the thirde grevous and hydde, the iiijth grevous and opyn. With these and be forseyd maners as be his feete, this singuler ennemy of mankynde compressith us to the erthe and so to hym he throwythe dowyn men, and them so prostrate with horrible cleys of malice violently constrayneth. And furthermore, men adherent wilfully to hym, he drawith from vice in to vice, from evylls to wors, compelleth them to breke owte of rewle tyl his synnys ben complete, and as he were lyfte up yn to the hie towre of all wikkidnesse, where God vengynge they falle downe in to the lowest of the pytte, that ys, into the moost profunde helle, ordeyned for wrecchis, and of all wrecchis moost wrecchidde.

¹ *Superbe exexerit* : proudly raised.

² *Attemptare* : to tempt.

³ See Joel i. 4. Not in the Latin.

⁴ *Ventilaverunt* : (the horns that) disquieted.

⁷ See Psalm xci. 5.

³ Enfold, involve.

⁵ See Zech. i. 18, 19.

By this vision I trowe be signified to man, that he shulde attende and considre, the manyfolde snarys of oure sotell enemy prudently, and aware them holsumly,¹ leyste that by a cruell downecastyng suppid up² wrecchidly he shulde perysche. But sithen it is not yn manys wytte, his way, nothir in his kunnyng to directe his jorney, there ys addid to hym consolacion of hevynly mercy, and nat a litill but mochyll occasion to optene vertue. And by that moere spedily to deserve godly helpe, by the whyche besily he myght fulfille the comawndemente of the apostle. I esteeme hym a wysman that canne undirstande by theys thynges that arne shewid to hym; and not i hidde from hym, but schewed yn dede and worde what ys to be doyn.

CAPITULUM VII.

HOWE THE KYNGES FAVORE Y HADDE, THE PRECEPTE AND HIS VOWE
HE FULFILLID.

Therefore i passid that remaynyd of his way, he came to London, and of his knowleche³ and frendes with grete joye was receyved, with whiche also with the Barons of London he spake famyliary of these thynges, that were turnyd and sterid in his herte, and of that was done abowt hym, in the way he tellid it owte. And what schulde ben done of this, he cowncellid. Of them toke he this answeare, that noone of these myght be perfityd;⁴ but the kynges were first i cowncelled. Namely sith the place godly⁵ to hym y schewid was conteyned withyn the kynges market of the whyche it was not levefull to prynces or other lordys of there propur auctoritate eny thyng to mynuysse,⁶ nethyr zitte to so solempne an obsequy depute. Therefore usyng theys mennys cowncell in oportune tyme he dressed hym to the kyng, and before hym and the Bisshope Richarde beyng presente, the whiche he hadde made to hym favorable byforne, effectually expressid his besynes, and that he myght levefully brynge his purpose to effecte, mekely besought. And nyh hym was he in whoes hande it was, to what he wolle, the kynges hert yncline, and yneffectualle these prayers myght nat be whoes auctor ys the apostle, whois gracyous herer was God, his worde therfore was plesaunte and acceptable in the kynges yie. And whan he hadde peysyd⁷ the goode wille of the man prudently, as he was wytty graunted to the petitioner his kyngly favore, benyngly yevynge auctorite to execute his purpos. And he havynge the title of desired possession of the kynges majeste was right gladde. Than nothyng he omyttinge of cure and diligence ii werkys of pyte began to make: oone for the vowe that he hadde made, an othyr as to hym by precepte was injoynyde. Therfore as the case prosperously succedid, and aftyr the apostles word, all necessaryes flowid unto the hande. The chirche he made of cumly stoonewerke tabylwyse,⁸ and was

¹ Wholesomely.³ *Notis*: acquaintances.⁵ Divinely.⁷ *Perpendens*: considered.⁸ *Decenti lapideo tabulatu*: with suitable stone blocks in courses.² *Absortus*: absorbed, swallowed up.⁴ Effected.⁶ Diminish, minimize.

an hospitall howse a litill lenger of, from the chirche by hymself he began to edifie.

The chirche was fowndid as we have take of oure eldres in the moneth of Marche in the name of oure lorde Ihu Crist in memorie of moost blesside Bartholomewe apostle, the yere from the Incarnacion of the same lorde oure Savouure, M.C.xxiii. : thanne haldyng, and rewlyng, the holy see of Rome mooste holy fadir Pope Calixte the secunde ; presidente in the churche of Ingland, William, Archebisshoppe of Cawntirbury, and Richarde, Bysshophe of London,¹ the whiche of due lawe and right halowid that place yn the eiste party of the forsayde felde and bysshoply auctoryte dedicate the same, that tyme fulbreve and shorte as a cymytory.² Regnyng the yonger son of William Nothy, first kynge of Englischemen yn the North Herry the firste xxx^{ty}. yere, and a side-halfe the thirde yere of his reigne³ to the laude and glorie of the hye and indyvduall Trynyste to hym blessinge thankynge honoure and empyer worlde with owtyn ende. Amen.

CAPITULUM VIII.

WHAT WAS YN REVELACYON SHEWYD TO KYNGE EDWARDE OF THIS PLACE.

Heir we may nat silence kepe but evydently expresse that by relacion of oure senyoures we have fownde dyvynly schewid, this to be a place of prayer, longe beforen tyme, to the glorious kynge Edwarde the confessoure, the son of Etheldrede the kynge, brothir of Seynt Edwarde the martir, of whom many goode thynges they seye they hadde herde in ther tymes nowe to be declarid. Thys blessid kyng, whan he was in the Chirche of God, replete with manyfolde bewte of vertu, as the boke of Gestys declarith, as a religious and full of the spirite of prophicie he schoone bright beholdyng thynges ferof,⁴ as they were presente, and thynges to cumme as they were nowe existente with the yis of his soule by the Holy Goste for he was illumyned. The whiche in a certayn nyght whan he was bodely slepyng, his herte to God wakyng, he was warnyd of thys place with an hevynly dreame made to hym that Gode this place hadde chosyn his name ther yn to be putte and sette : and holy and worschipfull it schulde be schewyd to cristyn peple. Wherupon this holy kynge, erly arisyng, come to this place that God had shewid hym and to them that abowte hym stoid expressid the vision, that nyght made to hym, seyde before all the peple, prophecied this place to be gret before God whoes cleyr prophecyes howh they be supportyd grettly with the myghte of treweeth : experience hath approvyd yt, and every feithfulman may cleirly beholde the same.

¹ Calixtus II, Pope, 1119-1124. William de Corbuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123-1136. Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, 1108-1128. These references must refer to the founding, not to the dedication.

² *Breve tunc admodum cimiterium* : obscure : perhaps 'at that time a very small cemetery', see above, p. 48.

³ Latin, *anno XXX, et circiter tertium regni eius* : for possible explanation see above, p. 49.

⁴ *Remota*, far off, remote.

CAPITULUM IX.

WHAT III MEN OF GREYCE SEYED BEFORNE OF THYS PLACE.

It was seyed that III men of greyke y sprongyn of noble lynage goynge owte frome ther countre and kynrede, takyng on them for God the holy laboure of pilgrimage, and whan with deuoute soule they sowght the helpe of seyntes in many places, from the grete¹ see, they hadde enteryd Inglande, desiryng to visite the bodies of seyntes theyre restyng, and by ther merytes in the laste examinacion to be succurrid and defendid whā they came to London, they wente to thys place, and ther prostrate honoured and worschippid God, and afor̄n them, that ther was presente, and behelde them, as symple ydiottys, they began wondirfull thynges to seye, and prophecy of this place seyynge, 'Wondir nat ge, vs here to worschipp God, where a fulle acceptable temple to hym, shall be bylid, ffor the high maker of all thyng wyll that it be bylded and the fame of this place schall attayn from the spryng of the sunne to the goynge downe.'

CAPITULUM X.

OF THE CLENSYNGE OF THYS PLACE.

Truly thys place afor̄n his clensynge pretendid noone hope of goodnesse, right uncleene it was, and as a maryce dunge and fenny with water almost everytyme habowndyng.² And that that was emynente above the water drye, was deputid and ordeyned to the Jubeit or galowys of thevys, and to the tormente of othir that were dampnyd³ by judicialle auctoryte. Truly whan Rayer hadde applied his study to the purgacion of this place, and decreid to put his hande to that holy bilyng, he was nat ignoraunte of Sathanas wyles, for he made and feyned hym self unwyse, for he was so coattid, and outward pretendid the cheyr⁴ of an ydiotte, and began a litill while, to hyde the secretnesse of his soule, and the moore secretely he wrought, the moore wysely he dyd his werke. Truly yn playnge wise, and maner he drewe to hym the felischip of children and servantes, assemblynge hym self as one of them, and with ther use and helpe stonys and othir thynges profitable to the bylynge, lightly he gaderyd to gedyr, he played with them and from day to day made hym self moore vile in his own yen, in so mykill that he plesid the apostle of Cryste, to whome he hadde provyd hym self. Thorowgh who is grace and helpe whan all thyng was redy that semyd necessarie he reysid uppe a grete frame. And now he was provyd nat unwyse, as he was trowid, but verry wyse : and that, that was hydde and secrete opynly began to be made to all men. Thus yn merveles wyse he comfortid in the Holy Gooste, and instructe with cunnynge of trweth, seide the worde of God feithfully by dyverse chirches ; and the multitude bothe of clerkys and of the laife,⁵ constauntly was exhortid to folowe

¹ Grete, a mistranslation, *emenso mari* : having passed over the sea entered England.

² Abounding.

³ *Damnati* : damned, condemned.

⁴ *Speciem* : the look or mien.

⁵ *Laicorum* : laymen.

and fulfyll those thynges that were of charite and almesdede. And yn this wyse he cumpasid his sermon, that nowe he sterid his audience to gladnesse that all the peple applaudid him, and in contynent anon he proffered sadnesse and sorow of ther synnys, that all the peple were compellid yn to syghyng and wepyng, but he trewly yn the same cheir and soule evermore perseveraunte expressyd holsumme doctrine and aftir God, and feithfull sermon prechyd, and yn his techynge unrepveyd was fownde, those thynges techynge that the Holy Gost by the apostles, and appostolyke expositoures have yeve to the chirche unmoveably and stedfastly to beholde fforthermore hys lyfe acorded to his tonge and his dede approved well hys sermon, and so yn the sacrifice of God the moueth and bylle of the turtyll was returnyd to his armepittes, and recleynd unto the wyngys leisse that he prechyng to othir schulde be fownde reprovably yn hym self. Of this almen grettly were astonyd, boeth of the novelte of the areysid frame, and of the fownder of this newe werke. Who wolde trowe this place with so sodayn a clensyng to be purgid, and ther to be sette up the tokenys of crosse : and God there to be worshippid where sumtyme stoid the horrible hangynge of thevys, who schulde nat be astonyd, ther to se, constructe and byld thonorable byldynge of pite, that schulde be a sekir¹ seyntwary to them, that fledde ther to, wher sumtyme was a comyn officyne of dampnyd peple, and a general, ordeynyd for payn of wrecchys who schulde nat mervel ther to be hauntyd the mysterie of Oure Lordys body and precious blode, where was sumtyme schewid owe the blode of gentyly and hethyn peple. Whois hert lightly schulde take or admytte suche a man nat producte of gentyll bloode, nat gretly yndewid with litterature of mannys,² or of dyvynne kunnyng, so worschipfull, and so grete a worke prudently to begynne, and hyt begunne to so happy a progresse, fro day in to day to perfecte and parforme ? This ys the change of the right hande of God : O Chryst these ben thy workys, that of thyn excellent vertu and synguler pyte makyst of unclene, clene ; and chesist the feble of the worlde to confownde the myghty, and callist them that be nat, as yt were they that been : the whiche Golgotha the place of opyn abhominacion madist a seyntwary of prayer, and a solempne token or sygne of devocion.

CAPITULUM XI.

OF THE RIOTTYS AND ASSEMYLYNGES OF THE ADVERSARIE PARTYS,
AND OF THE PRYVYLEGYS OF THE CHIRCHE.

Thus procedynge the tyme, clerkis to leve undir regular ynstitution, in the same place in breif tyme were vuyd to gidir : Rayer optenyng cure and office of the priorhede, and mynystryng to them necessities nat of certeyn rentys but plenteously of oblations of feithfull peple ; and nat longe aftyr that drede that he drade come to hym, and that he dredyd happid hym. He was to summe the odor of lyif yn to lyif, to othir the odor of deith yn to deith. Summe seid he was a deseyver, for cause that yn the nette of the grete ffyscher evil fischis

¹ Sure, secure.

² *Humanarum aut divinarum scientia litterarum* : with knowledge of letters human or divine.

were medillid¹ with goode aforne the houre of the laste disseverawnce, his howseholde peple were made hys enemyes, and so roys azenste hym wyckid men, and wykydnes lyid to hym self.² Therfore with prikkyng envye many privatly, many also opynly, azenste the servant of God cesid nat to gruge, and in derogacion to the place and prelate of the same browghtyn many sclawnders with thretnynges, the goodes that they myght they withdrewe and toke a wey : constreyned hym with wykkidnes, made wery hym with injuries, provoked hym with despitis, bygildid hym with symulate frendschippis ; and summe of them brake owte in to so bolde a wodnesse,³ that they drewe among them self a contracte of wikkid conseracion, what day i sette and place the servant of God they myght thorowgh wyls and sutilte draw to ther cowncell wyth a deceyte, and hym so ther present to plukke from the stappis⁴ of his lyif ; and so his remembraunce they wolde had doyn away from this worlde. But ther is no wysdom, ther is no kunnyng, ther is no cowncell, azenste God, in whom he cast his thought, and with the apostle put his strengith. He therfore that was his hoope was his myght, and for hym he discunfyit his ennemyes, therfore whan the day abydde comme, whiche was deputed to the innocentis deith, oone of them partner of so grete a wykkidnesse, secrete to hym self abhorryng so grete a synne, aforyn the houre of this perell drawyng neir, shewide by ordir to the servante of God, the summe of al ther cowncell. He for this, to God and to his patrone gaf thankys, that the secretes of his ennemyes were nat hydde fram hym, and that by the benefete, of Oure Lordes pyte, he hath skapid the deith to hym arayed. For thys and lyke causys apperynge azen he wente to the kyng with a lamentable querell, expressyng howe with untrew despitys, he was deformyd, and whate fastidious owtbrekynges hadde temptid hym, besekyng his royall munyficence, that his persone and the place that he hadde grauntid hym, he wolde defende. Also yn his suggestion to the kynge, he made this reson : he bidith no rewarde of God, that hath begunne a goode werke, and so bygunne, with a dew ende hath nat fynyshid the same, wherfore for the ynward bowelles of the mercy of Cryst, that he trustid yn, for the dignyte that he schoone with, and for the power of his emynence, he wolde opyn the bosomme of his pite to them that were desolate and honoure God yn his servantes, and restreyn the berkyng wodnesse of unfeithfull peple, so that to the goode bygynnynges he now joynyng bettir yssuys, and largeor exsecucions, myghte byle to hym self eternal howse yn hevyn whyle that he worschippith and defendith the howse of God, yn erthe. Thus the kynge mervellyng the prudence and constaunce of this man, answerd, that he wolde applie hym to his just and nessessarie petitions, and that furthermore he behestid hym self to be a tutur and defensur of hym and of hys, therfore he made this chirche with all his pertynences with the sam fredommys that his crowne ys libertid with, or ony othir chirch yn all Inglonde, that is most y freid and relesid hit all customys and decreid for to be free from all erthly serveyce,

¹ *Admixti* : mixed.

² *Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi* : but their wickedness deceives itself.

³ Wodnesse = madness.

⁴ *Vestigia* : steps or path.

power, and subjecion, and gave sharpe sentence agenste contrary malyngnors.¹ This and many othir insignys that ys to sey dignyteys of liberte, he grauntid to the prior and to them undirneith hym servyng, and to the forsayd chirche, and with his chartur and seel confirmyd hyt, adjuryng also all his heyris and successours yn name of the Holy Trinite, that this place with royall auctorite, they upholde and defende and the libertees of hym i grauntid they schulde graunte and conferme. With suche privelegge, thus whan he was streyngethyd and confortably defendyd, glad he went owte from the face of the kynge. And whan he was cummyn home to his, what he had obteynyd of the royall maieste expressid to othir, that they schulde joy with hym, and to othir that ther schulde be affrayed. Also this worschipfull man proposid for to depose the quarell of his calamyteys afore the see of Rome, Goddis grace hym helpynge, and of the same see writynges to bryng to hym, and to his aftyr cummers profitable; but dyverse undirgrowynge impedymmentys, and at the last lettyng the article of deith,² that he wold had fuffillid, he myght nat: and so only the reward of good wyll³ he deservyd. Aftir his decease iii men of the same congregacion whoys memory be blessid in blisse, sondirly wente to sondirly byschoppis⁴ of the see of Rome. And three privileges of three bysshoppys obteynyd, that is to seye of seyntes Anastace, Adrian, and Alexander, this chirche with three doweryes, as it were with an unpenytrable scochyn⁵ wardid and defendyd agenst ympetuous hostylyte. Now beholde that prophesye of the blessid kynge and confessoure seynt Edward that beforn tyme hadde profysyd and seyn by revelacion of this place, of grete party is seyn and fuffillid. Beholde trewly that this holy chirche and chosyn to God, schyneth with manyfolde bewte, ffoundyd and endewid with hevenly answer, i sublymate with many privylegies of notable men, and to a summe of laude and glorie rychessid with many relikys of seyntes, and bewtyfied with hawntid⁶ and usuall tokenys of celestially vertu. [This nat unprofitably byfore tastid, lette us draw nere to the narracion of myracles.]^{7 8}

CAPITULUM XII.

OF LIGHT HEVENLY SENT OWTE.

Whan therfore in the forsayd place, at the bygynnyng was made an oratorye in honoure of the blessid apostle, many and innumerable were schewid tokynnys of myracles, but what for the grete plenty of them, and negligence of writyng of the same, they be almoyste unremembred, wherfore of these a fewe, specially of these that lattir dayes were knowe to us more by sight, than by heryng, as they cam to oure mynde, feithfully we shall tell. In the begynnyng of this areysed frame oure senyores tellid us, that on a day at evensong tyme, whan

¹ *Malignantes*: conspirators, malignors.

² *Tandemque impendente mortis articulo*: and at length the moment of death threatening him.

³ *Bone voluntatis*: good intention.

⁴ Each to one bishop.

⁵ Shield, scutcheon.

⁶ *Frequentissimis*: very many.

⁷ [] not in Latin.

⁸ Dugdale does not give the Latin text beyond this.

derkenys drew upon, ther was seyn a light from hevyn sent schynynge on this chirche, abidyng there uppon the space of an howre, that they sawe them self, and many othir men also, the whiche lyght aftir returnyd up an hye, and to no man aftirwarde aperid, and that yn a moment was take a wey from the yis of the beholders. Howe grete a tokyn this was of pite and grace hevynly, opynly aftirward was schewid, by multitude of toknys yn the same place.

CAPITULUM XIII.

OF WOLMER CONTRACT AND THERE I CURID.

There was an sykeman Wolmer be name with grevous and longe langoure depressid, and wrecchid to almen that hym behylde apperyd, his feit destitute of naturall myght hyng down hys legges clevyd to his thysis, part of his fyngerys returnyd to the hande, restyng alwey uppon two lytyll stolys,¹ the quantite ² of his body, to hym onerous, he drew aftir hym, and to the encrease of his wrecchidnesse was addyd grete poverte, yn more affliccion to hym than his langoure: sith to a man that nethir myght labur, ne goo, were withdrawe necessities of his lyvelode, this wrecchidnes was so mykill to hym the more grevous, that it was longe abidyng, trewly almost xxx wynteres with this so grete a sykenes was he deteynyd: and he thus othir ³ with crepyng, othir with the helpe of othir ⁴ i born sate at London yn the Chirche of Poulis, askyng almes of them that enterid yn. This i don nowe come the tyme acceptable, the yere of benygnyte, in the whiche Rayer hadde sette the fowndementys of his holy temple, and the fame of the newe werke, as it were a full swete odor dyffusyd by the mowthis of all the peple, it myght nat be hydde from hym, the whiche by the mercy of Oure Lorde conceyvyd a swete desire and feithfull, that he myght be borne to that place, ther to beeseke God of his helpe. And he of his frendes thiddir thus borne yn a basket felle down aforne the awter, porrectyng⁵ his meke prayers to hevyn, and to the hye and glorious meritys of the blessid apostle, alleggyng them to the hye and dredfull juge, that by them he myght obteyne forgiveness of synne and his bodyly helth. And with owte taryng, that welle of pyte, that was and is opyn to the menstruat woman and synful man, was present at his callyng, and a streem and ryver of helth and grace of hym self made welowte: and by and by every crokidnes of his body a litill and litill losid, he stretchid unto grownde his membris and so anoon avawntyng hym self upwarde, all his membris yn naturale ordir was disposid. As it were a newe man he was seyn to procede forth, than howe grete a crye of them, that were present was lyfte up to hevyn: what terys i schede owte for joye: what praysyng to God, uppon soe mervelous and wondrefull myracle were yeve and payed to God, yt may bettyr be conceyved, with a devoute soule, than expressid by worde. This dede anoon was dyvulgate by all the cyte, and with a grete fame gretely accendid the peple of boith ordres, the

¹ Stools.² *Molem*: heavy weight.³ *Vel . . . vel*: either . . . or.⁴ *Aliorum*: of others.⁵ *porrectyng*: offering.

clergie and the laife. And from that tyme, the noble matrones of the cite kepte ther nyght wacchis, the clergie and laife by companyes fyllyn with grete devocyon of soule, and herte gladdenes,¹ hawntyng this place and with ofte visitacon solempne laude yeldid to God, with the fowndatore.

CAPITULUM XIV.

OF THE ANTHYPHONER.

A certeyn man toke a way a boke from this place, that we callith an antiphonere, the whiche was necessarie to them that schulde synge ynne the chirche, in that specialy that ther was nat at that tyme grete plente of bokys, in the place. Whan it was sowghte besily and not i fownde, it was tellid to Rayer the priour what was done of thee boke and he toke this harme with a softe herte paciently. At nyghtys tyme, whan as he was ynne his chambre to take his reste the glorious apostle of God, Bartholomew spake to hym and seyid, 'sey Rayer, what is that, of whoeys loste, me presente, thus ye playne.' And he seied 'syr thy clerkis hadde a profitable boke to them, in the whiche to the honoure of God and of the, in the holy temple of thy glorie they were wownte to synge; and now yf it be hidde yn ony place, or stolyn a way, they know nat.' 'In the mornnyng eerly commaunde thyn hors to be redy, and hastily entre the cite and whan thou cummyste yn to the Jewes strete,² spare thy sporys, lose thy brydyll lette thyn hors to my governaunce, and yn to what howse thy hors wilfully putte yn his fote, know welle of me, ther thy boke schall be fownde. Dowte no thyng, prudently and constawntly inquire.' No more this i seid yn a moment he disparisshid. Rayer yn the mornnyng slyd owte of his bedde, and diligently all that was commaunde hym he executid, and with the enemyes of pees he spake pesibly; and the boke that he sowghte he fownde, and toke hit and broght hit hoome.

CAPITULUM XV.

OF A WOMAN I HELYD.

The tonge of a woman so gretly was swolle that she myght nat shete here moweth; and so, opynly grevvyng that sche myght nat hidde the swellynge thys woman of her freendes was broght to this chirch and offerid to Rayer the pryor, whiche havynge compassion of her, as he was a man of mercy and grete benygnyte, offeryd to God and to his patron prayer for her. And he revolvynge his reliks that he hadde of the Crosse, he depid them yn water and wysshe the tonge of the pacient ther with, and with the tree of lyif, that ys with the same signe of the crosse paynted the tokyn of the crosse upon the same tonge. And yn the same howre all the swellynge wente his way, and the woman gladde and hole went home to here owne.

¹ *Alacritate*: with readiness (of heart).

² Old Jewry.

CAPITULUM XVI.

OF A RICHE MAN.

Hit ys tolde of a richeman uplond dwellyng, that come to this chirche, and he so delitid with the gladnes of this place, and with the servyce of God ther contynualy and devoutly y doyn, he seid to the priour 'syr many goodnes of this vertuous place by opyn fame I have knowe, and moo with myn yene I have seyn, wherfore I purpose in my soule from this day forward I shall commytte me and all myn to seynt Barthilmewe advocatte of this place, and to his servyce I shall me subdew, everywher calle hym and preche hym my lorde, and with my substawnce as he wolde inspire me, his clerkys honoure'. Then seiede Rayer; 'Wele thou hast purposid, and dowltes a wyse keper of thy goodes thou hast chosyn, whom yf thou serve as thou with feithfull mynde hast promysid, without dowte by him thou shalt optene the blysse of God.' After these wordes the man went his way. A wondyr thyng and a worthy to be remembrid: nat longe aftir it happid hym sittynge at his table, oone of his servantes tolde hym that his kechyn was a fyre sodenly, and likly to perish with woodenes of fyre, he was prayd therfore hastily to come, and delay nat helpe to brynge to the howse nowe peryshynge and nowe fallynge. And to the serventes so yn soule he stunyid¹ and with grete feer affrayed, the same howseholde fadir answerde; 'Have nat I late me and myne commyttid to blessid Barthilmew the apostle, and him I have made and deputid keper of my hede and of all thyng that perteyneth to me. Yf therfore it plesith hym hys to kepe to hym self, he shall nat nedeoure helpe, but also all hole and saf, not mynnschyd to the solace of his servantes yf he be wylling hys myght I know wel ys sufficient: forsouth yf it be the respecte of the ire of God from above, that sendith to us worthy paynys foroure demerites, what or how moche, yn withstandynge mayoure besy purpos prevayle, as who seyth lityll. Suffir therfore noon of us put to his hande, lette us abyde yn sylence, and yn hope the sanacyon of God and the myght ofoure tutore.' And yete as the word was yn the moweth of the speker, and at the nomynacion of the glorious apostle, the same fyre semyd to suffre violence, for the fflamys naturally ascendyng upward, defawtid of ther power, and undir certyn lymytys were restreynyed. And whan this was broght to the howsholdfadir, beholde what he seid, 'Howh mykil avayleth the feith, and howh emynently apperith the vertu of the apostle, whan schulde the unpetuous flame yeve way tooure myghtis the whiche yn a momente by the apostle of God ys qwenchid, thankys of us therfore be to hym, that as nowe and also frohens forward wolde wouchesafe thus to kepe us'.

CAPITULUM XVII.

OF THE SHIPPemen yn PERYLL.

Certeyn men of the kyngis cyte of London went owte to fer cowntrees, and certeyn tyme made them redy to come home agayn with all thers. And whan they trustid them to the wavvys of the see, than blowynge of the syde the

¹ *Consternatus*: astounded.

westryn wynde y callid zephirus, with a swifte curse they tendid to the desirid havyn, and they behelde aferre, as it were the space of ii furlonges, the high scharpe hedis¹ owte warde aperyng of rochis of stoyne by the whiche they most nedysly passe, yf it plesid them to go further by that wey. And the maister of the schippe seyng beforne grete perell to hym cummyng, yn that the schippe with the rochis schulde be gobettemele be mynusid and brokyn², her merchauntise schulde peryssh, with the men, and noon hope ther was of scapyng. Nevertheles he exhortid them to truste yn the pyte of Oure Lorde, and mekely to porrecte³ to hym ther prayers, to whom nothyng ys unpossible, nothyng to harde. And to this, seide the Londoners, 'What seide they drede we, men of letill feith, the which have blessid Barthilmewe, the doer of so grete merveles at London. And we have hym at home anyhe by us glorified, therfore lette us prostrate oure self yn prayer to hym, and to hym with all confidence offir oure avowys, and he that so grete and so shynye benefetys sheweth to strangers, he schall nat hyde the bowelles of his mercy to his concytyseyns.'⁴ And whan so prostrate they hadde so prayed to gedir they areysed up from ther prayer and lokid abowte them, this way and that way. Ther they sey them self by grete space y put of wher before ther prayer they semyd that they drewe full nye the peryl, therfore they were gladde and a noon as they came to lande, they dressid⁵ them to the chirche of the gloriouse apostle, and ii tapers of grete quantyte offerid for ther vowe.

CAPITULUM XVIII.

OF AN YONGE GROWYNGE MAN.

Ther was a yonge man Osberne by name whoes right hande clevyd to his lyfte schuldyr, his hede compressid down to the hande laye unmevabe, and nethir the hande from the shuldyr, ne the hede from the hande myghte be departed, this man cummyng a forne the auter of the blessid apostle Bartholomewe with sighyng terys his mercy mekely besought. And he deservyd gracious to be herde. And therfore whan the fredome of his lymys were y hadde, God that is mervelous in his seyntes, he with alle them that wer present, with worthy preysyng magnified.

CAPITULUM XIX.

OF A WOMMAN CONTRACTE.

A certeyn woman in seynte Jonys parisshe at London with longe sykenes febelid contynuelly kepte her bedde and, helth dispeyrid, she abided only the last houre of thys lyfe, whan she herde of her neyghbores how many and how grete thynges by the vertu of God were don yn the chirche of the holy apostle, by the vertu in her conceyvyd of unskunfitid⁶ feith with goode hope she askid

¹ *Prominerum scopulorum* : of projecting rocks.

² *Scopulis illisa frustratum* : if dashed upon the rocks would be broken in pieces.

³ *Porrigere* : to offer.

⁵ *Contulerunt* : betook.

⁴ *Concivibus* : fellow citizens.

⁶ *Invicte* : unconquerable.

herself thider to be borne. And thidir whan she was i browght, that she hadde herde, by experience she provid, felynge the profit and consecutyng the effecte, of her petition, grauntyng that, Oure Lorde Ihu Cryste the auctore of oure feith which helith contrite in herte and byndith up the contricioncs of them.

CAPITULUM XX.

OF A CHILDE BLYNDE FROM HIS BIRTH.

A childe blynde from his birth, oon ledyng hym, fadyr and modyr folowyng, was browght to the solempnyte of the glorious apostle, and as he enteryd the chirche he fill down to the erthe and ther a whyle turnyd hymself, now this way, nowe that way : and with taryng restid undir the hande of the heavenly leche¹ that lightyth every man cummyng in to this worlde, in whoes light all we see light. And a noon the inward born blyndenesse fledde a way, and the blode from the yen by the chekis down rennyng, light and sight to the syke was restoryde,² nat that he hadde befor, but than first it was yeve to the childe. And than he knew his parentys with opyn yen, that never he sawe before, and sundry thynges by ther propyr namys distynctly he callide.

CAPITULUM XXI.

OF WYMUDE THAT WAS DUM.

A yonge man Wymund by name yn the courte of Eustase De Brooke, nat a litill while y nurysshed. Dumme he was, know to all men that hadde knowleche of hym, this man berynge hevily the detrimente of his tonge, presumyng of mercy of God and on the meritys of the apostle, he drewe hym to his chirche and ther contynually kepte devoute wacche. And feithfully that he askid he deservyd to obteyne, upon a day aftir cumplyn the bonde of his tonge was losyd and with a grete voice he praycid the vertu of the apostle thankyng and blessyng the myght and the wysdome of God, the whiche openyth the dumme moweth, and the tongis of infantis maketh opyn and diserte.

CAPITULUM XXII.

OF GODRYKE THE BOCHER.

Whan trewly the plantacion that the hye fadyr hadde plantyd, that is to seye, the forseid chirche, whan it a roose hyer and the fame of the apostolike vertu everywhere to neyghbores perfity sownyd, and was knowen ; Rayer joynyd to hym a certeyn olde man Alfun byname, to whome was sadde age and sadnes of age with experience of longe tyme. This same olde man not longe before hadde bilid the chirche of seynt Gylys at the gate of the citeye, that ynne englissh tonge is callid Cripilgate. And that goode worke happely he hadde endyd.

¹ *Medici* : physician.

² *Geminum lumen non sane restituitur : sed tunc primum puero confertur* : the light of his two eyes was not wholly restored to him, but light then for the first time was conferred on the boy.

Demynge Rayer this man profitable to hym, he deputyd him as his compayr ; and with his counsell and helpe, that was for to be don, disposid and parformyd. It was manner and custome to this Alfunne, with mynystris of the chirche, to cumpasse and go abowte the nye placys of the chirche besily to seke and provyde necessities to the nede of the poer men, that lay in the hospitall, and to them that were hyryd to the makynge up of ther chirche ; and that, that was commyttid to hym, trewly to brynge home and to sundry men as it was nede for to devyde. And ther was a certeyn bocheyr Goderyke byname a man of grete sharpnesse, more than semyd hym, he was a streyt man, the whiche nat oonly to the asker wolde nat yeve, but was woonte with scornynge wordes to ynsawt them. It fil upon a day that while this forsaid Alfunyne wente abowte the bochers, man by man, and aftir othur whan he cam to this Godryke and mevid hym aftir the apostle with goode and honeste wordes oportunely and importunely by cause he was nat willynge to yeve, he perseveryd stedfastly and he wolde not go from hym voyde, and whan the olde man beheld that, nat for drede, nether for love of God, ne also for mannys shame he myght not tempyr the hardnes of that yndurat herte, from his rygoure he brake owte yn these wordes, ' O thou unhappy, O thou ungentle and unkynde man, to the yever of all goodys, that for the geifte of hevenly goodnes will nat comyn with the poremyn of Cryist, I beseche the wrecche, put a way a litill and swage the hardnes of that unfeithfull soule, and take in experience the vertu of the glorious apostle, yn whom yf thou truste, I promytte the that every piece of thy, that thou yevest me aporcion of, shall the sonner be solde to othir, and no thyng to the mynyssynge or lessynge of the pryce, and what more.' He was mevyd nat with the ynstyncte or ynward sterynge of charite but overcumyn with importunyte of asker, he drewe owte a peis of vilest and castyd yt yn to his vessell callynge them trewantes, and bade them lightly go from hym ; to whom Alfunyne answerd ' I shall not go fro the, tyll my worde and promysse be fulfilled '. And with owte tarynge, there was a cyte-seyn covetynge to bye fleyssh, for hym and his housholde, and of that heip of the whiche Alfunyne spake before he boughte atte the wille of the seller, and bare hit with hym. And whan this was dyvulgate by all the bocherie, for a wurthy myracle, as it was fittyng, it was take. And from that tyme, they began to be more prompte to yeve ther almes, and also fervent in devocion. And stryvyd who myght prevent anothir yn yevynge, namely, he whoes hardness of unfeithfull soule, the vertu of Cryist, hadde undirnmyd, the whiche lorde promysid to the jever of a dyschfull of coolde water to hym that cummyth yn the name of a disciple nat to lake his meide.¹

CAPITULUM XXIII.

OF EDEN THE WYFFE OF EDRED.

An nothir tyme the same Alfunyne those thynges that nedid to the makynge of ale he went a bowte to matronys howsis in cumpasse and askid, and whan he came yn to the parissch of Seynt Giles of London, for this same gaderynge,

¹ *Mercede non cavere* : should not lack his reward.

he cam yn to a devoute matron, Eden by name, the wyf of Edred the whiche with mervellus devocion lovyng Crystis apostle, her almes to his chirche, or els she broughte, or els was wonte to sende yt : to whom cummyng Alfunyne he prayed her of her blessing, that sumwhat sche wolde departe with hym, for the love of God. And sche answerd that she hadde but onoly vii ceves ful of malte ; and she shulde take a wey ony thyng of these, she myghte nat than, parforme the brethen,¹ that she hadde begunne, 'Never the lees,' she saide, 'albe that I be certeyn to have damage or harme, yete hadde I lever to suffir harme of myn ale, than yow to go voyde with owte frute of myn almes,' thus seyyng, she mesurid one cevefull and yave it to the mynystris, the whiche passyng forthe and i go, she began to mesure that remaynyd, and wondir to seye, vii mesures she fownde, the whiche her self trowyng to have errid in numberyng, began to telle ageyn : and than she fownde viii : the thirde tyme she numberid and fownde ix : and than at the foureth metyng fownde x. Beholde that she that studied to fulfill the plenytyde of the lawe, that is charite, of the rightwys rewarder, for her mede fownde x. The which woman, that, that remanyd so habowndyng, commawndid to be born to the same chirche anoyrn, and tolde everywhere, the mervelous encresse, blessing God that by his seyntes workith tokenys and virtues to whom whan he wolde myghte is redy.

CAPITULUM XXIV.

DE GODENA CONTRACTA.

A certyn woman Godene by name, hadde her leggis returnyd to her thyys that never myght stonde upright, but with contynuall use of sittyng ledde a tedious lyfe, yn sorowe and wepyng she on a tyme was born to the chirche of the blessid apostle, and askid the yifte of parfit helth, and obteynyng it grauntyng that oure lord Ihu Criste the whiche losith stokkid² men, reysith up down pressid, and directith the rightwys.

CAPITULUM XXV.

OF A MAN THAT MYGHT NOT SLEPE.

A certyn man at Norwiche opynly i know,³ while on a tyme he wolde be lette blode and of hym self toke noon hede, as it was expedient, hadde lost the rest of slepe, the whiche how good, and how necessarie it is to man, for to expowne it is nat now necessarie, this reste longe and dayly sweites and labores allightith, and aftyr labour repayrith man ageyn to labour, and this reste nat onely of men but of bestis conservyth the nature sownde and hole. The sayed wrecchid man lackyng this rest ledde on nyghtys withowte slepe almost vii yere. And by and by his senowys were contracte pale and lene, and ryvelyd

¹ *Cervisiam* : the brewing, the beer.

² *Compeditos* : fettered, in the stocks.

³ *Notissimus* : very well known.

abowte the moweth all discolouryd, and all his bonys to be numbryd, apperid to the sight of them that byhelde hym : and to the heip and encrece of his greve and febylnes was putte to nedynesse, so moche that the man befor was riche yn frendes and money, and now of bothe destitute he was applyed to ydelnes ffor nethir to hym self, nethir to his, myght he ony thyng provyde. In vii zeire of his unfortune, whan the relikys of the same chirche of seynt Batholomewe, were browght and put yn, to the oratorye of sente Nicholas at zermoweth,¹ this man drewe to the same relikys devoutly, and mekely prostratte hymself, askyng and sekyng remedy. And he fownde that he sowght, he range at the doyr, and oure porter opynde to hym, and shewid to hym magnifycently the bowelles of his mercy, and grovelynge to the grownde he multiplied his prayers and began to slepe : and whan he hadde slepte a grete while he roys up hole, and wente to his owne, yeldynge thankynge to God, that mortifieth and revyvyth, smytyth and helyth.

CAPITULUM XXVI.

OF A DUM CHILDE.

Also a childe that longe tyme was dumme, to the laude of the glorious apostle, the vertu of God opynde both tonge and moweth and right wesly he spake.

CAPITULUM XXVII.

OF AN OTHUR CALLID NYCHALAS.

A childe faire of forme, Nicholas by name, so had he his legge so strecchid forth, to the upper parties of his thyy, that he myght nat putte yt forward ne drawe yt bakewarde, yn asmoche that the synowys were dried up and always lackid bowableness, he therfore lenyng on a staffe usid that yn stede of his fote. This childe cummyng to the chirche of the blessid apostle Bartholomew was expert that Oure Lorde is full sweytt to al men and his mercy ys abovyn all his workys, by the merites of the most glorious apostle, hete of lyf was ynfowndid to seyr and drye membrys and anoon folowid full helth, the whiche chylde abided ther a while and servyd the chanons ther, yn ther kychyn, and for the yifte of his helth, he yave the servyce of his body.

CAPITULUM XXVIII.

OF ADWYNE THE CARPENTER.

An nothir man Alfynyne by name in the towne of Dunwych that dwellid on the see syde, so was contracte that he myghte nat use the free office, nethir of hande, ne of fote, his legges were clevynge to the hynder parte of his thyes,

¹ *Sancti Nicholai apud Gernemutam* : St. Nicholas, Little Yarmouth : one of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's (not St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth).

that he myghte nat goo, and his handis turnyd bakewarde, no thyng with them myght be do, ne worke: the extremyteis of his fyngers were so rigorisly contracte in the synowys, that he myght unneith put mete to his moweth. In this grevous sykenes he passid his yonge age. And whan he attayned to mannys age and not yette hadde he power of his lymmys, yette sith the fame of tokenys and myracles of the blessid apostle come to hym by relacion of othir men, he began to leyfte up his sorowfull soule in to a better hope. And thow helth were yn that tyme dilaid, it was promysed to come. Therefore, for that he was ferre from that chirche, he yave shipmen for hyr hyr and by shippe he was browght to the chirche, and put yn the hospitall of pore men. And ther a while of the almes of the same chirche y sustenyd. And he began yn the meyn while, by the vertu of the apostle to take breith unto hym, and he desirid helth, by certeyn incrementys began to come ageyn; first with handys thow they were crokyd, he dyd make smale workys as distafes, and antell,¹ and othir wommenys instrumentys, and forthermore by succession, whan othir membrys usyd ther naturall myghte he followid yn greter workys, hewerrys of wode with axe, and squarerys of tymbyr with chippyng axe, and nat longe aftir, the craft of carpentrye, yn the same chirche, and yn the cite of London he excercisid, as it hadde be taught hym from his childehode, blessynge God, whoes yen be oon them, that dredith hym, and uppon them that hope on his mercy.

CAPITULUM XXIX.

OF A DROPYK MAN.

A certeyn dropik man that bare his surname of the happe² of this siknes, myght nat hyde away his ynwarde greyf, but to the sight of uttir beholders, he shewyd owte his greyf and wracchidnys soithly an humor reynnyng undir the skyn made a bolluyng inflacion and the wombe swellyng owte, shewid owtwarde, what pestilence was hydde ynward, this man was browght to the chirche of seynt Bartholomew, but for the gretnes of his doloure, he was turmentid, and in to dyvers parties he walowid hymself yn the pament: and at the last yn the sight of all men he cast owte wondir venym, and his ynwardes were purgid from this dedly fylthe and all hole returnyd to his awne howse.

HERE ENDITH THE FIRSTE BOKE.

¹ *Primo itaque manibus licet recurvus parva opuscula faciebat colos scilicet et pensa ceteraque muliercularum instrumenta*: and so at first, bent though he was, he made with his hands little things such as distaffs, weights (probably weighed bundles of wool to spin) and other girls' gear.

² *Ab eventu*: by the occurrence.

LIBER II

AND HERE BEGYNNETH THE PROLOG OF THE SECUNDE.

To us confessynge to God, and bigynnyng to telle his mervels, we truste feithfully he shall yeve a goode endynge, the whiche hath yeve a goode begynnyng. Nowe rennyth to oure mynde one solempne thyng, to be seied for many, and whan this hath be movyd, both by opyn resunne and unyversall wytnes, more licencyous we may passe yn to othir, y don by like vertu, and evyn power. Hedirto we have writyn examplys of myracles, the whiche were don, in the dayes of goode remembrawnce of Rayer priore and foundatore of this place to the laude of God, and excitament of holynes; and nowe it is for to do and procede of these thynges that we han seyn and herde don in the dayes and tymes of the successors of the forsaide priore. The grete solempne thyng ys thys, ffirsh whan the rememberid priour was ȝit a lyve, the whiche edified the frame of this precious worke upon the fowndament of appostles and prophetys, ffor as moche as the bygynnynges of grete thynges, nedith gretter helpe, thanne most was prompte and presente haunttid plenty of mynystryd grace from God,¹ ffurthermore those than aftir to the avowers, that the celestiall fadir drewe yn to the odor of his oynnementys renuydde a newe solempnyte, of them, than ranne to religion with an ynwarde newydde devocyon. Also a newe solempnyte was for obvenchyous and ȝiftes; in money, in howseholde, in corne, and in meveable goodis, grete nowmbyr. And than aftir a joconde feiste, bisy in this place was hadde of recoveryng men yn to helthe, of them that langwsshid; of drye men, [of contracte men,²] of blynde men, dome men, and deif men, ffor these causys whan the day of his natyvyte in to hevyn was knowyn it was solempnyzed and honourid with grete myrth and dawnsynge yn erth. And menne presyde hydder thykly for variawnte causys, and shuldrid to gider, and as languyshynge men were there abidyng the mevyng of the water of grace, that yn a certeyn place, as this same, and yn certeyn tyme they shold presume, and truste well the wonte grace, to be ȝeven to them, as was befor to othyr, as the dayly reliks of them, preche and schew to us, and this is, that, that we seide befor, oone solempne for many, or els many to make one solempne feiste. Ffor as the blesside kyngdome of Israel, all was, as it hadde be one proficye of Cryste and of his chirche, so al these thynges that ben seide or shall be seide, they beholde the ende and consummacion of this document, ffor trewly God is yn this place, and though there be non place with owte hym, the whiche God yn place ys not comprehended, nothir mesurid, nat for the place these be doon oonly, but for man, ffor the whiche bothe man and place is reverencid. Neverthelese there is no so privy man of Crystes secretys, that may contempne the reverence of holy place, whiche deputat ys only to dyvyne use, and consecrate ys to the remedye of soulys, where oure holy thynges be put, wher is the

¹ *Tunc maxime impromptu affuit ministrantis gratie* (sic) *frequens copia*: a frequent supply of ministering grace was then especially ready at hand.

² Not in the Latin.

distribucion of the sacramentis, and wher that is, that is most beste, the presence of Crystes body, nat withoute experience of his vertuys with grete office of angely mynystracion, and with solempne worschip of devocyon of all seyntes, dredefull therfore is this place to the understander, ther is no thyng her els, but the howse of God and the gate of hevyn, to the belever. Trewly they that byleve nat ne undirstonde not by charite yn belevynge of these mysteryes, but scornynth oure Sabatte dayes, and poluteth oure halowys that clensyn othir men, we schall take them as men transfiguryng them self, yn to an angell of lighte though they be darke bodyes: demynge pyte to be feynyd for lucre, and so they sholde be takyn till the consummacion of synne, antecryste, shall come whan the erthe shall be take unto wykkid men, and halowys yn to conculcacion,¹ that they may be opyn than, that now be hydde yn the denne of theyfes. Spirituall sothly seyntwary,² that heir ys bilid of qwyke stonys: abilydng certeynly styddfastly here permanent unspottid shall be translatid yn to the kyngdome everlastynge; and as yn the erthly empyr unfittyng it is, and suspecte any man excepte only oone persone, to schewe knyghthode yn his propre name, we have oone of these that Oure Lorde hathe ordeynyd prynces uppon erthe, we have as I seye, the doer of mervels oure patrone, and duke,³ seynt Bartholomew, whom by the grace that he hath plentwesly receyvyd of Cryste, we beseke hym, that with his myghty auctorite, that commendeth the vertu of his mayster, us aftir hym nat oonly he wolde lede, but also that he drawe and heigge oure wayes, with thornys, that we go nat aftir the desires of oure fleshe. And with fadirly chastynge compelle us to entre the soper of the lambe, and the everlastyng mariage of hym, that takith away the synnys of the worlde, the whiche peticion he vouychesafe to geve us, the which lyvyth and reigneth God per all worldes with owtyn ende, Amen.

ALSO ANOTHIR.

Also as we be lernyd of worldly kunnyng, as it were by the spoylys of egipcians, the office of a negligent man is, nat to know the begynnynge of his werkys, nethir to charge the endynges, gretly yn us it semyth reproveable, that ar lernyd men, nat to know the grownde and the reson of them, that we worschippe: Moyses sothly, that fyrst taught us, to spoyle the egipcians he taught us, how we shulde answeere to oure aftir cummers, askyng upon oure sacramentis what they wolde meyn, seyng thus, for to signyfie to them, the religion of the same. Therefore aftir the jerys of his prelacie xxii and vi monthes, the .xxv. day of September the vii moneth, the cley howse of thys worlde he forsoke, and the howse everlastynge he enterid, that fowndid this howse in to the laude and honoure of the name of Cryst, that yn the howse of his fadir he myght be crownyd yn his myldnes, and yn his mercyes. And in asmykil, as of no workys with owte charite cummyth forth profeite with owte whiche charite, othir goodys may not prevayle, the whiche also charite may nat be hadde with owte other goodys, by the whiche man is made goode: rightly so we of hym have this hope

¹ *Conculcationem*: a treading under feet.

² Moreover the spiritual sanctuary.

³ *Ducem*: leader.

that no thyng hath he omysid by hym that tochith grace, of that, that we seke here in thys passyng lyfe, as is the comunyon of Crystis feith, and communycacion of his sacramentis and namly insignys of a contrite herte by penaunce, ffor why, amonge these we trust that be passid, and yn thys we trust as we hope in the meritorie helpe of oure myghty patrone, to whom the lital flokke of xiii chanonns as a few sheippe he hath lefte with lital lande, and right fewe rentys, neverthelese with copious obvenyons of the awter and helpynge of the nygh parties of the populous cyte that were holpyn. Sothly they florysch now, with lesse fruite than that tyme, whan the forsayd solempnyties of myracles were excercysyd by a lykewyse, as it were a plante whan yt is wele y rotyd, the ofte wateryng of hym cesith. The tyme of a zere turnyd abowte, succedid to the prepositure and the dignyte of the priore of this new plantacion admyttid by the bysshope of London lorde Robert, Thomas oone of the chanonns of the chirche of seynt Osyth, the zere of oure Lorde M^o. and C^m^o. and xliii^{ti}. the sevyn indiction, reigntyng Stephyn, the sone of Stevyn, Erle Blesence, the whiche promovy¹ Theobalde Beccence, in to the archebisshope of Cawntirbery. This Thomas as we have provyd in comyn, was a man of jocunde companye, and felowly jocundite, of grete eloquence, and of grete cunnyng, instruct in philosophy, and dyvyn bokys exercisid and he hadde yt in prompte, what sumever he wolde uttir, to speke yt metyrlly, and he hadde in use every solempne day, whan the case requyrid, to dispense the worde of God, and flowynge to hym the prees of peple, he zave and so addid to hym glorie outward, that ynward hadde zave hym this grace. He was prelate to us mekly almost xxx zere, and in age an hundrid wyntir almost, with hole wyttis, with all crystyn solempnyte, tochyng Crystes grace he decessid and was put to his fadres, the zere of Oure Lorde. M.C.lxxiiij, of the papassie of blesside Alexawndir the third, xv, zere, of the coronacion of the most unskunftid kyng of Englonde Henry the secunde xx.^{ti} zere, the xvij day of the moneth of Janyuer, yn the same zere of the election of lorde Richard Archbyssshop of Cawntirbery, aforne whom oure brethren were put, and sette of his goode grace hym praynge, whom the grace of God from the forsayd paucyte, encresid yn to xxxv.^{to} Encresyng with them temporall goodes evynly, the whiche the zever of all goodys, promysid to be cast to them, that sekith the kyngdome of God, yn this manys tyme grewe the plante of this apostolike branche yn glorie, and grace before God, and man, and with moor ampliati bylyng, were the skynnys of oure tabernaculys dylatid, to the laude and glorie of oure lorde Ihu Criste to whom, be honoure, and glory, worlde with owtyn ende. Amen.

CAPITULUM I. SECUNDI LIBRI.

OF A DEYF MAYDE DUM BLYNDE AND CONTRACTE.

The zere from the incarnation of Oure Lorde M.C.xlviii. aftir the obite of Harry the first, kyng of Englonde, the xij yere, whan the golden path of the son, reducid to us the desirid joyes of festfull celebrete, than with a newe solempnyte, of the blessid apostle was yllumynynd with newe myracles this holy place.

¹ Thomas was therefore elected prior about September 1144.

Langwissyng men grevyd with variant sorys, soiftly lay yn the chirche with schynynge lightys, prostrate, besekynge the mercy of God, and the presence of seynt Bartholomew. And certyn the longe mercy of God, was not fer fro them the whiche alway is present to the vowis of feithfull besekers. Summan, joyed with voyce of jubilacion, that he hadde receyvyd remedie of his akyng hede, an nothir for reparacion of his goyng, that he lackyd, an nothir from ryngyng of his erys. This man was free from corrupcion of lymmys, this man putte a syde blierednes of yen, and joyid the clerenes of sharp sight recevyd, many other men joyid to be swagid from the vexacion of feverys, zevynge thanke to the honoure of the appostle. Certeyn whyle everywhere, for suche thynges was geve applause and gladenes of all the peple, in the lyfte corner of the chirche, of summen was herde wepyng and waylyng where lay a certeyn damsell deyf and dum lackyng sight, of boeth yen, and with returnyd leggis contract whoes parentys waylynge lay grovelynge to the pavyment, and cesid not from prayer, tyl all thyng was fynyschid of the clergy, that was expedient to so grete a feste. It plesid therfore the goodnes of God to condescende to ther petitionns, and not furthermore his creature of the malicious power to be vexid, but from every bownde of syknes fully and perfityly to be delyveryd, therfore whan the chanonns sange the seconde evyn songe, the mayde began grevously to be turmentyd and sorer than she was woonnte to be vexid, frotynge at the moweth, smytynge her breste and betynd her hede a zenste the grownde, trewly whan they come to the ympne ¹ of oure blessid lady, that the altarys shulde be yncensid the forsaid mayde began with a sharpe voyce to crye, and her membrys with a grete myght she strecchid owt, anoon joyfull skippyng forth here yen now newe, and now clere, with the lynnyn clothe, that she was clothid yn, wypyd them, and dried them, and thus with stedfast stondyng whan she was repayrid of heryng, and of the acceptable light of seying so graciously receyvyd, she ran to the table of the holy awter, spredyng owte bothe handys to hevyn and so she that a litill before was dum now joyng in laude of God perfityly sowndyd her wordes, and to her parentys ther for joye wepynge plenteously affirmyd her self free from all maner of syknes.

CAPITULUM II.

OF A CHILDE ² DELYVERYD OWTE OF BONDYS.

Hit happid on a tyme, that a pore man for to bye his vitayles, cam to London, also his wyfe to sustene ther pore lyfe, was wonnt also from the contray cume to the cite, to receyve her wagys, for that she hadde sponne, this pore man with his wyf hadde yn custome every zere to visite the place of Seynt Bartholomew with his offerynge, and mekly commend hym self to the holy reliyks of the same chirch. The olde serpent enemy to all mankynde, the whiche ever is besy, to devoure, or els to troble, the pees of feithfull men, envyinge the tranquyllite of these man and woman, and the honest poverté, he suggestid to a certeyn bayly of his byssynne that he shulde pretende, to the foreseide pore man leyng

¹ Hymn.² *De puero* : he was a married man.

awayte and a spyes, he roos therfore erly, yn the mornnyng, this gylfull man namyd Alureid, the bedyl or forcryer, and leyid wacche, as a rampawnde lyon, aȝenst the pore man, ther was no taryng, but the ynnocent and the theyf meitt, and whan this gallowus man toke hym by the skyrtis, of his palle or mantyl, he cryed uppon hym horribly, undir nymdid hym, and reprevid hym of thefte, and smytte hym wykkidly with his fyste, seiynge 'Wher be thy mersmentes, that thou by theifte hast take away, deceyvynge the mynysters of the shereve with drawyng tol a thowsand tymes'. And whan the pore man arayed hym to answey, ther come rennyng to hym, many of the same gylefull felschip, accusynge the ynnocent, they smytte hym, they trode hym undir fote, they bownde hym, and yn captyvyte led hym to pryson, and whan they come to the howse of this forcryer or bedyl, or y may say of that robber, they bownde hym with fetterys, beit hym with scorgys, askyng of hym, that he hadde nat, that is to say gret quantyte of money. At the last wery of betyng, they put abowte his necke a coller of iren, of grete weighte and a grete chayne on othir parte of the inner towre, rennyng thorow the myddyl of the wallys that they myghte kepe hym more surly, and fastnyd the ende of the cheyne, with a staaque, thus this wrecche, withowt remedye, withowt mercy, yn wepyng and sighyng, in colde, and brosyng, drayf forth many dayes. Upon a day whan of custome the chanons of the chirche of seynt Bartholomewes a fore the mornnyng, the matens endid, and began to synge, Te deum laudamus, and the peyll of bell was roonge, the forsayed pore man the whiche was artid in bondys, herynge the sownde of the bellis, and the melodye of ympnys, the howse dothly that he was crucyat yn was nygh by to the chirche, and he began with devout soule and lamentable voice to crye, and as he cowde or myght to calle upon seynt Bartholomewe whan he hadde so don intently and ofte, he deservyd to have the affecte of his feithfull petition, and felt now, nat as beforn hym self so chargid with ferramentes and iryns, wherefore leftyng up handys and armys he fownde hym self y losid, and skippyng forth with all iryn machynamentis, he came to the doer, and fownde yt opyn, and whan the grete cheyne and coller of iryn and of the fetterys grete payse¹ that he bare made so grete anoyse, the forsaide Alurede sodaynly, awakid, skippid owte of his bedde, and with a swyft paase folowid. Anoon as he was owte, and his fugityve by the mone light sawh, he wolde a folowid hym, and he wolde a cried, but thorow the wylle of God, nethir he myght meve his fote, nethir breke owt with his voyce. So the pore man skapyng by seynt Barthilmew help, and with a grete joye enteryng his church, prostrayt hym self afore the holy auter of the apostle makyng knowlegge that by his helpe he was delyvered, yeldyng to God, and hym thankynges, and tolde to them, that stoid abowte, the ordir of the benefeit i ȝeven to hym.

CAPITULUM III.

OF SHIPPEN YN GRETE PERYLL.

Certeyn marchawntes havynge ther shippis stuffid with nessessaries to howseholde, with hope of lucr commytted them self to the meveable wyndis, and uncerteyn see, purposyng to London to eschange with encreys² of the marchawn-

¹ *Ponderis* : weight.² *Cum emolumento* : with profit.

dise, sothly whan they were mevyd from the porte of Flawndrys, and with swifte course bygan to passe thorow the see, the light of the son was closid yn derke clowdys, and the eyr was changid and began to be fulle of stormys and thonderygne horrible. All the elementys portendid to the wrecchid shipmen deith of nature. And whan a litil a forn xi schippis fro the havyn of the peseble porte, with joye ther shulde be losid, a mervelous happe and a lamentable caase, in a breyf space, with the wodnes of wynde, every of them were cast from othir, ther was amonge othir, one grete schippe amonge them, that were yn peryll, with so grete a violence of contrary wynde so smyt and festnyd yn the derke sandys, that as mykil as it was yn mannys knowlege, stode to the myddis yn the sande: neverthelese ther was oone a monge the wepers, and waylers and mystrustres ripyr and sadder of age whiche with a meke and contryte herte, offerynge sacrifice to God seid, 'I warne yowe, overcumme in labour, and now here felowis of peryll, unto this tyme, that the goodnys of God hath be mercyfull to us, lette not us be unkynde to the procedent meritis of oure former :¹ lette us prayse oure maker for the perceyvyd giftis of affluent grace, and also for this evylles that we suffre, justly oure demerytys requyrynge, lette us take hit with a pacient soule. Now now as ye se, stondith yn to us, the day of oure jugement : now, wil we, nul we, we become for oure synnys to the butte and terme or marke of universall kynde of man. Nevertheles, O you men trust ye, ȝit remaynyth hope, and ȝit here ther is place of foryevdnesse, and God may delyver us from our peryll: noo cownsell artyth² hym, noo thyng excludith he from them that callith upon hym yn trewith and yn tyme of angwyssh, whoes dyvyn will, eternally precedith every creature, his dignyte transcendith and his power disposith, lette us confesse to hym oure synnys, lette us shewe to hym the nakidnes of oure synfull nature, lette us now or never, begyn to be ashamyd of the wykkidnes of oure shamefull conversacion, lette us calle to us the citycens of the heavenly courte, and beseke the helpe of the blessid modir of God Marye, that she peys to us the kyngde of eternall glorie. And ȝit ther is a litill space, I beseke you with oo sowyl to here : and ȝe here me patiently now, now, it shall be opyn to you the way of helth, the porte of jocundite, the gate of youre dilyverawnce, I have herde specialy of oo seynt, an hevynly cityseyn, I have herde of seynt Barthilmewe that a monge the knyghtis of the hevynly kyngde ys worthy to be callid uppon whiche plesawntly oon, descendith to the prayers of devoute askers, therfor lette us offer oure vowys to so grete a patrone that it may plese hym, by hys prayers to delyver us, and oure shippe with marchawndyse. Lette us therfore lyfte up oure handis to hevyn, and avowe with clere devocion, that whan we cum whidir we purpose to Lundon, we shall bere thedir, in the honoure of seynt Barthilmewe a shippe of sylver, aftir the forme of oure shippe, made on oure costys and collecte or gaderyng maade amongse us, offerynge yt to that chirche yn mynde of oure delyverance.' Unneith he cesid of speche, that al men ther togidir helde up an highe ther handys, and made ther vowys, callyng on seynt Barthilmewe, and nat yn ydle. Al men trewly by holdyng and the houre of the nyghe deith abidyng: presente was seynt Barthilmewe mercyfully, and with his holy hande drewe forth the shippe by the

¹ Creator.² *Artant*: bind.

for ende the which goynge forth with his wonnte pase, in the over party¹ of the see come in to the streym, and was delyvered from the sandys, than at the laste all were gladde, and blowynge a goode wynde they come to the porte of the desired cyte. And so they goynge owt of the shippe, that litill shippe forgyd and made of silvyr joyfully they bare, to the chirche of the holy apostle, and to the prior i callid with summe of his chanonns they tellid the processe of all this storie, yeldynge thankys to almyghty God, and to the glorious apostle and martir seynt Barthilmewe.

CAPITULUM IV.

OF THE ORATORY OF OURE LADY.

In the eeste parte of the same chirche ys an oratory, and yn that, an awter yn the honoure of the most blessid, and perpetuall vergyne Mary y consecrate. Ther was in the congregacion of those brethren a certeyn man Hubert byname, cumme of grete kyn, informyd yn liberall science, of goode age and of wondirfull myldenes, that yn his all thyng worldly hadde forsake for the love of Criste, nakidly askapyng the wrake of this worlde. And the habite that he did on of holy religion, with feithfull maners worshipfully he bewtifid, whan he was admyttid in to the feleship of brethren he turnyd all his study to love God, and to prayer, and redynge byslyly toke hede, and many that were his elders he passid yn rightwysnes, and trewth. This man yn the forsayd oratorye, afore the holy awter ofte prostrate hym self, and offerid hym self, a loveable and qwyke hooste in to odure of swetnesse to God, and to his blessid modir. To this man a monge praynge yn the same place, sumtyme apperid the modyr of mercy, seiying with a hony and swete moweth 'Chanons,' she sayed, 'of this chirche thy bretheryn, my derlynges, yn this place consecrate to my name, sumtyme payid to me solempne office of massys, and devoute servyce of feithfull reverence ȝeif to me, and now hath undirccept them negligence, charite chyillith, that nethir heir the holy mysterys of my son be hawntid, nethir to me wonnte praysyng of them be ȝevyn, therfore from the highe descense of hevynnes by the consent of my son hedir I descende, for the ȝevyn obsequy of honoure to ȝeve thankys, and for the negligence to undirnym and reprove, and for to warne my derlynges. Heer sothly prayers and vowys of them I shall receyve and mercy and blisse I shall yeve to them everlastyng,' thus she seyed, and from the sight of hym sodanly dysperyshid. He that these wordys herde, opynly expressid them to hys bretheryn. And yn to the servyce of the modir of God made them moore prompte and fervent. O wyth what reverence, with what feithfull and swete affeccion, ys that place worthy to be worshippid, whiche ys so holy, wher the shynyng queyn of hevyn, the lady of the worlde, the modir and most cleene spowse of the eternall kynge hath vouchesayf to shew her propre presence, and to the puttyng forth and praysyng of her name, mercyfully hath excited with plesaunte exhortacion, repellynge the sleweth of her servantys.

¹ *Gradiens in superficie mare* : walking on the surface of the sea.

CAPITULUM V.

OF A CERTEYN CLERKE.

It happid yn a towne that ys callid Enfelde, beestis to dye, with harde and sodayne pestlence, the whiche pestlence was causid, of the corrupcion of the ayre, or els as we bettir trow, for to noye man to his amendment, ⁵even of God from above. Hit did grete harme yn townys neir adjacent, also ther was a mong them a certeyn clerk a lover of treweth, and equyte, that lyk unfortune, lyke harm had sufferid, ix of his oxys with this pestilence weere slayn ; and a yonge hefker alone levyng, lay yn thryssheholde lyke deithe as the othur abidyng. The seied clerk thes thinges consideryng seied thes wordes ‘ Lo our synnes askyng the unmercy of oure Lordys ire, howgh yt commyth uppon us, and the bestys that ben ordeynynd, to the use of man, by and by dyen, this is expedient us for to do, that be tweyn oure squorgyng, ⁵geve we thankynges to God, in that God ⁵evyth, and God takyth, and as it plesith God, so it is don, blessid be the name of God. In that, this clensyng scourge, may be withdrawe from us, and this pestlence furthermore attayn nat, to oure bowndys, this hefker, that is oonly leyfte to me, ⁵yf it leve, I avowe yt to be sent to the chirche of most blessid Barthylmewe the apostle, that by his glorious prayers, may be turnyd from us, the respect of Goddis yndignacion, and ⁵yf this beist dye, whan the skyn shall be takyn from the fleshe and I have solde hit I shall make the pryse to be sent, to the same chirche.’ In the meyn whyle a marchaunte was att hande, with whom the clerke began to treit of sale of this beist, demynge it shulde not escape the peryll of deith and whyle they alterid to gidir the hefker airisupp hole, and sownde, and began to ete of the hey that was by, and the clerke this beholdyng, anoon payed his vowe and sent this hefker to this forsayd chirche, with goode hope made full gladde that Oure Lorde by the merytis of the glorious apostle, hadde accepte his vowe and his prayer.

CAPITULUM VI.

OF A CALF HEVENLY Y MARKYD YN BOTHE ERYs.

A certeyn woman dwellynge beside the castell of Munfychet ¹ ledyd an holy lyif and thow she stode yn the bonde of mariage, as it was us seyid, she ⁵ave her soule to contynence and with prayers and abstynence did her devir ² God to ples. She hadde a cove with calfe the whiche by tokenys outwarde drewe neir to calvyng, and stondyng neyr the tyme that the fruyt shulde be proferid forth, the cove began inwardly with throwys to be tormentid hugely, that it was trowid to suffer deith, that beholdyng this devoute woman seyid to her servauntys, ‘ Yf the glorious apostle Barthilmewe of his wonnt pite wyll restore to us oure cove hole, the calfe that she bryngeth forth, we shall marke yt on the ere, and diligently norysche hit, and whan it is wenyd I shall sende yt to his chirche.’ And with owt taryng whan all therto was assentyng, the doloure

¹ Near Blackfriars.² Devir=endeavour. Latin, *satagabat*: busied herself.

was swagid, the fruyt was forth brought, and a marvelous thyng, and a novelte wondirfull there nowe happid, the calfe that newly was browght forth yn to the light from his modir is wombe, hadde boith endes of his erys kyt of. And the same tokyn and marke that the woman seied befor she wolde make yn one ere, apperid y made yn boith. And havynge no tokyn of the wonde newe, but as a thyng hadde be kut of, and helid aȝeyn, so vestige apperid, who was the doer, or with what instrument thei were kut, we commyt that to hym, that serchid the deyp secretes of man to whom is no thyng harde, no thyng ympossible, they wondrid all, that wer presente, and with a grete astonyng, all hertys were smyten, this woman acceptable to God norrysshyd forth this calf berynge yn hymselfe opyn toknys of the heavenly marks, and yn due tyme browght with her the calf to the chirche of the apostle and fulfillid her vowe, blessynge God, that makith grete and unsercheable thynges with owte numbre, whoes grete vertu and wysdome is with owte numbre.

CAPITULUM VII.

A GRETE MYRACLE OF A FRAGMENT OF BREDE.

Certyn shypmen at Sandwyche glad and mery, with a prosperous cowrse forowid the dowtable see.¹ And them askyng the depth of the see, that, that was befor y pesid, now was excitid by the rage of wyndys and the forwarners of variannte tempeste to come, the clowdys yn hevyn ranne a bowte the swellynge, yn his fervor with the hepys growyng of wavvys, leift up hym self, and cast the shippe nowe hydyr, now thydyr. The governer wyste never whydyr to come, whydyr he shulde turne hym, yn that, that the gretenes of peryll hadde stonyid ther mynde, berefte them discrecyon of ther crafte, the wavvys smyte upon them and more myghtly caste them in to the wavvys, than bare them up, and the unhappy shypmen thus owte of the wey y caste. At the laste they were drownd, oone of them oonly clevyd to the flyttinge maste, and with all his myghtys, ascendid on the tree, and saate a bove. Whiche ther sittynge and sumwhat commynge to hymself, to the erys of Godis, he sesid nat to crye and askid the blessid apostle of Cryist, seynt Barthilmew to be nygh hym, that sumwyse he myght this peryll askape, and whan he longe hadde y multiplied his prayer, and no remedye sawe commynge neir, he seid, 'O glorious apostle of Criste, Barthilmewe, how ofte have I callid the, in the article of so grete nede, and I have not deservyd to be graciously i herde, therfore ther is no thyng els nowe to me but deithe, I beseke the, at the mercy of God, be meyn for my synnys, that I, that have not deservyd to be delyvered from these perellys, lette nat me be deputid to everlastyng flammys, that whatsumever yn this presente lyf be denayid me of mercy, may be fulfilled yn tyme to come, by thyn intervencion and merytys.' To hym thus seyyng beholde anoon was present the glorious apostle of God, with gladsum face and plesaunte chere, and at his beke or wyll the ire of wyndys were restreynyng, the fervor of the swelling see was i sesid, clerenes to hevyn, tranquyllite to the see was i ȝeven, he beyng nygh to the cryng man seyed, 'Thy wepyng sighys of thyn contrite herte

¹ *Dubia sulcabant equora* : ploughing the uncertain seas.

sownyd yn to myn erys, ne I denayid nat to ȝeve the helpe, but delayd hit, nowe therfore come I to the, a messanger of good tydynges, to ȝeve the a ȝeifte of desirid helth, for why the mercyful lorde hath pardonyd thy lyif. And loo a shippe of Dovyr shall come to the, and receyve the, and glad and hole restore the to thy frendys.' He thus seyynge porrectid ¹ to him a pece of breid, and yn a moment vanysshid away, from his sight. An anoon a shipp of Dovyr was presente, yn the whiche he was recevuyd aftir the worde of apostle, hole and glad come home to his, and than tho thyngys the whiche the pite of glorious apostle anenst hym magnyficently hadde i shewid, with feithfull relacyon he made opyn, and to the confirmacion of the heavenly benefeit, the part of breid that the apostle ȝave hym he shewid, magnifynge God whiche puttyth a terme to the see, whiche all thyng, whatsumever he will he doith.

CAPITULUM VIII.

ALSO A MYRACLE Y DONNE YN THE SEE.

An nothir tyme befell a nothir myracle, marchauntys of Flawndrys with chargid vessellys, with marchaundise havynge wynde and wedir, enterid the see dredyng noon adversyte, and faveryng the see, purposid to Lundon. And whan they were passyng by the myddys of the see, loo here gladnes was turnyd yn to waylyng, and joye in to sorowe, lyif yn to deith, unwarys brake up an violent tempest, and swellyng the wavyys of the see, with unhappy fortune the last happe of unfortune was trowid nygh to them. What shall I drawe my sermon a longe, the wyndis contynually wexynge woyde, boith shipp and shipmen were cast in to the depthe of the see, and both the shipp of her marchauntyse and they of ther lyif ar privatid, oone of them only lenyng to the maste yn the same ii dayes myghtly clevynge gret peyne sufferyd and yn meyn while he usyng the benefeit of his voice, he prayid the undefawtyng mercy of Criyst, by the meritys of seynt Barthilmewe myght be neir hym, yn that highest angwyse, to whom whan for defawtyng of his hert the utteryng of his voice began to breke, beholde aforne the weylyng man seynt Barthilmewe stoid cherefully confortynge hym, puttyng forth his hande, and drewe hym owte of the wavyys, and with drye stappys, sette hym at Dykysmuth porte, and so disparisshid. And he fre from all peryll was not unkende to the vertu and grace of the apostle but what he hadde sufferid of greyf, what of mercy he hadde optenyd, by the holy apostle, with trewe worde he made hit opyn, ȝevynge thankys to God, in whom who that trustith, ys nat confowndid, and who that callith hym in to hymself is not cotempnyed.

CAPITULUM IX.

OF A YONGE MAN ROBERT BY NAME.

A certeyn yonge cumly of person, Robert by name, from his yonge age norysshid yn courte, from Northampton purposid to London. And it happid hym, thorow a thyke woode to make his passage, where he wery of his journey,

¹ *Porrex*it: offered.

toke his reste, on the grownd and a while with a litill slepe recreate hym, that his way begon, the swyfterly he myght parfome; but loo whyle he sowghte reest, he fownde labur, and whan he wolde with a litill reest his wery lymys refresshe he was yntanglyd with the snarys of his ennemy. In his slepe he was raveshid from his resonable wyttys, in his slepe his olde ennemy apperid to hym, yn the forme of a right fair woman, the whiche with flateryng chere it semyd to have sitte at his hede, and whan with flaterynge blandysh, a goodwhyte she hadde flateryd hym, and smothid hym, she put a litill bird in to his moweth, and so apperid no more. The man awakid, was afrayed of this unwonnt vision, and the same houre he lost his wytte and reson and of all myght was private,¹ and what was to be don, or lefte he knew nat, ledynge hym woidenes,² nowe this way, now that way, he wanderid rennyng, unknowynge what he did, hastily he went whedyr the impetuosnes of the malicious woodnes ympellid hym. At the last he was takyn at Lundon and browght to the chirche of seynt Barthilmewes, and ther yn shorte space his witte was recoveryd where a litill tyme he taried, blessing God that to his apostles hath vouchesaf to commytte his excellent power, to hele syke, to clense lepers, and to caste owte feendys.

CAPITULUM X.

OF A CERTEYN KNYGHT RADULPH³ BY NAME.

A certeyn knyght Rayf by name, of the howseholde of William Demunfychet,⁴ whan he made his wey by Essex to London, by the dome⁵ of God, he was ravashid of a feende, and made woid, and yn to a reprovabie witte be taken, and he so woid i made, slyde down from his hors ant rent his clothis, the money that he bar he skaterid a brode, and thrywh stonys to them, that he mette with, and now erryng yn wodis, nowe yn hillys, and now a monge he medyllyd hym self. Amonge the preysse of peple and them that came aȝenst hym he cast them yn peryll, or yn drede. Thys man on a tyme, thowh gretely he withstode, was take, and browght to the same chirche, and whan he hadde taryed ther ii nyghtys he come to his mynde agayn.

CAPITULUM XI.

OF A CERTEYN MANNYS SONE.

Ther was also in the towne of Berwyk⁶ a certeyn man, Spylman by name, that usid the plowe, and solde woode, and with woode to sylle, he come to London. Y know to many men he hadde a childe that was greuously syke,

¹ Deprived.² Madness.³ *Willemo* in the Latin in error for *Randolphus*.

⁴ Sir N. Moore remarks, 'The family of Montfichet flourished in England from 1066 to 1258, and the name is still preserved at Stansted Mountfitchet, in Essex. There were two Williams of the name. The first founded the abbey of Stratford Langton, in 1135, and was not living in Henry II's reign; the second, his nephew, is a witness of the charter of foundation of that abbey, and is probably the lord whose retainer Rayf was.'

⁵ *Iudicio*: doom, judgement.⁶ *Berneck*: Barnack in Northamptonshire.

with the fallynge evill. The fallynge evill aftir phisiciens is a syknes, that compressith the ventriclis and the weys of the brayn, lettynge the operacion of the wyttis, as sight, heryng and othir bodyly wyttys takith a way, and werith all the body with an harde passion. This childe laborynge yn this sykenes, was browght to the forsaid chirche, yn the solempnite of the glorious apostle, and whan the iiij lesson of his passion was redde, the helth receyvyd of all his membris he come to kysse the auctur, and than nat a litill he accendid yn to devocion, all that wer ther presente to the laude of God, and the blessid apostle, and nat oonly of the comyn pepyll, but also of the clergie, thankynges were geve to God, for why he ys good, and forwhy in to the worlde his mercy is.

CAPITULUM XII.

OF THE DOUGHTYR OF WYMUDE THE PREYST.

A preiste Wymunnde by name, that governyd the chirche of seynt Martyn, that is situate yn the corner of the wey, that ledith to Westmynster, many yeres he had receyvyd on hym by the institucion of the bysshoppe of London, the deynrye of nygh chirches for maters ecclesiasticall to discusse. This man byzonde equitye geven to voluptuous lyif, and his incontinence, was ever redy to slyde to the worse, nat refreynynge, with the bridill of clennes and chastite, purchasid hym a lemman, and of her unlefully begait a doughtir, whom he lovyng with fadirly affeccion yn yonge age put her to lernynge, and whan she came to age of mariage, put her to a matrone, the whiche yn a wommannys breyste hadde a mannys herte, and refreynyd her from that vice that folowyth that age, and with wholsomme doctryne studied to enforme her. The mayde therfore was kepte attendawntly and with chaaste discipline informyd, and she began to be wyser than her techer, and for to shewe the forme and example of virgynal puryte, to all them that lyved abowte her. Certeyn whan of many wowers, this virgyn was desirid, she myght nat by noon cautelys or suttill suggesstion be deceyvyd, for neider wolde not she admytte the flatteryng speche of bawdys or lechorys, but the carnal drawghtes of voluptuosite she tamynge myghtly troid them undir foit, unspottid evermore abidyng. Thys clennes envied the ennemye of man kynde, wyllynge to subverte yn her the purpos of clennes. And new suttelteys of noyyng he consellid and sowghte, and unherde deceytys ordeynyd and fownde, aȝenst the virgyne, the whiche sufferynge the rightwysnes of God not oonly we merveyle but also drede, ffor thowh God ynwardly beholdynge howh it myght be don, we be demynge to us this a monstuous thyng. Therefore this suttell serpent transformyng hym self, yn to the lyknes of a fair yonge man, as he hadde be a gentill man of the kynges blode, more vylyfyat with precyous ornamentis, than y bewtifid for shynyng of his bewte, thus sodenly slyde yn to the chambyr, where sole this mayde sate, the whiche y seyn, with a sodayn fray she was smytte, and whens he came, and howe he entrid she was astonyed and mervellid, and behelde the bewty, and the shynyng of his chere with a sympyl but nat with a prudent ye. The ennemy felt the drede, of the light wommanhede, wherfore he drewe nyghyr and sate down by her syde, and owte

of mortall and dedly breste he cast owte harde venym. Ffirst trewly with swete venemys wordis comfortid the dredfull and than prayers and promyssis medillid, yn that she wolde grawnte her assent to fowylle use, and yn the meyn while he knytte his engynnys, of sotell deseyt. The mayde a litill withdrewe her drede and toke an hardynes of speche, and thus she answerd, 'It is no prudent mannys dede, that usith reson suche a conseyyvd desire yn herte, so unshamfully to uttyr, ne so unsemely will to do, ffirste, it were fittyng the nobiley of thy birthe to shewe to my parentys, and than with consent of us both the lawe of matrymony to make, and that i contracte and stregthyd with solempne auctorite of the chirche halowyng, and so to pay the dette of body eche of us to othyr nat for bernynge luste, but oonly by cause of generacion. Thou purposist alweyes the contrary way, thou makyst no mencion of God, nethir of man, but oonly purposist the fury and wodenys of thyn voluptuous soule, and so the shame of God and man y putte behynde, thou prayst me to consent to thyn maligne voluptuosyte, ffyrst forsothe telle me who and what thou art, and by whom a wyttnes thou art hydder admyttyd, and of other thynges heeraftr use thou bettyr concell and be bettyr avisid.' To this the ennemy answerid, 'what sekist thou heyr the ordir of reson, wher only we talke togidre for oure wylle, heyr pite is wynnyng, religion is supersticion, where oure dede and purposys of the wracke of chastite, no lawe, no custome is to be consellyd, but oonly the rewarde of unclennesse is to be attendid wherfore to aske this, who I am and howh I cam hidyr it is but voyde to enquire, oonly to my peticion joyne thyn affeccion, and aftr promysse swiftly an hastily shall folowe effecte.' Aftr theys and moo yn this wyse whan they hadde togider said, the noryssh of the virgyn cummyng upon mervellid with whom she spake, she herde a voyce of oone that spake, but she sawh no man, but the mayden. At whois cummyng, the ennemy disparitysshid a wey, but zeit he was nat forzeitfull of the unshamefaste boldnes, wher that ever the mayd he sawh aloyn, in the manner of a wantan joly yonge man, yn like ordyr he callid on the mayde: she trewly with prayer, and tokyn of the crosse, her self wardyng, so defendyd, that for all his engynnys and waytys she skapid untowchid. On a day whan the mayde was sole yn her chambre, this malignynge theyf was presente fayryr than he was wont, with shynyng chere, and first he yave prayers, and aftr promysse, and whan with this nothyng he profitid, he arayed to brynge yn violence, whois boldes the virgyne felyng befor, with grete cryes she fulfillid the howse. In the meyn whyle, whan the servauntes raan to the noyse, the malignynge ennemy went his way, and smytte the virgyne seyyng, 'Why wolt nat thou consente, and receyve of my zyftis, sumwhat now thou shalt feil, what may the hande doo of myn enmyte.' And an noon yn the goynge a way of the ennemy, the virgyne fyll down yn to erth, owte of her wytte, and with a grete passion, yn her body was tormentid and wallowyng ofte, and azen turnyng with ynordynat gesture of her lymmys, the sorow wytnesyd deith.¹ To whom rennyng the servauntes fownde her halfe a lyve and with a compleynyng noyse fulfillid the howses. The neyghborys were gaderyd all abowte and grete confluence of peple, for the novelte of suche a dede, and all the peple were turnyd, yn to a stonyng,

¹ *Internum testatur dolorem*: testified to her internal pain.

and an horror, and whan the virgyne was thus longe y tormentid, at the laste fomyng at the moweth, aftyr many sighynges, a litill she toke breith, and tolde was don abowte here how the spirite of malice, hadde aperid, and with what promysse, he hadde atemptid, to drawe here to consente of unclennesse, and howe confusid goyng away, he smytte her, and aftir the stroke so grevous ynfermyte folowid, and uneith she hadde endid her wordys, and loo aȝeen the same wyse as beforne she began to be tormentid. Therefore whan, twyes, or thryes every day and sumwhyle moer oftynner she was so i tormentid, by the petition of the same virgyne and consell of her parentys, she was browghte to the chirche of seynt Barthilmewe, and she was born forth on a carpe¹ and passid forth aforn the hospitall of the same, the forsaid ennemy was present, seyyng to the virgyne, 'Whidir art thou born, trowyst thou, that the apostle shall delyver the from myn handys yf thou graunte nat and consent to me, with lenger and harder dysesys thou vexid and made very shall dye.' Aȝen also whan she was put down from the carpent for to be born yn to the chirche he apperid to her seyyng 'Stonde mayde stonde and forbydde to be born yn to the chirche, for I shall ȝeve the helth, and all that is desirable to helth at thyn wylle I shall make ȝevyn to flowe to thyn hande,' and to this, the mayde answerde no thynge, but trustid yn God, and her handys lyfte up yn to hevyn she besowghte the mercy of God. Therefore this wykkid ennemy seyng hymself thus deluded, and scorned with sharper prikkynge wexid woide aȝenste the virgyne, and with a moore grevous passion, than he was wonnt smyt her. The channons of the chirche was ther present, seyng this, and with devout prayers besowght the apostle, that with his woonnte pyte he wolde succur this laborynge virgyne. Our Lorde graciously herde his praynge servauntes, askyng that was right and by the meryty of the holy apostle, delyverid the virgyn from the feende, and so delyverd, restorid her fully to her helth. The mayde than was betake to her parentys, the whiche all yn God joyyng, prechid everywhere, the vertu of the apostle, preysyng and blessyng God, the whiche hatyth no thyng that he hath made, whois domys ben manyfolde depe derkenesse.²

CAPITULUM XIII.

OF A FEVERUS MAN THAT LACKID HIS YE SIGHT.

A certeyn man of the castell of Chillam,³ take with grete syknes, in sorowe and bytternes of herte, lede his unhappy lyfe. Atte the laste sorowe grewe, uppon sorowe, for his axes⁴ encresyng he lost the light of boith yen, therfor he graspid abowte, trustyng to othir mennys payse, and sayyng his way with his stayff, and so a certyn tyme he sate yn derknes. Now the ixth monyth was passid, whan the wrecch cessid nat of his contynuall syknes, ever cryyng and askyng and cryyng, till the mercy of God wolde here hym.

Whan he come trewly to the chirche of seynt Barthylmewe the holy apostle,

¹ *Carpento* : a litter.

² *Cuius iudicia sunt abissus multa* : whose judgements are very deep.

³ *De castello Chilleham* : Chilham Castle, near Canterbury.

⁴ Axes, in the Latin *febre* : fever.

he receyvyd light of boith yen, and for the gyfte opteynyd, he ȝyldyng thankys to God, boith to lerned and othir that stoide abowte witnessid feithfully the vertu of Cryistes apostle.

CAPITULUM XIV.

OF A CERTEYN YONGE MAN Y BOWNDE.

A certeyn yonge man takyn of his ennemyes y bownde, was born yn a carte, for to be commyttid, to a streyter warde. And whan the passage was made by the same chirche, yn goyng, he callid uppon the name of the holy apostle, and sodenly he fownde hym self i losid, and an noon he skippid owte of the carte and enteryd the chirche. And yn this wyse he skapid, the handis of his ennemyes.

CAPITULUM XV.

OF A CERTEYN YONGE MAN DUM.

A certeyn yonge man, while haply he lay grovelyng on the grownde, desirynge awhile to rest hym self, by the malice of the olde ennemye, he waxed dumme, and so lakkyng his speche of a certeyn yonge woman cosyn to hym, was leid and browght to the same chirche. And boith of them knelid down, afore the holy awter, and with waylyng hertys besowghte the helpe of seynt Barthilmewe, and the same day, was restorid to hym, the office of his tonge.

CAPITULUM XVI.

OF A MARCHAUNT.

Ther cam on a day to the sayd chirche a certeyn man, and askid to speke with the bretheryn, and what that happid to hym, he wolde expresse. He was browghte yn to the chapter howse, and the chanonns beyng presente, thus he began to speke ' That ye may knowe how pituous and howe glorious a patron ye have, her my lordis, what late happid to me, and to my felshippe, and consider that he that ye worship yn erthe, yn hevyn and yn the see, is of grete mercy, and of grete vertu. We were yn a shippe, many of us togidir, and arysenge up a sodayn tempest, we began to perysshe, yn so mykill, that mistrustyng to leve, oonly we abyded the last houre of oure perill : in the meyn whyle, we cessid nat to wayle for oure synnys, to knocke oure brystys, to calle yn to us many helpys of seyntes, and trewly yn the hyndyr part of the shippe, with tremulyng lippys, and sorowfull herte y besowghte the mercy of God, where I herde a voice seying, " what crye ȝe upon so many namys of seyntes, and youre patron by specyal prevylege, grawntid of God, to yow, ȝe lacches to calle : " to whom I seyed, " who is that my lord," and he seid, " most blessid Barthilmew calle ye yn to you, and hym ȝe shall feill most prompte helper in this present perill," and forthwith, I cam to my felshippe, and tellid what I herde, and that they shulde yeve feith, therto, yn all wyse I monyschid them, and than to gidyr with one soule, and inwarde affeccion of hert, with grete clamoure of voice, we callid yn the holy apostle to ȝeve his helpe, to

wrecchis perysshynge, and to grannte us port salfe seyynge, "Lord, Lord, save us, we perysch, oure helth ys yn thyn hande, lette thy mercy loke uppon us, and securly we shall serve the." O mervellous is to sey, to the ageyn crynge, of that holy name the elementys yeve way to us, and servyd oure wille, the sky that befor was derke clothid hym yn hys light, the see cesid from his fervor, the trowblys tempestuous wyndis uttirly rested them. And so forth than aftyr brethyng of softe plesaunte wynde, that ys callid zephirus we saylid and optenyd a port, and now we came to the chirche of oure delyverer, and for the benefeit y govyn to us of so grete a pite both to hym and to you the servantys and frendys of hym, we geve thankyng and to God, O ye happy and weylsum ge, and most weylsum religious men, that joye her undyr so clere a duke, so myghty a prince, and so mercyfull a fadir. Of us ye may considre, howe muche ge may trust and hope of hym, of consolacion and of grace for whyle he was so mercyfull to us, so strange from his his servyce, what benygnyte and how muche reservyth he, to his most beloved servantys.' Thus he seyid, and commendynge hym self to the prayers of the bretheryn, he offerid his oblacion, and joyng from joyfulmen, he toke his way.

CAPITULUM XVIII.¹

OF A CERTEYN MARCHAUNTE.

In that tyme that the secunde kynge² of Englonde besegid Walys, with strange hande, it happid a notable myracle, and worthy to be tolde. Ther was a man of Colchester, havynge oportunyte to execute that he had decreid, yn his mynde, that were nedefull to the hoyste lyyng at the seyge. Of his goodis he studied to bryng thidir, and that he wolde be solde, he sette yt at a price as he wolde, and with yn shorte tyme wan muche money. And whan he hadde layid it uppe diligently, in certeyn the seyid man had sum penyes the whiche of a vowe, were dettefull to the chirche of seynt Barthylmewe, nevertheles he reteynyd these, that these with othir of his owne, by ofte eschangynge he wolde had multiplied, and yn oportune tyme bothe his vowe, and whatsumever encessid a bove of his vowe, he wolde bryng hyt to the forsaid chirche. Therefore whan he disposid hym self to turne home to his, and be watyr he was coartid to make his passage, the shippe with othir no thyng demynge of evyl, he enterid, and whan they saylid forth, he slepyd, his money layid, undir his hede, in the meyn whyle, oone that wente with hym, conceyvyd hit, And he overcumme with desire of that money, theyfly withdrew hyt, and whan they cam to the port, undyr a certeyn stone, nat fer from the port, he hidde hit, the man awakid sowghte his money and fownde it nat, inquiryd of hys felship, yf ony man yn game or ernest had take hyt, they for his demawndynge zeif hym rebukys, havynge scorne that he shulde reprove them of theyft, the whiche feithfull felship he hadde. Therefore wher he sawh that mannys help was uttirly denyd

¹ Should be XVII, a number, not a chapter, missed, and so to the end. There are 27 chapters in all, not 28.

² Should be Henry II, who besieged Wales 1157. Latin is *henricus secundus obsedit* . . .

hym, with all his soule he convertid hym self to God and with an ynward waylynge, shedyng owte for sorowe terys, cessid nat to calle on the mercy of the blessid apostle Barthylmewe, and loo in the sylence of the derke nyghte, to hym slepyng apperid yn a vision the glorious apostle of God, and in thys maner many thynges with hym he talkid, 'O,' he said, 'man, what cryste thou soo oncessantly and with importune cryes cessist nat to unreste me,' and he sayd, 'thou knowist and well knowist syr, the cause of my crye, and it is no nede to opyn to the, the maner of my wrecchidnesse, the whiche so many sighyngys yn wepyng and waylyng I have opynd aforne thy face, and ageyn reherssid hyt, no it is not hidde from thy pite, from how grete joye, in to how grete waylyng, from how grete ricches, with sodeyn case, I am come yn nedynes, and of so grete an hurte, ther is to me no remedy, ne no counsell gevyn, therfore the allone I trustid, that my solace shulde come, thou therefore, that thou mayist goe and for thou mayste, helpe me, havynge mercy of me.' To whom answered the seynt, 'This money for whoes lost, thus thou lamentyst, unrightwysly thou hast gotyn, and whyle with myn helpe thou askyst to be of that restorid, so thou askist that thou woldist make me partyner of thyn synne, the whiche of the rightwys dome of God, thou hast lost and for cause yn rychyng of thy self, othir men thou spoylid, undredfully, now thou begynnyst to nede, and othir have and consume thy rycches: ge forsothe marchauntis, men of untrew soule, forsakers of trewth and equite, nat dredynge God, ne havynge compassion of youre evyn crysten,¹ with gyle and othys al men bygilynge, ye presente God and his seyntes, wytnes to youre wyckednes, consumynge othir mennys poochys to fulfill your pursys, who therfore shulde have mercy on yowe, who shulde norysse suche wreechis, nat mercyable yn so grete a malice.' 'Lord,' he seyde, 'yf I have unrightwysly gete my money, ȝit sum of that I have decreid, to converte yn to goode werkys and with them to visite thy chirche, and purpose to rewarde thy servauntys ther.' 'O,' seid he, 'this is yur woodnes, that whan with many wyls, ge have spoylyd pore men, that of the raveyn of pore men, sumwhat to the worship of God ye depart, that more securly ye may abyde yn youre synne, and yn thys wyse ge trowe to pees God, but God hatyth raveyn ȝeven yn to sacryfyce, and no more the ȝiftis of suche men plesith hym, than the wagis of strompethode, or the sacrifice of an hownde,² or as he that wolde sacrifice the childe to the fadyr. Nevertheles wher of joyest thou telle me, and whan thou visitid my chirch.' 'I wolde,' he seyid, 'and purposid, but with dyvers bysynes, i lette I myght nat come thidyr.' And than the seynt answerid, 'Whan all thyng habowndid with the, thou haddist no tyme, to come to my chirche, to prayse God to redeme thy synnys, now y sped and delyveryd of all, thou hast noon impediment, ne no perill of drede, surely whidir that ever thou wolt, thou mayst goo.' And he seyid, 'Lord, how may I presume thy glorious temple to aske or desire, and voyde from sacrifice, in the sight of God and of the to appere.' 'Nay,' sayid he, 'I nede nat thy ȝiftis, it is sufficient to me y nowh the grace of God, for to provyde for the nede of my clerkes ne I am nat unmyghty to ȝeve fode to them, that servyth me.'

¹ *Nec proximis compacientes*: nor have compassion on your neighbours.

² Deut. xxiii. 18.

‘That ys growth,’ seyid the merchawnt, ‘therfore my goode lorde, leste hapley my wykydnes be more than thy copyous goodnys, loo heyr before the, of my trespase I repente, behestyng amendes, that the mony whiche summtyme I promysid, to thy chirche, and more I avowe me thedir to brynge.’ To this the apostle answeryd, ‘And I,’ seyid he, ‘undir this condicion, trewly shall not dyscover the gilty by name, but to hym of whom thy money shulde dewly be asked ageyn, I shall gyf counsell, to seye, that he of thy felship late skunfitid in batayll,¹ prively toke a way thy money, and yn to thys tyme hath kepte hyt hole, and I of this nat unknowynge, have not y sufferid hym to lessen hit, in that I knewe beforen, that thou calledist upon me, that by me, thou myghtstid thy loosse recove.’ At theys wordys speche and vision made an ende. The man awakid, that he sawh and herde besyly revolvyd yn his mynde, discussynge diligently, the life and dede of his felshipp, and by hym self no thyng certeyn myght comrehende. At the laste he gave way to a flittyng and a tempestuous varyaunte soule, and began to aske and counsell a preyst i lernyd by scripture yn suche visions, what were goode yn thys to be done. And the preyste counsellid, dowyts layid a parte, and commawndid hym to geve feith, to that he herde, seyng hit were impossible, to be othirwyse, than the apostle hadde sayde. It plesid therfore, them bothe to calle oone of the kynges mynystris for that to such men dyvers thynges ben knowe that be doyn in many placys, the which ofte ben present yn pleyes in quarellys in sclaundrys, in jugementes ; therfor thei went to gidir to the provost of that place and with promysys prayed him to be favorable to the be forsaid, and so they declarid to him al the processe of this mater. And by the dylygence of this man, the man was sowght and fownde, and browght yn to a secrete place, and only presente the provost and the doer of the trespase, he was callid yn of the preyste and opposid, and the preyste prayed hym, and exhortid hym, that he wolde restore the money, that he toke a way, undyr the mannys hede, whan he slepid, and this he seyed I was shewid and ynformyd veryly with so trew a wytnesse, the whiche by commyn estymacion myght nat lye, therfore yf he wolde ynclyne, to ther counsellys he may go unhurte, yf he wolle denay hit, the kynges officer, hym as a theyf may holde, and sesyn, and for to be condempnyd, betake hym to the jugys. He anoon full of drede, drewe the priest a parte, and his gilt confessid, restorid to hym the money yn hole summe, and no harme sufferynge frely went his way. By this maner the forsaid man by seynt Barthylmewe receyvyd, that was take from hym, and aftirward comyng to his chirche, offerid that he vowid, and to the bretheryn of the place, all thyng that was donne abowte hym opynly declaryd.

CAPITULUM XIX.

OF A CERTEYN YONGE WOMAN.

A certeyn yonge woman was yn the cyte of London i know to many men, and as an hyryd servaunt, wonnte to serve many men ; the more was knowe, thys woman on a day, by a bawde biglid, from the profite of her just laboure,

¹ *Duellio* : a duel, the legal ordeal by battle.

to voluptuousnes of uncleyne synne and by the robber of her clenness wylfully admyttinge she was robbid of yncomperable trespere. Ne it was nat longe, but loo the reward of syn folowid, and where her hole body and fleyssh she made sugget to synne, uttirly she lost her hole mynde, and that membris that were armore of wykkidnes, be turnyd ynto armur of woodnesse. The hert that is pryncypall of man with oppresion of the feende, the whiche was onyd¹ to hym was derkid, and that which yn syn, God wolde nat drede, yn peyne, nethir God, ne hym self undirstode, the yen now left up an hye, now dredfully rollid abowte, her clothis be rente with her handys, the tonge was unbridillid to blasfemy, and rybawdy, and encresynge her woodenes, y streyned she was yn streyghte bondys, these bondys with her woodnys myght, lightly y broke, othir were addid, therto, thus she was browght to the hospitale of the seyd chirche, and yn short tyme folowid contraxion of all membris, that yn no wyse myght she use them frely, and yn so grete a wrecchidnes, was presente the mercy of the blessid apostle, the whiche the madde woman losid of her woodnes mercyfully, and erectid the contracte myghtly, and fulhole went home to her owne.

CAPITULUM XX.

OF A WOMAN Y TAKE WITH THE PALSY.

An nothir woman dyssolvyd with the palsy, and growynge ynwardly, the grevous syknes sufferid throwys of all her membrys. She dwellid uppon Temse, and to the same howse she was browght, and the same woman with the vertu of the apostle, aftir a litill tyme was curid of her syknes and joynge wente home to her howse, toke an howsbond and browght forth childryn.

CAPITULUM XXI.

A MYRACLE OF A MAYDE.

A certeyn mayde and servaunt of a cytyseyn of London was browghte to the forsaid hospitale, the whiche myght nat strecche forth ony fote that she hadde, or for longe syknes y vexid, she hadde kepte her bedde longe, or by cause her synewys of hammys were contract. The blessid apostle on a nyght apperid to her yn her slepe, and commaundid her to strecche owte her feite, and she at the commawndment of the apostle, lightly her foit did owte strecche, and yn the mornyng risynge up she hadde helth of the toone, and at evensong tyme she hadde fre use of both, they mervelid that were presente, and askid her what betidid her that nyght, and she tolde, what she sawh, and confessid the auctor of her helth, praysynge the apostle of Cryst and zevynge thankynges to God.

¹ United.

CAPITULUM XXII.

ALSO A MYRACLE OF A CERTEYN WOMAN.

The yeir of incarnation of Oure Lord MC and L^{ti} and nyne, of the reigne of kyng Richard the secunde, the sixtene,¹ yn the solempnyte of the apostle seynt Barthilmewe, many tokynnes of vertu were shewid yn his holy chirche. A certeyn womman laborynge yn grevous skyenes, that was born yn an horslytter to that holy temple ; and beholde yn the vigill of the same apostle, abowte the houre of complyn, she began bettir to have, and a litill her myghtys that she hadde lost she resumyd, and forthermore anoon aftir ful helth optenyd, ffor why joyng and hole she rooys oute of her lyttyr, and come to kys the hye auter, offerynge her self yn to an acceptable hoist to God, with grace and thankes yeldyng. Anooyn the godly myracle was made opyn and of the convent of that chirche, and mykil peple praysyng and thanke was ȝeve to God, devoutly, and to his blessid apostle.

CAPITULUM XXIII.

OF A CHILDE THAT RECEVVD HIS SYGHT.

In the same solempnyte a certeyn childe, that hadde lost hys sight, by the meyn of the holy apostle recevvyd hit ageyn, and he seyng with othir seers the mercy of God, and the vertu of the blessid apostle seynt Barthymewe, with the shewyng of the hevenly tokyn gretly he magnyfied and prechid.

CAPITULUM XXIV.

OF A WOMMAN THAT HADDE LOST HER OONE SYDE.

In the same chirche yn the forsaid solempnyte a certeyn woman was browght, the whiche on a tyme slepyng on the toone syde, was smyte with a palsy, and lost that side, and yn that destitucyon of her lymmys, duryd nat a litill tyme. This woman yn the nyght of the holy solempnyte was helid, and with joye hole went home to her owne.

CAPITULUM XXV.

OF A LITILL CHILDE THAT WAS MADDE.

Aftir the utas² of the same feiste, a certeyn litill childe was browght of his modyr to that chirche, the whiche from the feist of seynt Lawrence the martyr, hadde lost all felynge of reson, and for his woodnes laborid sore, grevous and intollerable to the modir he was, and as she seid, he was bore by many placys of seyntis a forn that tyme, but never optenyd remedy, and whan his modyr hadde browght hym to the forsaid place, and ther hadde fulfillid holy wacche and prayer, she deservyd of the most mekest Crystis apostle, the effecte of her petition, and so optenyd to her self gladnes, and to the childe helth, and every Sunday followyng shewid hym to all the peple.

¹ *Henrici secundi* in the Latin ; Richard is a scribe's error. St. Bartholomew's day 16th Hen. II was 1170 not 1159.

² *Octavas* in the Latin : Octave.

CAPITULUM XXVI.

OF A CERTEYN WOMMAN.

A certeyn woman of Wyndesover, havynge many beystys sufferid a grete harme and losse of them by sodeyn deith, onely oo cow, she hadde a lyve remaynyng of that pestilence. And she lackynge foode, almost was browght to the deth, her neyghborys abowte her havynge compassion of her, and of her sorowys, gave her counsell, that she shulde beseke the mercy of the blessid apostle for this harmys, and make to hym sum promysse that he wolde restore her cow by hys myghty power, that began to dye, she yevynge grete credence to holsome counsell, anon began to mesure her cove, that she myght have the mesure, for a light to ben offeryd, of that length, and so here vow to be parformyd, and a marvelous thyng; an noon the cove revyved, and began to ete, as noone harme hadde happid her. In dew tyme the womman came to the forsaid chirche to geelde thankynge to God, and to his glorious apostle, and offerid the light that she avowid, and expressid the benefite of pite, that so mercyfully she hadde receyvyd.

CAPITULUM XXVII.

OF THE REPERCION AND FYNDYNGE OF AN HORS.

A certeyn preist of Kente comynge neyr the gladnesse of the feist glorious purposid to come to of the oftesaid chirche, sittynge on a goode hors, the whiche was deyr to hym, with othir men, that intendid to the same place, and whan the sonne went almost to rest, and nyght derke sprede on the erthe, nede compellid them to take ther yn, and whan they lokid abowte on every side, and sye noon hostrye, whydyr they myghte drawe, it plesid them to late ther hors to pasture, and they kepte wacche yn kepyng of ther horssys yn the same place. This y don, the prestis hors brake further, noone of them considerynge, nethir the preyst fast a slepe wyttynge, but what myghte falle, to them of adversite, that hastid with a desire, to that place of unwastid pite, as who seith noon evyn by the slepyng preiste, a certeyn man apperid, havynge a shynynge chere, and shooke the vestment that he weyr softly and seyid, 'A rise why art thou so longe oppressid with slummryng?' and he with a litill noyse awakid risid up and lokid this way, and that way, and parsayvyd nat his hors, neir abowte hym, and whan sorowfully he hadde ranne abowte, and did all his diligence to seke his hors, he herde the nehyng, of his hors, two furowlongis from hym, as he myghte parceyve with opyn eere. And annoyn with his felshipp he folowid, and that he sowghte he fownde, and skippid on hym, and whan he was commyn to the place desirid, aforne the ymage of the apostle he fill prostrate, and gave thankynge, for fyndyng of his hors, and wittnessid that the ymage that he sawh was most like to hym that waked hym no thing doughtyng yn hym self, but that was the apostle of Cryste, that so benyngly hadde directed his way, and his hors that so deliciously he lovyd, and so negligently hadde lost, myghtly hadde restoryd.

CAPITULUM XXVIII.

OF AN HOWSE UNTOUCHID YN MYDDYL OF THE FYER.

Who suffisid to opyn expressly, all the benefetys of the unwasted pite, that men be wonnt to telle, that hath be don yn the portys of the see, by the holsome meritys of the blessid apostle seynt Bartholomewe, unsessyngly, of the whiche I have herde many of them, but for the prolixite of this trefte, and the symyltude of myracles I have omysid to write. Therefore they that be brennyng yn his only love and usualy be fervent yn his servyce to his chirche, or els to his reliks, bringe ther oblations and certeynly sumwhat that commyth of wynnyng of ther shippys frely they brynge kyndely and joyfully, nat only men but women, that ben devoute abowte his servyce and worshipp, han ben refresshid with his ofte consolacion, and be expert, that he is nygh to them, that callith upon hym yn treweth, and therefore it is that many of them yerely, with lightis and oblations peesfull vowys and prayers visite hys holy chirche, and be glad to telle of his holy myracles, that hav be don abowte them. The whiche syth it is harde all to expresse, nevertheles oone by grace of example I shall knytte¹ to the forseyed, of the whiche ther be so many wittnes almost, as ther be men dwellyng, yn the porte of Hastyng. It fill upon a tyme, or els be unwarnes of men, or more by the vengeawnce of God, the towne callid Hastyng began with woodnesse of fyer to perisshe. Ther was ther a worshipfull matrone, Ceale by name, whois howsbonde was callid Helys, a man commyng home from be 3oonde the see with his shippe chargid with wyne and applied at London, and the same day unknowynge the hurte at home he visitte the chirche of the holy apostle, and for hym self and for all that pertenyd to hym meke prayers he offerid up to God, and to the holy apostle. The forsaid woman whan she sawh the flammys of fyer, drawynge neir to her howse, utterly unexpert of mannys counsell and helpe, with full feith, yave her self to the suffragyes of seynt Barthylmewe, the blessid apostle, callynge on hym besily with ynwarde herte, and devoutly ofte callynge with yn her, hys glorious name rehersyng and duplynge prayers to make a vowe of light to be browghte to his chirche yn to his honoure. And she began annoyne with a long threid to compasse the howse, and leyfte hit ther fixed, and loo amervelous thyng to seye, and beforne dayes unherde, the fyer ferid the feith of the womman, and on every parte bernyd, and all thyng turnyd yn to asshis, and nat presumyd to touche the threid, but flow over to the nexte howsys: the howse that was mesurid with the threid hit myght nat hurte: 3eit abydyth that mervelous and glorious myracle of that howse to be seyn howh the fyer comyng to that howse touchid the pynnacles, levying them half brent, but with the feith of the woman hit was putte a wey and lefte them so halfe brent. But ther wer neir howsys right nygh by, the whiche all were consumyd and turnyd yn to asshis. Loo howh by the merytis of the blessid apostle Barthilmewe, the fyer hadde for3eit the myght of his vertu, that the howse shulde nat feill his brennyng that bar his tokyn.

¹ *Subnectam*: add.

THE BODLEIAN RENTAL

A roll 38 ft. long in which are entered the extent of the lands, the services of the tenants, and the rents they paid to the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Middlesex Roll I). (For description see p. xxv, above.)

¶ In isto Rotulo continentur extenta terrarum et seruicia omnium tenencium pertinencium ad Prioratum Sancti Bartholomei London'. Dat' per Rogerum de Luda, In festo pasche Anno regni Regis Edwardi, Filij Regis Henrici, tricesimo quarto,¹ Sub Fratre Iohanne de Kemsingt', Priore tunc ibidem.

¶ In Comitatu Suffolc', Episcopatu Norwic', Archidiaconatu Suffolc', et Hundredo de Luddinglond'.

Parua Ibi habent Prior et Conuentus Sancti Bartholomei London'
Iernemuta. Ecclesiam de Parua Iernemuta, cum Capella de Nortvilla eidem annexa, in proprios vsus, de dono domini Henrici regis Anglie primi. Et non sunt alique maiores decime spectantes ad illam ecclesiam vel Capellam nisi tres acre et dimidia simul iacencia [*sic*] in Le Spitelcroft, abuttantes ad capud boriale super clausum fratrum Ordinis Sancti Augustini. Sed consistit totum proficuum illius ecclesie in Oblacionibus, minutis decimis, et piscacionibus maritimis.² Et taxantur predicta Ecclesia et Capella, cum porcione vicarie, ad viij li. xiiij s. et iiij d. Et valent per annum xx li. in toto. Sed est ibi quidam vicarius qui nomine porcionis sue vicarie percipit medietatem omnium prouentuum ad dictam ecclesiam et Capellam veniencium, simul cum medietate dicte terre. Qui sustinebit omnia onera extraordinaria porcionem suam tangencia. Et preterea omnia onera ordinaria dictis ecclesie et Capelle incumbencia, libros et ornamenta ecclesie et Capelle et Cancellae, cum necesse fuerit, reparabit. Sed Episcopus Norwyc', quocienscumque dicta vicaria vacauerit, debet alium nominare ad eandem, et ad dictos Priorem et Conuentum, per litteram suam, mittere eundem. Et ipsi postea ipsum sic nominatum dicto Episcopo presentabunt ad porcionem vicarie predictae. Et cum inde fuerit institutus iurabit predictis Priori et Conuentui sacramentum fidelitatis quod porcionem illis contingentem in ecclesia predicta fideliter custodiet, et sine aliqua diminucione eis restituet. Et Capellani dicte Cantarie similiter prestabunt illud idem iuramentum. Et ualet porcio dicti Prioris et Conuentus in illa ecclesia de claro x li., vt supra patet. Et vicaria valet x li., vt supra.

¶ Summa valoris ecclesie predictae x li.

¶ Gorleston. Ibi habent dicti Prior et Conuentus ecclesiam de Gorleston' de dono predicti domini Regis Henrici, in proprios vsus. Et taxatur ecclesia, preter porcionem vicarie, ad viginti libras. Et valet per

¹ Easter, 1306.

² MS. maritin'.

annum viginti libras. Et est ibi quedam vicaria que taxatur ad vj libras xiiij s. iiij d. Et valet per annum xx libras. Ad quam vicariam dicti Prior et Conuentus presentant, tempore vacacionis eiusdem. Et idem vicarius soluet annuatim dictis Priori et Conuentui xv s., nomine pensionis, in festo sancti Andree apostoli. Et sunt in eadem Parochia Fratres ordinis sancti Augustini qui propter domum suam constructam in illa parochia soluunt annuatim dictis Priori et Conuentui xiiij s. iiij d. ad natale domini, nomine pensionis, per compositionem a tempore fundacionis sue inde habitam. Et habent ibidem dicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam manerium quod est de dono predicti Henrici Regis quod est gleba predictarum ecclesiarum de Gernemuta et Gorleston'. Et valet clausum illius Manerij per annum, cum pomerio et herbagio, ij s. Et sunt ibidem xl acre terre in dominico. Et valent per annum lx s., precij acre xviiij d. Et est ibidem de Redditu assise ij s., quos Henricus de Gernemuta soluit ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha pro placea vbi molendinum suum ad ventum situm est. Et habet ibidem dominus Iohannes Batun quoddam molendinum situm super feodum dictorum Prioris et Conuentus, pro quo reddere solebat annuatim xviiij d. ad predictos duos terminos. Sed solucio illius Redditus ei remittitur ad totam vitam suam, et vna acra terre de predictis dominicis, cum predicto reddito, tenendas [*sic*] ad vitam suam, ut predictum est, sibi concedebantur per Fratrem Henricum¹ Priorem, sine Conuentu, in excambium vnus acre terre quam ipsi Prior et Conuentus ibidem tenent de terra eiusdem Iohannis ad terminum 'predictum.

¶ Summa valoris predictae ecclesie et Manerij xxiiij li. iiij s.

¶ Lowiscost. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus Ecclesiam de Lowiscost, in proprios vsus, de dono predicti Henrici Regis. Et taxatur ecclesia, cum porcione vicarie, ad ix li. vj s. viij denarios. Et porcio predictorum Prioris et Conuentus taxatur ad iiij li. xiiij s. iiij d. Et valet vj li. per annum. Et porcio vicarie taxatur ad iiij li. xiiij s. iiij d. Et valet per annum xx li. Ad quam vicariam Episcopus Norwic', tempore vacacionis eiusdem, nominabit personam idoneam [*sic*] quem eligerit per litteram suam Priori et Conuentui predictis. Et ipsi presentant sic nominatum Episcopo. Et postquam institutus fuerit, faciet iuramentum fidelitatis sicut vicarius de parua Gernemuta. Et idem vicarius sustinebit omnia onera extraordinaria porcione suam contingencia. Et preterea omnia onera ordinaria, libros et ornamenta ecclesie et Cancellum sustinebit et reparabit, cum necesse fuerit. Et nullam habent ibidem terram in dominico, excepto loco vbi grangium cor² [*sic*] situm est, vbi ponunt decimas suas. Et est ibidem de Redditu assise de liberis et villanis quos dicti Prior et Conuentus ibidem habent, qui tenent glebam dicte ecclesie, vj s. x d. per annum. Et sunt ibidem decem galli et galline quos dicti Custumarij per annum soluunt, et valent xv d. Et tenent liberi et villani in dominico de predicta Gleba, iiij mesuagia, xxiiij acras terre, et tres rodas.

¶ Summa valoris predictae ecclesie et Redditus vj li. viij s. j d.

¹ A scribe's error for 'Hugh'.

² *Eorum*.

¶ Villani.

¶ **Secta.**¹ Thomas filius Walteri tenet in villenagio j Mesuagium et quinque acras terre et dimidiam, cum pertinencijs, in Lowyscost de Priore sancti Bartholomei London', et est seruus cum tota sequela sua. Et reddit inde per annum xvij d. ob. ad quatuor anni terminos principales. Et duas gallinas et j gallum die sancti Stephani in festo Natalis.

¶ **Secta.** Nicholaus Brun tenet vnum Mesuagium et quinque acras terre et j Rodam in villenagio, et est seruus sicut predictus Thomas. Et reddit per annum ad predictos iiij terminos xvij d. Et duas gallinas die sancti Stephani.

¶ **Secta.** Nicholaus le Niweman tenet in villenagio vnum Mesuagium, iiij acras, iiij rodas terre, et est seruus sicut predictus Thomas. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ob. ad predictos terminos, et duas gallinas, et quolibet altero anno vnam gallinam.

¶ **Secta.** Ricardus Thowre tenet in villenagio vnum Mesuagium et duas acras terre, et est seruus sicut predictus Thomas. Et Reddit inde per annum v d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ **Secta.** Adam de Rothenhale tenet in villenagio vij acras terre et dimidiam. Et est seruus sicut predictus Thomas. Et Reddit per annum inde ij s. ad predictos terminos, et tres gallinas et vnum gallum.

¶ Liberi.

Liberi. ¶ Edmundus filius Decani tenet de villenagio vnam Rodam terre, et reddit inde per annum j d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Iohannes de Goseford et Henricus Basset tenent vnam acram terre de predicto villenagio. Et debent reddere inde per annum iiij d. ob. ad predictos terminos, et j Gallum. Sed nichil facit [*sic*].

¶ Willelmus Regnald, modo Willelmus Rymshale, pro dimidia acra terre, ut dicitur, reddit annuatim ad festum sancti michaelis vnum obolum, et fecit inde fidelitatem, Presentibus dominis Iohanne et Roberto Bacon, Iohanne de Gorleston, Iohanne May, Willelmo de Leegh', vicario de Gorleston' et de Lowyscost. Qui Willelmus requisitus per sacramentum suum ad cognoscendum de qua terra soluit predictum redditum, dicit quod hoc ignorat.

¶ Summa tocus Redditus predicti vj s., x d. Et decem gallini et galline, et valent xv d.

Consue- Memorandum quod predicti villani qui soluunt gallos et gallinas tudines. habebunt die sancti Stephani, quando portant gallinas suas apud Gorleston', vnum repastum de domino, et habent omnes consuetudines quas illi de Langele habent, hoc mutato, quod nulla faciant opera, et quod vsi sunt terram suam dimittere sine licencia, quia sunt de antiquo dominico.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo de Blythinge.

Wenlac- Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quamdam Capellam sitam in ston. dominicis terris Galfridi de Wenlacston'. Et est de dono antecessorum suorum ad Inueniendum ibidem singulis septimanis vnum

¹ Suit at Manorial Court.

Capellanum celebrantem per vnum diem. Ad quam Capellam nichil pertinet nisi solummodo oblaciones venientes ibidem die sancti Bartholomei de aduenientibus ad quandam Feriam, que ob reuerenciam eiusdem sancti tunc fit ibidem. Et valent oblaciones predictæ, preter stipendium Capellani celebrantis ibidem diebus predictis ac expensas Balliui de Gernemuta venientis ibidem ad colligendas dictas oblaciones, x s.

¶ Summa valoris Capelle predictæ x s.

¶ Summa tocius valoris Ecclesiarum et Capellarum predictarum xl li. ij s. j d. Balliuis percipit.

Blide- Ibidem habent dicti Prior et Conuentus de Priore et Conuentu sancte burg'. Marie de Blyborg' lvj s. et viij d. annue pencionis, quos soluere debent annuatim ad duos terminos infrascriptos, videlicet, in proximo synodo post festum sancti Michaelis in Ecclesia Conuentuali sancte Trinitatis Gyppeswyc' xxx s., et ad synodum post Pascha tentum ibidem xxvj s. viij d. Et hoc pro Medietate Ecclesie parochialis de Wenlacston' quam habuerunt ex concessione dictorum Prioris et Conuentus sancti Bartholomei.

¶ Summa pencionis predictæ lvj s. viij d. Et celerarius percipit.

¶ In Comitatu Essex', Hundredo de Odelesforde, Episcopatu London', et Archidiaconatu Colcestr'.

¶ Schort- Ibi habent Prior et Conuentus Sancti Bartholomei London' quod-
graue. dam Manerium quod vocatur Schortgraue quod tenent de Thoma de Merk', filio et herede Andree de Merk', per seruicium sex denariorum vel duobus calcaribus deauratis [*sic*], soluendorum annuatim ad festum sancti Michaelis, si miserit propter ea, pro omni terreno seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus apud Dupeden' xx acras terre de domino Reginaldo de Grey pro iij solidis et vj denarijs, soluendis annuatim ad festum sancti Michaelis et Pasche [*sic*], pro omni terreno seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus in Wyditon' alias terras et tenementa de Roberto len veyse¹ pro iij s. j denario, soluendis annuatim ad predictos duos terminos, pro omni terreno seruicio. In eodem Manerio soluunt annuatim dicti Prior et Conuentus Ecclesie parochiali de Newport, in cuius parochia existit, ij s. ad predictos duos terminos, pro minutis decimis quibuscumque de dicto Manerio contingentibus, et hoc per compositionem inter Decanum et Capitulum sancti Martini magni London', cuius est prebenda, et eos antiquitus factam. In eodem Manerio habent dicti Prior et Conuentus per Cartas Regum Anglie visum franci plegij quam [*sic*] tenent annuatim die Iouis in septimana Pentecosten [*sic*], et nichil dant domino Regi pro eodem, de quo patebit plenius in extenta illius Manerij inferius.

¶ Summa Redditus pro eodem Manerio soluendi x s. j d.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et sunt in predicto Manerio ccxl acre terre arabilis in dominico, et valent annuatim xij li., precij acre xij d. Et valet clausum Manerij, cum Columbare, Pomerio, et herbagio, x s. per annum. Et sunt ibi vj acre prati que valent per annum xxiiij s., precij acre iij s. Et quinque acre

¹ Possibly one word in MS.

pasture separalis. Et valent per annum xv s., precij acre iij s. Et pastura ad C bidentes, cuius maxima pars est separalis. Et valet per annum x s. Et de redditu assise de liberis tenentibus et villanis xlix s. j d., quos soluunt ad iiij^{or} terminos, ut patebit plenius inferius. Et valent opera libere [*sic*] tenencium et Customariorum predictorum xxxvj s. ob. per annum, ut patebit ibidem. Et habent ibidem dicti Prior et Conuentus visum franci plegij, vt predictum est, vbi capitales plegij dant eis annuatim ij s. de certo fine arentato pro visu. Et valent placita et perquisita Curiarum vj s. viij d. per annum. Et tenent ibidem liberi tenentes dicti Prioris in dominico sex Mesuagia, xx acras terre, et dimidiam acram prati. Et villani et liberi in villenagio xvij Mesuagia, L acras terre et dimidiam, et vnam acram prati.

¶ Summa extente xix li. xij s. ix d. ob.

¶ De quibus retrahende [*sic*] sunt x s. j d. Vt . . .¹ Et sic valet de claro xix li. ij s. viij d. ob.

¶ Redditus ¶ Ibidem tenet Magister hospitalis sancti Leonardi de Newport et seruisia. de Priore et Conuentu predictis quoddam fossatum vocatum Liberi. Longmadedyche, et reddit inde per annum iij d., scilicet, medietatem ad Pascha et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis.

¶ Debet ¶ Stephanus clericus de Newport tenet iiij acras terre, et reddit sectam ad inde per annum viij s. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales. Modo visum.² Iohanna Coll' ij acras et dimidiam, Ricardus Bertlot dimidiam acram, Et Rogerus Coll' j acram.

¶ Secta. ¶ Ricardus Pecok de Newport tenet ij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos iiij terminos. Modo Henricus Pecok.

¶ Ad Vi- ¶ Robertus, filius Magistri hospitalis de Newport, et Radulphus sum. Bertlot tenent duas acras terre, et reddunt inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. ¶ Modo Robertus Bochare j acram et dimidiam. Et Ricardus Bertlot dimidiam acram.

¶ Secta. ¶ Laurencius Bernard tenet vnum Mesuagium et duas acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} anni terminos. Modo Robertus Abselon.

¶ Secta. ¶ Galfridus Attehill' tenet ij Mesuagia et vnam acram terre, et reddit inde per annum ij s. iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Emma Attehill' tenet vnum Mesuagium et j acram terre, et reddit inde per annum xvj d. Et vnum Mesuagium apud Katelynesh iacet in manus domini.

¶ Secta. ¶ Katerina Attehill' tenet vnum Mesuagium, et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos duos terminos. Et debet inuenire j hominem ad ij bedripas.³ Modo in manus domini, et est terra arabilis.

¶ Ad Vi- ¶ Alanus bercarius tenet vnum Mesuagium et vnam acram terre, sum. et debet inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Arnweye tenet predictum Mesuagium, et reddit per annum vj d. Et predicta acra terre est in manus domini vocata le Welleacre.

¹ Word torn away.

² Liable to appear at the view of frank-pledge.

³ ij *bedripas*: two days' harvest work.

¶ **Secta.** ¶ Goselinus tannator tenet vnum Mesuagium et vj acras terre, et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos ij terminos et j hominem ad iij bedripas. Modo Alicia Goselyn tenet vnum Mesuagium et ij acras et dimidiam. Ricardus Bertlot j acram et dimidiam. Et Ranulphus taylour ij acras.

¶ **Secta.** ¶ Martinus Bercarius tenet quoddam Mesuagium, et reddit inde per annum vnum cauponem ad Natale de hereditate Andree Sparwe. Modo Iohannes, filius Willelmi Wryght.

¶ **Secta.** ¶ Ricardus de Wenden tenet quoddam pratum vbi sunt excluse¹ molendine sue [*sic*], et reddit inde per annum xvij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Bole.

¶ Villani et liberi tenentes villenagium.

¶ **Villani.** ¶ Iohannes Pousin liber tenet iij rodas terre, et debet inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos, et inueniet j hominem ad pratum domini leuandum per vnum diem, et faciet in autumpno vnum precarium² et dimidium. Modo filius Simonis hosbond. Idem Iohannes tenet vnum Mesuagium, et debet inde per annum xij d. et iij bederipas.

¶ **Secta.** Modo Emma atte hyll'.

¶ **Secta.** Ricardus Pecok tenet iij rodas terre, et debet inde vj d. ad predictos ij terminos, et faciet consuetudines quas dictus I. facit. Modo Willelmus Kelehogge.

¶ **Secta.** Beatrix Prestes libera tenet vnam acram terre, et debet inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Schepeherd.

¶ **Secta.** Robertus le furner liber tenet vnam acram terre, et debet inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos. Modo Iohannes Schepherd.

¶ **Secta.** Laurençius Bernard liber tenet vnam acram terre, et debet inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Radulphus Tailour.

Adam filius Eustachij tenet vnum Mesuagium, et debet inde per annum vnum Cauponem ad Pascha. Modo heres Galfridi Faule.

¶ **Secta.** Martinus Bercarius liber tenet vnum Mesuagium et iij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos, et j gallinam ad Natale et iij oua ad Pascha, et debet inuenire vnum operarium ad iij bederipas. Modo Editha Donmawe.

Ad visum. Margareta Sparwe tenet vnum Mesuagium, et debet inde per annum iij d. ad predictos iij terminos, et Inueniet j hominem ad pratum domini leuandum, et faciet vnum bederipam. Modo Radulphus Taylour.

¶ **Secta.** Sabina le Gold tenet duo Mesuagia et dimidiam acram terre, et debet inde per annum iij s. viij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos, et j gallinam ad Natale, et iij oua ad Pascha et dimid', et debet Inuenire j hominem ad iij bedripas, et vnum hominem vltra ad precarie seruisium.³ Modo Iohannes, filius Willelmi Wryght.

¶ **Secta.** Ricardus Cirotecarius tenet vnum Mesuagium et iij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos iij terminos, et ad Natale

¹ Sluices.

² Day's work; should be *precariam*.

³ MS. *ad precar' seruiss'.*

iiij caupones et j gallinam, et ad Pascha tria oua, et debet Inuenire j hominem ad iiij bederipas. Modo Iohannes le Schepeherd.

Idem Ricardus tenet vnam acram terre et dimidiam. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos duos terminos. Et ad Natale j gallinam et ad Pascha duo oua. Et debet Inuenire j hominem ad iiij bederipas. Modo heres Galfridi Faule.

¶ **Secta.** Katerina Sparwe tenet vnum Mesuagium et iiij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et ad Natale vnam gallinam, et ad Pascha tria oua. Et debet Inuenire vnum operarium ad iiij bederipas. Modo heres Galfridi Faule. Et quedam alia tenens j cauponem.

¶ **Secta.** Acius tenet de hereditate Matilde, vxoris eius, tres acras terre, cum Mesuagio in eadem terra sito. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, et in communi cum Cons. atte hulle et Andrea Sparwe, participibus suis, ad Natale j gallinam, Et ad pascha tria oua et dimidium,¹ et tres bedrippas in autumpno. Modo Iohannes Deyer ij acras. Ricardus Bertlot ij rodas. Willelmus Kelehogge ij rodas. Et Iohannes Russell j cotagium.

Idem Acius tenet tres acras terre, cum quodam Mesuagio in eadem terra sito. Et debet inde facere j operationem qualibet septimana per totum annum, exceptis septimanis Natalis, Pasche et Pentecostes, et dare ad Natale j gallinam et ad Pascha tria oua et debet Inuenire j operarium ad vj bedrippas. Et sciendum est quod quando Idem Acius et pares sui falcant pratum prioris, ipsi habebunt de eodem Priore vnum jentaculum, scilicet, Panem, Caseum, et Seruisiam. Modo Sabina Lote. ¶ Idem Acius tenet j peciam prati, videlicet, Iacentem in le Northmade, et metet per annum dimidiam acram frumenti et dimidiam acram avene. Modo Thomas Heldore qui desponsauit relictam Godefridi de Sparwisend.

¶ **Secta.** Ricardus Bataile tenet tres acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et j gallinam ad Natale et tria oua ad Pascha. Et debet Inuenire j operarium ad tres bedrippas. Modo Willelmus Kelehogge.

Idem Ricardus tenet sex acras terre cum Mesuagio in eadem terra sito. Et debet inde facere duas operationes qualibet septimana per totum annum, exceptis septimanis Natalis, Pasche et Pentecostes, et dare ad Natale duas gallinas, et ad Pascha sex oua et Inuenire ² operarios ad iiij bedrippas. Modo idem Willelmus.

¶ **Secta.** Arnulphus Sturdy tenet sex acras terre cum Mesuagio in terra illa sito per easdem consuetudines et eadem seruicia sicut predictus Ricardus. Modo Gilbertus Soon.

¶ **Secta.** Stephanus atte brigge, filius Walteri tenet j Mesuagium et vj acras terre per easdem consuetudines et eadem seruicia sicut predictus Ricardus. Modo in manus domini.

Idem Stephanus tenet j acram terre, et metet pro eadem per annum vnam

¹ Oua et dī.

² Blank.

acram frumenti et j acram avene. Modo in manus domini. Et pro quodam prato ij caupones. Modo in manus domini.

¶ **Secta.** Robertus Bertlot tenet j Mesuagium et tres acras terre per easdem consuetudines et eadem seruicia sicut predictus Acius. Modo Iuliana

Pou . . .¹

¶ **Secta.** Petrus Puttell' et Iohannes Gegge tenent j Mesuagium et j acram terre per easdem consuetudines et eadem seruicia sicut predictus Acius. Modo Galfridus bull.

¶ **Secta.** Walterus filius Walteri Carectarij tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre et dimidiam per easdem consuetudines et eadem seruicia sicut predictus Acius. Excepto tantum j ouo. Modo Thomas le helder. ¶ Et sciendum est quod omnes predicti tenentes qui inter cetera seruicia sua predicta reddunt Priori Gallinas per annum habere debent quolibet anno pro sex acris messis in autumpno pro opera sua [*sic*] j acram de stipula² domini et ij acras dimidiam acram [*sic*]. Item habebunt omnes predicti qui faciunt opera per totum annum vnum panem, scilicet, pro duobus operibus de omnibus que faciunt infra clausum dicti Manerij. Et erunt tres precarie autumpnales predicte ad cibum domini ad vnum repastum et ad vnam precariam habebunt Ceruisiam, et ad duas aquam.

Idem Walterus tenet quoddam pratum iacent' [*sic*] in Northmade, pro quo metet per annum dimidiam acram frumenti et dimidiam acram Auene. Modo idem Thomas.

Idem Walterus tenet quoddam pratum ad capud Pontis de Sparwisend. Et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo idem Thomas.

Willelmus atte water tenet vnum Mesuagium iuxta pontem, et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Ricardus atte feld.

De Rogero Goselyn pro quodam prato iuxta leytonmade iiij d. Modo Alicia Goselyn.

Walterus Elys tenet vnum cotagium, et reddit per annum ij d.

Robertus Meller tenet vnum Mesuagium intra tenementum Roberti Absolon, et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad duos terminos.

Laurencius Gegge tenet vnum Mesuagium, et reddit inde per annum vj d.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xvj s. iiij d. ob.

¶ De termino Natalis viij s. viij d., viij capones, xvj galline.

¶ De termino Pasche xvj s. iiij d. ob. Et lij oua.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis viij s. viij d.

¶ Summa tocius Redditus l s. j d. viij Caupones, xvj galline, l oua. Valent iij s. ij d.

¶ Summa precariorum in autumpno preter opera custumariorum lx, precij cuiuslibet j d. ob. Et valent vij s. vj d.

¶ Summa operum custumariorum extra autumpnum ccccx per munus³ C, precij cuiuslibet ob. Et valent xv s. v d. ob.

¶ Summa operum eorundem in autumpno lxxx, precij cuiuslibet j d. ob. Et valent xj s.

¹ The rest worn away.

² Stubble.

³ MS. *mun'*.

¶ Et debent Metere Custumarij, ut patet supra, ij acras frumenti et duas avene. Et valent xx d.

¶ Summa valoris operum predictorum Cauponum, gallinarum et ouorum xxxvj s. ob.

¶ Consuetudines ¶ Memorandum quod predicti Custumarij debent facere pro Villanorum. operibus suis quicquid eis preceptum fuerit quod agendum sit in Manerio, tamen si triturare debeant pro quolibet opere ad festum [*sic*] sancti Michaelis vsque festum sancti Petri Ad vincula triturare ij bussellos et dimidium frumenti vel fabarum vel pisarum, vel ordeï vel dragij,¹ vel vj bussellos auene. Et pro quolibet opere a festo sancti Petri vsque festum sancti Michaelis debent Metere In autumpno dimidiam acram frumenti vel dragij vel auene. Et de fabis vel ordeo j rodam et dimidiam.

¶ Et debent omnes predicti villani in creacione cuiuslibet noui Prioris dominium suum cognoscere de tanto quantum quilibet eorum facit annuatim in redditu et seruicio nisi de gracia ipsius aliquid eis inde remittatur.

¶ Et debent redimere filios et filias suas ordinand' et maritand' Et fieri² preposit' ad voluntatem domini, nec debent aliquod tenementum dimittere ad terminum vel alio modo nisi ad voluntatem domini. Et quod satisfaciant pro licencia dimittendi et recipiendi. Et quo ad opera predicta erit in eleccione domini ut ea faciant vel redimant modo predicto.

¶ Et est consuetudo ibidem inter liberos et villanos quod nullum herietum debet dari post mortem eorum. Et quod vidua in villenagio, post mortem viri sui, tenebit integre totum tenementum de quo vir suus obiit seiscitus, donec se tenuerit viduam et custodiet pueros suos, faciendo integrum releuium domino pro ingressu suo. Et si se maritauerit, totum amitteat [*sic*]; post obitum viri, premortua vxor sua, vendatur custodia heredum [*sic*] ipsius infra etatem existentis [*sic*] ad voluntatem domini. Et cum ad etatem venerit faciat releuium suum, Alio releuium non obstante.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Finchinfeld. Ibi tenet Robertus Robichun. quoddam tenementum, vnde reddit annuatim predictis Priori et Conuentui vij s. per annum, scilicet, medietatem ad Pascha et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis. Vnde balliuus de schortgraue respondet.

¶ Summa redditus predicti vij s.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo de Claueringe.

¶ Langeleg'. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium quod vocatur Langeley quod tenent de domino Roberto filio Rogeri per seruicium iiii solidorum et vj denariorum, soluendorum annuatim ad festum sancti Michaelis, pro omni terreno seruicio. Qui tenet Manerium de Claueringe de domino Rege In capite. De cuius dominio est Manerium de Langeleg'. In eodem Manerio tenent quasdam terras, videlicet, de Eldfeld de Ricardo de kelshell', per seruicium vnus libre Cimini,³ precij ij d., soluend' ad Pascha,

¹ Drag, a coarse kind of corn.

² MS. *fij* usual abbreviation for *fieri*. Perhaps something is omitted here.

³ Cummin.

pro omni terreno seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent terras quas habent in Mesedon de herede Domini Dionisie de Monte Canisio pro xij d. soluendis annuatim ad festum sancti Michaelis et Pascha, pro omni terreno seruicio. Et est in parochia de claueringe, cui ecclesie soluuntur decime Maiores et Minores. Et nullum habent ibi visum franci plegij, quia omnes tenentes illius Manerij sunt in visu apud Claueringe.

¶ Summa redditus pro eodem Manerio soluendi v s. viij d.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et sunt in predicto Manerio ccxl acre terre arabilis in dominico.

Et valent per annum vj li., precij acre, vj d. Et valet clausum Manerij, cum pomario et herbagio, per annum xx d. Et sunt ibi iiij^{or} acre bosci. Et valet subboscus inde per annum ij s. Et sunt ibi xj acre prati et valent per annum xliij s., precij acre iiij s. Et viginti acre pasture separalis pro x vaccis apud Godheye. Et valent per annum xx s., precij acre xij d. Et pastura C bidentium in campis separalibus et communibus. Et valet per annum v s. Et de redditu assise de liberis tenentibus et villanis xxx s. vj d. Et vnus vomer precij ix d., quos soluunt ad iiij^{or} terminos, de quibus patebit plenius inferius. Et valent placita et perquisita Curie per annum ij s. Et valent opera libere [sic] tenencium et Custumariorum et seruicia per annum xxxj s. viij d. ob., ut patebit ibidem. Et tenent ibidem liberi tenentes dicti Prioris in dominico v Mesuagia, xlv acras terre et dimidiam. Et villani et liberi in villenagio xj Mesuagia, liij acras terre et dimidiam, ut patebit ibidem.

¶ Summa extente xij li. xvij s. vij d. ob. Retrahendi sunt v s. j d., ut supra.

¶ Et sic valet de claro xij li. xij s. vj d. ob.

¶ Redditus et Ibidem tenent Thomas Frankleyn et Robertus lefhery vnum seruicia. Mesuagium et x acras terre. Et reddit [sic] inde per annum Liberi. iiij s. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales. Modo Willelmus Tryndhey.

Secta. Thomas Carpenter tenet j Mesuagium et x acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ **Secta.** Ricardus filius Reynery tenet vnum Mesuagium et viij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. x d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Iohannes Reyner. Willelmus turrok tenet ij acras terre in Hegfeld. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Ricardus Chapman.

¶ **Secta.** Willelmus Everard tenet iiij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xvj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos et j vomerem nouum ad Pentecosten.

¶ **Secta.** Galfridus Carpentarius tenet j Mesuagium et quinque acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

Willelmus scott tenet j acram et dimidiam terre. Et reddit inde per annum xx d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ **Secta.** Reginaldus le Politer tenet j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

Gilbertus Scott reddit per annum pro quadam via habenda vltra terram Prioris j d. ad Natale.

Edwardus surdus tenet j acram terre. Et reddit per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

- ¶ **Secta.** Alexander filius Walteri Gūuld (?) tenet iij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Everardus filius Rogeri serieaunt tenet viij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xx d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Iohannes Pycard tenet j Mesuagium et j croftum. Et reddit inde per annum ij s., scilicet, ad Pascha et ad festum sancti Michaelis.
- ¶ **Secta.** Philippus Almarius tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum j d. ad Pascha.
- ¶ **Secta.** Cecilia Sprottos tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Adam Chesemaker tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Willelmus Sekesten tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Iohannes le Dryver tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.
- ¶ **Secta.** Agnes filia Iohannis Byll' tenet vnum Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.

Willelmus Pousin tenet j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum iij^{or} d. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos.

Et est sciendum quod omnes prenominati, exceptis Roberto le Franklein, Willelmo Carpentario, Ricardo Reyner, Galfrido Carpentario, et Willelmo Scotte, debent venire, vel vnusquisque eorum pro se mittere j operarium sufficientem, ad fenum Prioris leuandum, tum[u]landum et in Curiam ¹ tassandum, et ad precariam autumpnalem.

Radulphus brunkot tenet j curtilagium. Et reddit inde per annum duos Caupones ad Pascha.

¶ **Villani.** Iohannes Pikard tenet xj acras terre in villenagio. Et reddit inde per annum iij^{or} s. ad predictos iij^{or} terminos, et ad Natale ij gallinas et j gallum. Et ad pascha xx oua, et debet Inuenire j operarium ydoneum et sufficientem ad septem precarias autumpnales ad cibum prioris.

¶ **Secta.** Simon bullok tenet vnum Mesuagium et x acras terre in villenagio.

Et debet facere duas operationes qualibet septimana a festo sancti Michaelis vsque ad vincula sancti Petri, exceptis septimanis Natalis, Pasche et Pentecostes. Et a festo sancti Petri ad vincula vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis debet qualibet septimana facere tres operationes. Et debet arare tres acras et reddere ad Natale tres gallinas et j gallum. Et ad Pascha x oua. Et facere duo aueragia,² scilicet, j ad natale et aliud ad Pascha. Et habebit pro quolibet aueragio j d. Et si dominus aueragium habere voluerit ipse, simul cum parcenarijs ³ suis, Reginaldo le politer et Roberto Everard, soluent [*sic*] domino iij d. Et idem Simon, cum paribus suis, predictum pratum domini quod vocatur Southmede ubi sunt v acre prati falcare [debet] leuare et in Curiam Prioris tassare, et tunc ipse et pares sui habebunt de Priore vnum repastum, scilicet,

¹ Cur'.

² Services with horse and cart.

³ Parcenary, joint holders.

panem, quoddam genus carnis, Caseum, et sex denarios ad seruiciam. Et debet Inuenire duos operarios ad tres precarias autumpnales ad cibum Prioris.

¶ **Secta.** Reginaldus le puliter et Iohannes Euerard tenent separatim x acras terre in villenagio per easdem Consuetudines et eadem seruicia, sicut predictus Simon, hoc adiecto, quod debent facere j operacionem qualibet septimana in autumpno plusquam predictus Simon.

¶ **Secta.** Robertus Euerard tenet tres acras terre in villenagio. Et debet facere j operacionem qualibet septimana a festo Annunciacionis beate Marie vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis. Et debet, cum paribus suis, predictum pratum falcare et fenum leuare et in Curiam Prioris tassare, sicut predictus Simon. Et debet Inuenire j operarium ad tres precarias autumpnales. Et reddet in vno anno ij oia et in alio vnum ouum.

¶ **Secta.** Iohannes Gregeman tenet dimidiam acram terre in villenagio. Et debet facere j operacionem qualibet quindena a festo Pasche vsque festum sancti Michaelis. Et debet Inuenire j operarium ad pratum Prioris cum fuerit falcatum spargendum, et j operarium ad j precariam autumpnalem.

¶ **Secta.** Robertus le Wodeward tenet j acram terre in villenagio. Et debet, sumptibus suis proprijs, metere in autumpno de blado Prioris duas acras Frumenti et duas acras Auene.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xvj s. vj d. ij auc' [*sic*].

¶ De termino Natalis vij s. j d. ob. ij caupones, iij galline, viij galli.

¶ De termino Pasche xj s. j d. et xlij oia.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis vij s. ob., Pentecostes, Willelmus euerard j vomerem nouum, precij ix d.

¶ Summa tocus redditus xxx s. vj d.

¶ Et ij Caupones, iij galli et vij galline, xlj oia. Et valent xxj d.

¶ Summa preciarum extra autumpnum et ad pratum leuandum, preter opera custumariorum, xx, precij cuiuslibet ob. Et valent x d.

¶ Summa preciarum in autumpno, preter opera custumariorum, xxxv, precij cuiuslibet j d. ob. Et valent iij s. iij d. ob.

¶ Summa operum custumariorum extra autumpnum ccvj, precij cuiuslibet ob. Et valent viij s. vij d.

¶ Summa operum eorundem in autumpno lij, precij cuiuslibet j d. ob. Et valent vj s. vj d.

¶ Et debent falcare v acras prati ad cibum domini, et supra. Et valent, preter cibum, xvij d.

¶ Et debent arare vj acras terre sine cibo. Et valent iij s.

¶ Et debet Ricardus Wodeward metere ij acras frumenti et ij acras Avene. Et valent xx d.

¶ Et debent predicti Custumarij facere duo aueragia usque Londoniam. Et valent iij d.

¶ Summa valoris operum predictorum, Caponum, gallorum, gallinarum et ouorum xxxj s.

¶ Willelmus littelman tenet in eodem Manerio iij acras terre ad terminum xij annorum. Et reddit inde per annum xvij d. ad predictos iij^{or} ter-

minos, quas tenet per Rotulum Curie per dimissionem Celerarij, sicut patet ibidem.

In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Elmedon'. Ibi tenet Philippus attecoisse quasdam terras et tenementa, vnde reddit per annum v s. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha.

Philippus Wolston tenet ibidem terras et tenementa, vnde reddit per annum xxij d. ad predictos duos terminos.

¶ Summa vj s. x d. Vnde balliuus de Langley respondet.

¶ Consuetudines. Memorandum quod predicti Custumarij de Manerio de Langleg' et liberi tenentes ibidem habent omnes Consuetudines et facere debent seruicia sua sicut et illi de Manerio de Schortgraue predicto, hoc adiecto, quod liberi tenentes et villani ibidem dare debent herietum. Et hoc excepto quod non sunt vsi redimere opera sua extra autumpnum in denarios ad voluntatem domini, sed si dominus voluerit ea habere ea facient ad voluntatem eius.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Teyden'. Ibi habent dicti Prior et Conuentus patronatum Ecclesie de Teyden bosco cuius presentacio ad ipsos spectat tempore vacationis eiusdem. Cuius glebam Rector tenet cum Ecclesia. Et taxatur ecclesia ad viij Marcas. Et valet x li. per annum, preter pensionem. Et ab eadem ecclesia debent predicti Prior et Conuentus percipere annuatim duas Marcas pro gleba predicta in Manu Rectoris existente, soluendas ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Sed quia quedam terre de dominicis Abbatis de Waltham iacent et diu iacuerunt inculte, compositum fuit inter predictos Priorem et Conuentum et Magistrum Willelmum de Norton, Rectorem eiusdem, quod Dominus Magister Willelmus non solueret nisi vnam Marcam predictae pensionis annuatim ad dictos terminos donec predictae terre essent culte.

Summa pensionis ij Marce. Celerarius percipit inde j marcam et alia remanet adhuc in suspenso.

In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo de Aungre.

¶ Bubbingword' Ibi tenet Willelmus Pikerell' j Mesuagium, ij acras bosci et viij acras terre. Vnde reddit per annum dictis Priori et Conuentui v s. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Modo Iohannes Pykerell'.

Ibidem tenet Ricardus atteslo j Mesuagium et iiij^{or} acras terre. Vnde reddit per annum iij s. ad predictos duos terminos. Et omnia alia seruicia de dictis tenentibus proueniencia, ut in wardis, Releuiis, Escaetis, et alijs, debent fieri heredibus vel assignatis domini Milonis de Somery, qui dictum redditum eis dedit. Et celerarius percipit. Modo Iohannes atteslo.

¶ Summa Redditus predicti viij s. Et soluitur ad duos terminos, ut patet supra.

In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo de Chelmersford.

¶ Danyngge- Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus Patronatum Medietatis bir'. Ecclesie de Daningbyr'. Cuius presentacio ad ipsos spectat tempore vacationis eiusdem. Cuius glebam et visum franci

plegij cum Curia liberam [*sic*] ad eam spectantes Rector tenet cum Ecclesia. Et taxatur predicta Medietas ad v marcas. Valet viij li. preter pensionem. Et debet soluere Rector eiusdem annuatim dictis Priori et Conuentui xx s. Pensionis ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha pro gleba, visu et Curia predictis. Et celerarius percipit.

¶ Summa pensionis predictæ xx s. Et soluitur ad duos terminos, vt supra.

In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo de Tendinge.

¶ Bradfeld. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus xvj Mesuagia, C et xj acras terre, que villani sui tenent de eis in villenagio per seruicia subscripta, que Mesuagia et terre, excepto vno mesuagio et vij acris terre, que sunt de feodo Ecclesie, quas Iohannes de Balton' tenet, tenentur de domino Willelmo de Reymis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Modo heredes Iohannis de Brokesbourgh', domini ville de Bradfeld. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus Ecclesiam dicte ville, que est de patronatu suo, in proprios vsus. Et extenditur, cum porcione vicarie, ad viij li. Et soluunt annuatim per ordinacionem de vicaria illius ecclesie factam ad procuracionem Archidiaconi Colcestr' ad duos terminos sancti Michaelis et Pasche, vj s. viij d. Ibidem debent cooperire Cancellam, cum necesse fuerit, et reparare libros, et ornamenta illius Ecclesie parochialis inuenire. Et vicarius debet inuenta sustinere. Cetera vero onera ordinaria, tam in reparacione et coopertura Capelle de Manston [quam in] libris et ornamentis ibidem inueniendis ad dictam vicariam totaliter pertinebunt. Et taxatur illa vicaria quam dictus Prior et Conuentus conferunt tempore vacacionis ad vj Marcas. Et valet x Marcas. Ibi habent vnum Mesuagium continent' [*sic*] ij acras, in tribus croftis xxxj acras terre, quinque acras et dimidiam et dimidiam rode [*sic*] Bosci pertinentes ad dictam Ecclesiam in iiij^{or} grauibus,¹ vnde in vna grauia apud le persones pond j acram, j rodam, dimidiam. Et in alia grauia ibidem j acram. Et in ij grauibus vocatis² ij acras, j rodam. Vnde vna continet ij acras. Et j Mesuagium, xvj acras terre pertinentes ad dictam vicariam que comprehenduntur sub taxacione predicta. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus visum franci plegij de omnibus tenentibus suis, quem tenent ad proximam Curiam post festum sancti Michaelis super summonicione. Ibi dant annuatim ij s. ad Custodiam Castri de Colcestria, quos villani dicti Prioris inter se colligunt et soluunt Willelmo Franc. Modo heredes Iohannis Brokesborne, et ipse vltorius quia est Capitalis dominus Castro predicto [*sic*].

¶ Summa Redditus predicti per Priorem et Conuentum soluendi vj s. viij d.

¶ Extenta. Et tenent predicti villani, de quibus patebit supra, xvj Mesuagia, ciij acras terre, que valent per annum lx s. viij d. Et tenet ibidem Iohannes de Balton de feodo ecclesie j Mesuagium et vij acras terre. Et valent per annum iij s. Ibi dant Capitales plegij annuatim pro visu xij d. Et valent placita et perquisita Curie per annum iij s. Et valet clausum Mesuagij persone predicti, cum terra et decimis maioribus eidem pertinentibus, viij li. Ibi predicti villani non sunt vsi aliqua opera facere. Et valet sub-

¹ Groves.

² Blank.

boscus per annum vj s. Et valent ij Capones et iiij^{or} galline de Redditu Custumario x d.

Summa extente xj li. ix s., de quibus retrahendi sunt vj s. viij d., vt supra.

¶ Et sic valet de claro per annum xj li. ij s. iiij d.

¶ Villani :

¶ Redditus ¶ Thomas de Balton tenet j Mesuagium et xv acras ware continentes xxx acras. Et reddit inde per annum x s. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales. Et j caponem ad Natale pro scharlond.

Modo hugo de balton.

¶ Secta. ¶ Willelmus de Balton, modo Alicia, heres Iohannis Clerk, tenet j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras. Et reddit inde per annum vij s. ad predictos terminos, et continentur viij acre¹ in manus heredis domini Iohannis Brokesborne.

¶ Secta. ¶ Radulphus Dursent, modo Willelmus helpe, tenet j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras. Et reddit inde per annum v s. ad predictos terminos, vnde Stephanus Fozter tenet j acram et dimidiam ex dimissione predicti Willelmi per licenciam domini pro via habenda versus Horsfryth', ex qua terra habet per annum iiij d., et ipse vltorius domino.

¶ Secta. ¶ Robertus attedorn, modo heredes domini Iohannis Brokesborne, tenet j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras vocat' Symondislond iacent' inter Grauelond, ex parte oxidentali, et Marlpetfeld, ex parte altera, cum j graua iuxta Huniswode.² Et reddit inde per annum v s. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Alexander Bisschoppe, modo Iohannes Godard, tenet j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras, cum j graua continente iij acras, et quadrantem³ de incrementa [*sic*] redditus pro j roda terre perquisita de predicto tenente, et fatum⁴ est inde vnum cotagium per licenciam domini et nominatum cotagium est in manus Willelmi filij Walteri Ruby, et reddit predictum quadrantem ad festum sancti Michaelis, et debet sectam.

¶ Secta. ¶ Robertus Frere, modo Iohannes Frere, tenet de terra Tubbe j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras, et reddit per annum v s. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Willelmus Alured, modo Willelmus Bry de iure vnus Alfredi [*sic*], vxoris sue [*sic*], tenet j Mesuagium et x acras ware continentes xx acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum v s. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Ricardus Molendinarius, modo Iohannes Frere, tenet de terra Moysis, j mesuagium x acras ware continentes xx acras, et reddit inde per annum v s. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Idem Ricardus, modo idem Iohannes Frere, tenet de terra Iohannis de Stanbrigge j Mesuagium, ij acras ware et dimidiam continentes v acras. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. iiij d. ad predictos terminos.

¹ Cont' viij acr'.

³ A farthing.

² Or *Himiswode*.

⁴ Mistake for *situm* or *factum*.

¶ Secta. ¶ Margeria Frere, modo Iohannes Frere, tenet j Mesuagium, ij acras ware et dimidiam continentes v acras, et reddit inde per annum ij s. iiij d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Sewallus de Fratinge, modo Thomas Adekyn, tenet j Mesuagium et v acras ware continentes x acras, et reddit inde per annum ij s. iiij d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Godefridus Molendinarius, modo Clemens Welibete, tenet j Mesuagium continens ij acras ware continentes vj acras, vnde in manus hered' predicti domini Iohannis Brokesborne ij acre. Et reddit inde per annum xx d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Sarra Godard tenet j Mesuagium et j Croftum. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos terminos. Modo in manus Iohannis Furnham, cum alijs tenementis de feodo ecclesie, ut inferius, et non oneratur de redditu quia soluit in vtroque, ut inferius.

¶ Secta. ¶ Adam Sacristen, modo Iohannes Frere, tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum x d. ob. ad predictos terminos, et vnam gallinam ad Natale.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iuliana de Fratinge, modo Thomas Crall', tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum vij d. ad predictos terminos, et j gallinam ad Natale.

¶ Secta. ¶ Agnes le Sponer, modo Rogerus Crall', tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum xiiij d. ad predictos terminos, et j gallinam ad Natale.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iohannes Seman tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre. Et Rogerus Crall' tenet illas ij acras pro x d. ob. per annum ad predictos terminos.

Et j gallinam ad Natale.

¶ Secta ad ¶ Iohannes de Balton, modo Iohannes Fornhom, tenet j Mesuagium visum. et vij acras terre de feodo Ecclesie, ac j Mesuagium et j croftum continentia dimidiam acram quondam Sarre Godard, ut supra.

Et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos terminos, et j caupo[nem] ad Natale pro Capitagio.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xv s. xj d.

¶ De termino Natalis xv s. xj d. Duo Capones et iiij^{or} galline.

¶ De termino Pasche xv s. xj d.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis xv s. xj d.

¶ Summa tocius redditus lxij s. viij d. et ij capones et iiij galline, precij x d.

Consuetudines ¶ Memorandum quod predicti villani habent omnes Con- villanorum. suetudines sicut et illi de Schortgraue, hoc excepto, quod non sunt vsi facere ibidem aliqua opera, et hoc adiecto quod herietum dare debent post mortem eorum.

¶ Colecestre. Ibi habere debent predictus [*sic*] Prior et Conuentus de tene- mento quondam Euerardi Lippe quod Alexander parmentarius nunc tenet ij s. v d. per annum ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Et non soluit nisi xxj d. per annum.

¶ Item de tenemento Walteri Kymblyn ad eosdem terminos iij s., ad quemlibet terminum xvij d.

Item de tenemento Thome Pykot ad eosdem terminos xl d., ad quemlibet terminum xx d.

¶ Item de tenemento Stephani Kytinge, quod Robertus Loret tenet nunc, xvj d. per annum ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Podde in parochia beate Marie iuxta Portam.

¶ Item de tenemento Willelmi le Den, quod Bartholomeus Sutor et Agnes, vxor eius, nunc tenent, xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et solebat reddere ij s. set Conuentus remisit. Modo Nicholaus Rewis in parochia sancte Trinitatis.

¶ Summa tocius Redditus predicti de claro x s. v d.

¶ Maldon'. Ibi habere debent predicti Prior et Conuentus annuatim vj s. annui redditus, quos percipere debent ad festum sancti Michaelis et Pascha, de tenementis infrascriptis, que Oswaldus de Maldon eis dedit et Willelmus, pater¹ Henrici Regis Anglie, postea carta sua confirmauit. Que tenementa ipsi Prior et Conuentus dimiserunt Roberto Mantell' et heredibus suis, tenenda de eis per predictum seruicium, uidelicet, de domo predicti Oswardi in Maldon, cum pertinencijs. Et de xiiij acris terre in Godenedon, Et de v acris terre ad hospitale, Et de vna acra terre ad grangias predicti Oswardi, Et de quadam Pistrina eiusdem Oswardi, cum orto olerum iuxta Curia suam, Et de forgia quam Godebritus tenuit, Et de vna acra terre iuxta terram Mallardi, Et de dimidia acra terre, cum prato iuxta stratam Foulebrigge, Et de ij croftis que fuerunt fratri predicti Oswardi.

¶ Summa redditus predicti vj s. Et celerarius debet percipere.

¶ Welconstowe. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus apud Reddemergh' vij acras prati quas tenent de domino Roberto de Tony. Reddendo inde annuatim j obolum ad Pascha pro omnibus seruisijs. Et valent per annum xxviiij s., precij acre iij s.

¶ Summa valoris prati predicti xxviiij s.

In Comitatu Bukk', Episcopatu Lincoln', Hundredo de Codeslowe.

¶ Mentmore. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium quod vocatur Mentmore, cum Ecclesia eiusdem ville, in proprijs vsus, que ecclesia taxatur ad ix li., quod Manerium cum iij virgatis terre tenent de Radulpho le Poer per seruicium ij s. per annum, Reddendorum ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Et ij s. pro hidagio ad eosdem terminos pro omni terrene seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus dimidiam virgatam terre de Elya de hydebyr'. Reddendo inde annuatim ij d. pro hidagio ad predictos ij terminos pro omni seruicio. In eodem Manerio conferunt dicti Prior et Conuentus vicariam Ecclesie que taxatur ad xls. Et valet x Marcas. Et ibidem debent dicti Prior et Conuentus cooperire Cancellam, et ornamenta Ecclesie Inuenire, et procuracionem Archidiaconi Bukk', que est vij s. vij d. ob. quad., quando eam vult recipere, in pecunia

¹ For *frater*.

numerata soluere, et alia onera ordinaria sustinere. Et ibidem nullum habent visum franci plegij, quia est infra libertatem de Eyton, vbi tenentes illius Manerij sunt in visu.

¶ Summa Redditus pro Manerio et Ecclesia soluendi xij s. v d. ob. quad.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et sunt in eodem Manerio clx acre terre arabilis in dominico.

Et valent per annum viij li., precij acre, xij d. Et valet clausum dicti Manerij, vt in Pomerio, herbagio et Curtilagio xij d. per annum. Et sunt ibi viij acre prati. Et valent per annum xij s., precij acre xvij d. Et sunt ibi viij acre pasture separalis ad aueria carucarum. Et valent per annum xij s., precij acre xvij d. Et est ibi pastura ad x vaccas. Et valet per annum x s. In Campis separabilibus et Communibus et pratis post falcacionem. Et est ibi pastura in eisdem Campis et pratis ad C bidentes. Et valet per annum vj s. viij d. Et est ibi de redditu assise liberorum tenencium, ut patet infra, xij s. xj d. Et valent Maiores decime predictae Ecclesie quam habent in proprios vsus xij li. vj s. viij d. Et tenent predicti tenentes vj mesuagia vnam virgatam terre et dimidiam et dimidiam acram prati in dominico de Manerio predicto.

¶ Summa extente xxij li. xs. vij d.

¶ De quibus retrahendi sunt xij s. v d. ob. quad., ut supra.

¶ Et sic valet de claro xxij li. ij s. j d. quad.¹

¶ Redditus Ibidem tenet Hugo Argenteim de predicto Priore vnum Mesuagium tenencium. et vnam virgatam terre, cum pertinencijs, per seruicism duorum solidorum ad duos terminos, scilicet, ad festum sancti Michaelis xij d., Et ad Pascha xij d., pro omnibus seruicijs.

¶ Item Elyas de Hydebyr' tenet in eadem villa vnum Mesuagium, cum pertinencijs, per seruicism vj d. ad predictos terminos.

¶ Idem Elyas reddit eidem Priori vj d. per annum de libera Elemosina, quos pater suus, Ricardus de Hydebyr', dedit et per Cartam suam confirmauit Prioratui sancti Bartholomei de quodam Mesuagio et dimidia virgata terre, que Rogerus Brein tenet in eadem villa, et que Willelmus Capellanus quondam tenuit, sicut patet per Cartam Ricardi de Hydebyr', quos soluit ad eosdem terminos.

¶ Item Robertus le Power tenet de eodem vnum Mesuagium, cum pertinencijs. Reddendo inde annuatim xvij d. ad eosdem terminos, pro omnibus seruicijs. Et tenet ad terminum vite sue, ut creditur. Modo Henricus Hawky'n'.

¶ Willelmus le Dun tenet dimidiam acram terre et prati in Leteburn'. Et reddit inde per annum v d. in festis sancti Andree et sancti Iohannis.

¶ Item sunt ibi tria Mesuagia iuxta Manerium que allocantur annuatim pro viij s., que tenentur ad voluntatem domini, ad iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis iiij s. iiij d.

¶ De termino sancti Andree ij s. ij d. ob.

¶ De termino Pasche iiij s. iiij d.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis ij s. ij d. ob.

¶ Summa Tocius xij s. xj d.

¹ An error of 4s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

¶ In Comitatu Bedford, Episcopatu Lincoln' et Hundredo 1.

¶ Hokline. Ibi tenent Magister et Fratres Hospitalis de Hokline de predictis Priore et Conuentu duas virgatas terre, cum pertinencijs. Reddendo inde annuatim x s. ad Pascha et ad festum sancti Michaelis.

¶ Summa redditus predicti x s. Et ballius de Mentemore percipit.

¶ In Comitatu Midd' et Gorhundredo.

¶ Totenham. Ibi tenent predicti Prior et Conuentus vnam acram prati que vocatur Micheley de dono Bartholomei filij Galfridi de Cornhull', in liberam, puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Et valet per annum iiij s. Modo 1 Pygott tenet.

Ibidem tenent ij acras prati de dono Gilberti filij Willelmi de Totenham apud Michelheye in Brademade, in liberam, puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Et valent viij s., precij acre iiij s. Modo 1 Pygott tenet.

¶ Summa valoris predicti prati xij s.

¶ Edelinton. Ibidem tenent iij Rodas prati apud Stonygate de dono Radulphi Heyron in liberam, puram et perpetuam Elemosinam. Et valet per annum iij s. Modo 1 Pygott tenet.

¶ Summa valoris prati predicti iij s.

¶ Enfeld. Ibi habent dimidiam acram prati de dono Radulphi filij Radulphi Heyron apud Stonyherst, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valet per annum ij s.

Ibidem habent dimidiam acram prati apud le Popelers de dono Willelmi quarell', In liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valet per annum ij s.

Ibidem habent j acram prati apud Milnemers de dono Willelmi de Gyvewell', In liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valet per annum iiij s.

Ibidem habent j acram prati apud Hewenwere, apud Wildemers de dono Ricardi de forde, In liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valet [per annum] iiij s.

Ibidem habent dimidiam acram prati in Wilemers apud Barbeffete de dono Iohannis filij ascon', In liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valet per annum ij s. Modo Iohannes Preston tenet.

¶ Summa valoris prati predicti xiiij s.

¶ Summa valoris tocus prati predicti xxix s. Et celerarius percipit.

¶ Cherdington. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quasdam decimas Maiores prouenientes de dominicis terris Prioris de Merton, Rectoris eiusdem Ecclesie, que taxantur ad xxij s. iiij d. ob. Et valent per annum xxvj s. viij d. De dono quondam Alani Dapipere de vna carucata terre. Quondam Thomas Bokland, et modo Edwardus Bokland soluit per annum v s.

¶ Summa valoris decimarum predictarum xxvj s. viij d. ¶ Et Celerarius percipit.

1 Blank.

¶ In Comitatu Midd', Hundredo de Odelston', Episcopatu London',
et Archidiaconatu London'.

¶ Iseldon'. Ibi habent dicti prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium vocatum Iseldon, quod tenent de Edmundo de Berners pro iiij s. soluendis ad festum sancti Michaelis et Pascha, pro omni seruicio, saluo forinceco seruicio inde debito, videlicet, ij s. ix d. ob. quad., soluendis annuatim Episcopo London', de quo dictus Edmundus tenet ad Custodiam Castri de Stertford ad tres terminos infrascriptos, videlicet, die sancti Andree Apostoli xj d. quad. Et die Annunciationis beate Marie virginis xj d. quad. Et die Natiuitatis beate Marie virginis xj d. quad. Quod seruicium dictus Edmundus vsus est percipere ad dictos terminos, et vltius soluere Balliuo¹ Episcopi. Et tenetur dictum Manerium pro octaua parte vnus feodi Militis de Edmundo predicto. Et nullum habent ibi visum quia omnes tenentes sui sunt in visu Episcopi London' apud Stebenhede.

¶ Summa Redditus soluti pro Manerio predicto vj s. ix d. ob. quad.

¶ Extenta. Et sunt in Manerio predicto clvij acre terre arabilis et dimidia.

Et valent per annum lxxviiij s. vj d., precij acre vj d. Et valet clausum dicti Manerij, cum Curtilagio et herbagio, ij s. Et sunt ibi tres acre et tres rode prati. Et valent per annum xj s. iiij d., precij acre iiij s. Et sunt ibi iiij acre pasture separalis ad aueria carucarum et vaccas, preter vias circa blada. Et valent per annum viij s., precij acre ij s. Et sunt ibi xxx acre pasture separalis. Et valent per annum xv s., precij acre v d. [*sic*] ad bidentes. Item pastura in Campis separabilibus et arabilibus valet v s., que cum pastura predicta sufficit ad v̄x bidentes. Et est ibi de redditu assise de liberis tenentibus et villanis xxxj s. ix d., que soluuntur ad iiij^{or} terminos, ut patet infra. Et valent placita et perquisita Curie per annum iiij s. Et valent opera Customariorum ibidem per annum iiij s. j d. Et valent vnus Capo et ix Galline xij d. ob. Et tenet ibidem Thomas sefoule, solus liber tenens, vnum Mesuagium et xxxix acras terre in dominico per seruicium xvj^{te} partis vnus feodi Militis. Et pro x s. vj d. annuatim, ut patet infra. Item tenent ibidem villani et liberi de villenagio in dominico xvij Mesuagia et xij acras et iiij rodas terre.

¶ Summa extente vij li. xix s. viij d. ob. De quibus retrahendi sunt vj s. ix d. ob. quad.

¶ Et sic valet de claro vij li. xij s. xj d. ob. quad.

¶ Redditus Ibidem tenent Thomas Sefoule de predictis Priore et Conuentu et seruicia. j Mesuagium vocatum solell', modo in manus domini, per seruicium xvj^{te} partis vnus feodi Militis. Et reddendo annuatim x s. vj d., videlicet, ad festum sancti Michaelis iiij s. iiij d., Et ad Natale domini ij s., Et ad Pascha iiij s. iiij d., Et ad Natiuitatem sancti Iohannis ij s. Et debet facere duas sectas per annum.

¶ Villani. ¶ Ricardus de la pyry tenet ij Mesuagia et v acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. vj d. ob. Ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha, Et ad Natale domini iiij gallinas. Et debet facere viij sartluras² et vij precarias autumpnales.

¹ Bailiff.

² For viij *sarculaturas* = 8 days' work at weeding.

¶ Secta. ¶ Alicia Pyry tenet j mesuagium et j acram terre et dimidiam. Et debet per annum xv d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ad Natale domini ipsa, simul cum Ricardo predicto, soluet duas de predictis quatuor gallinis. Et faciet ij sarcluras ¹ et ij precarias autumpnales.

¶ Secta. ¶ Thomas le Woder tenet ij Mesuagia et iij rodas terre. Et debet inde per annum ix d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et j gallinam ad Natale. Et debet facere duas sarcluras et ij precarias in autumpno.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iohannes le Gardiner tenet j Mesuagium. Et debet inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et debet facere ij precarias in autumpno.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iordanus Frere, Stephanus et Ricardus, fratres eius, et Iohannes Wantoghen' tenent coniunctim vnum Mesuagium et j rodam terre. Et debent inde per annum iij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et debent facere duas sarcluras et duas precarias autumpnales.

¶ Secta. ¶ Gilbertus le Cornmanger tenet j Mesuagium et iij rodas terre. Et debet inde per annum x d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et j gallinam ad Natale, cum predictis iij^{bus} fratribus. Et debet facere duas sarcluras et ij precarias autumpnales.

¶ Secta. ¶ Mauricius Attecherch' et Walterus Ruerwyn ² tenent separatim j Mesuagium. Et debent inde per annum xvij d. ad predictos ij terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Thomas le Woder tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre et dimidiam. Et debet inde per annum iij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et j Caponem ad Natale domini. Et debet facere duas sarcluras et duas precarias in autumpno.

¶ Secta. ¶ Willelmus le Here tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre et dimidiam. Et reddit inde per annum iij d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ij sarcluras et ij precarias autu[m]pnales.

¶ Mauricius attecherch' tenet j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum iij d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iohannes Culman tenet j Mesuagium. Et debet inde per annum iij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Nunc tenet Willelmus Lorymer.

¶ Willelmus de Chelmersford tenet j Mesuagium de tenemento predicti Willelmi le Here et ipse illud acquietat. Willelmus Brew nunc tenet, et reddit inde per annum ij d.

¶ Iohannes le Tolingdon tenet j Mesuagium. Et debet inde per annum iij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ij precarias in autumpno.

¶ Alicia Holewey tenet j Mesuagium. Et debet inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Nunc tene[n]t Iohannes Cocus et Iohannes Chesman.

¶ Secta. ¶ Silvester de Somerset tenet j Mesuagium. Et debet inde per annum vj d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos. Nunc tenet Iohannes Bausun.

¶ Secta. ¶ Iohannes Lumbard tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et debet inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ad natale domini

¹ = *sarculaturas*.

² MS. *Rūwyn*.

ij gallinas, cum Matilda infrascripta, parcenaria sua. Et ij sarcluras et ij precarias autumpnales. Nunc tenet Robertus le Carter.

¶ Matilda filia Benedicte [*sic*] tenet dimidiam acram terre. Et debet inde per annum iiij d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos. Et facit gallinas et precarias¹ cum predicto Iohanne. Modo Lucas Mantem.

¶ Willelmus Campayne tenet dimidiam acram terre. Et debet inde per annum j d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos. Et j gallinam ad Natale cum Ricardo attepyr', parcenario suo. Et debet cum eodem facere j sarcluram et j precariam autumpnalem.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis viij s. x d. ob.

¶ De termino Natalis ij s. ¶ Vnus capo ix galline.

¶ Summa termini Pasche viij s. x d. ob.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis ij s.

¶ Summa tocius redditus xxj s. ix d.

¶ Et vnus capo, ix galline, precij xiiij d. ob.

¶ Summa operum predictorum ad sarclandum xxiiij, precij cuiuslibet ob.

¶ Et valent xj d. ob.

¶ Summa operum eorundem in autumpno xxvj, precij cuiuslibet j d. ob.

¶ Et valent iiij s. iiij d.

¶ Summa valoris operum predictorum, Caponum et Gallinarum v s. ij d. ob.

¶ Ricardus de la pyry tenet ibidem xx acras terre que vocatur Randulfesfeld ad terminum xv annorum, per dimissionem Prioris et Celerarij, per Rotulum Curie, vbi patet terminus et dimissio. Reddendo inde annuatim vij s. vj d. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos; et Ballius recipit.

¶ Molendinum. ¶ Ibidem habent dicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Molendinum ventriceum. Et valet per annum xls. Et celerarius percipit.

¶ Summa patet.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Hendon'. Ibi tenet Robertus Robert j Mesuagium suum Capitale de predicto Priore et Conuentu et dimidiam virgatam terre. Reddendo inde annuatim iiij s. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales. Modo Willelmus Robert. Et Celerarius percipit.

Summa iiij s.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Northall'. Ibi tenent Magistri et Fratres sancti Thome de Acon' de predictis Priore et Conuentu vnam virgatam terre vocatam Lachefeldis ex opposito Manerij eorundem fratrum. Reddendo inde annuatim vj s. vj d. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Et Celerarius percipit.

¶ In Comitatu Midd', In Gorehundredo, Episcopatu London', Archidiaconatu Midd'.

¶ Stanmer Ibi habent Prior et Conuentus sancti Bartholomei London' Manerium de Stanmer parua, cum advocacione ecclesie eiusdem ville, quam habent in proprios vsus, et est de sancto Laurencio, que

¹ MS. *preca*?

taxatur secundum Episcopum Walterum ad xxx s. Et ad verum valorem secundum vltimam taxationem ad xl s. Et non valet nisi xx solidos annuatim, saluo seruicio Capellani deseruiantis eandem, ac procuracione Archidiaconi, et Priori et Conuentui decimis suis Maioribus et Minoribus de Manerio et dominicis suis contingentibus. Et est ibi quoddam Molendinum ad ventum de quo patebit infra. Et tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus dictum Manerium cum advocacione ecclesie predicte de domino Rege in Capite per seruicium vnus feodi Militis, cum acciderit, set inde quieti esse debent, videlicet, de Scutagio per Cartas Regum Anglie. De quo Manerio Willelmus Pipard et Willelmus atte graue tenent vnam Carucatam terre et dimidiam, per seruicium quinte partis vnus feodi. Et Iohannes Barneville vnam Carucatam per viij partem vnus feodi Militis. Et Radulphus de la penne, Ricardus de Bereford, Iohannes Pers et Willelmus Pipard de terra andree le bel', et Willelmus attestrete tenent in eos separatim C acras de eodem feodo pro viij parte vnus feodi. Et tenent alij tenentes in villenagio de eodem Manerio, ut patebit infra particulariter, xiiij Mesuagia, lxxxxiiij acras terre et dimidiam, et vij acras prati et dimidiam, et j acram pasture, pro viij^a parte vnus feodi. Et habebunt ibidem dicti Prior et Conuentus visum franci plegij de tota villata illa, quem tenent annuatim die Iouis ante septimanam Pentecostes, vbi dant domino Regi annuatim ij s. pro visu. Et nullas dant in eodem Manerio decimas Maiores nec Minores, quia est in sua parochia propria cuius Ecclesiam habent in proprios vsus.

¶ Summa redditus soluti pro Manerio predicto ij s.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et sunt ibi de terra arabili clvj acre, et valent xxxix s., precij acre iij d. Et valet clausum Manerij, cum Curtilagio [et] herbagio, xij d. Et sunt ibi lvj acre bosci et dimidia. Et valet subboscus inde per annum xiiij s. j d. ob., precij acre iij d. Et sunt ibi apud Lugpyt et pyrifeld liiij acre pasture separalis pro vaccis et aueriis Carucarum. Et valent per annum ix s., precij acre ij d. Et sunt ibi apud Grymesdich' et iuxta Molendinum cxiiij acre pasture separalis pro bouettis.¹ Et valent xix s. iiij d., precij acre ij d. Et est ibi pastura in Campis separabilibus et communibus ad cxl bidentes. Et valet per annum v s. Et est ibi de redditu assise de liberis et villanis, ut patebit infra, lxvij s. ix d., quos soluunt ad iiij^{or} terminos. Et valent opera et seruicia Custumariorum ibidem iiij s. ix d. ob., cum redditu gallinarum. Et ibidem habet dictus Prior visum franci plegij, ut supradictum est, vbi Capitales plegij dant annuatim ij s. de certo fine arentato pro visu. Et valent placita et perquisita Curie ibidem per annum iij s. Et tenent ibidem libere [sic] tenentes in dominico, ut patebit infra, vj Mesuagia et iij Carucatas terre. Et liberi et serui in villenagio, ut patebit ibidem, xiiij Mesuagia, lxxxxiiij acras terre et dimidiam, vij acras prati et dimidiam, et vnam acram pasture.

¶ Summa extente x li. ix s. xj d. De quibus retrahendi sunt ij s. soluti pro dicto visu, ut supra.

¶ Et sic valet de claro, preter ecclesiam et Molendinum, x li. x s. vj d. ¶ Vnde balliuus respondet.

¹ Heifers.

¶ Ecclesia. Et est ibi quedam ecclesia, quam habent in proprios vsus, que taxatur secundum Episcopum Walterum ad xxx s. Et secundum vltimam taxationem xl s. Et valet per annum xx s., preter stipendium domini Capellani deseruiantis eandem, et pro Curia archidiaconi que procur' est vj s. viij d. Et celerarius recipit.

¶ Summa valoris Ecclesie xx s.

¶ Molendinum. ¶ Et est ibi quoddam Molendinum ventriceum quod valet per annum xlvj s. viij d. ad firmam. Et celerarius recipit.

¶ Summa valoris Molendini xlvj s. viij d.

¶ In eodem Manerio infrascripto sunt tenentes.

¶ Tenentes de Feodo Iohannis Barneville.

¶ Ricardus Moredon tenet vnum Mesuagium et viij acras terre lib'.¹ Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad iiij^{or} terminos vsuales equaliter.

¶ Iohannes Gold tenet modo vnum Mesuagium quondam vocatum Pernelwyk. Et reddit per annum iij d. ad festum sancti Michaelis.

¶ Item heres Ade Carpenter et heres Willelmi Hayward tenent alteram Medietatem et reddunt inde per annum iij d., set modo in manus domini.

¶ Item Willelmus Goold tenet j Mesuagium continens j acram terre, cum pastura adiacente, et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad iiij^{or} terminos. Item ij sarclaturas² ante prandium et ij in omnibus alijs consuetudinibus, sicut Iohannes Reve et Iohannes Salman, excepto quod habebit seruisium ad sectam precar', et quod non herciabit³ nec veniet ad precariam Domine.

¶ Liberi ¶ Willelmus de la grave tenet de terra quondam Roberti Dorsent tenentes. j peciam terre que continet vj acras. Et reddit per annum ij d. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha. Et ad scutagium quadrantem, ad plus et ad minus. Sed dictum redditum soluit annuatim Capelle sancti Bartholomei die eiusdem sancti. Modo in manus domini.

¶ Willelmus Goold tenet v acras terre de terra vocata Pipardis, per Rotulum Curie, iacentes apud Grenelane ij acras, et apud Vmfreyeslane ij acras, et reddit per annum iij s. iiij d.

¶ Willelmus Pipard tenet de eadem terra vj acras. Et reddit inde per annum ij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ad scutagium, quando currit,⁴ quadrantem, ad maius et ad minus, et soluit Capelle.

¶ Item predictus Willelmus Goold tenet ij acras de terra Willelmi Atte grave apud Vmfreyeslane. Et reddit per annum viij d.

¶ Predicti Willelmus de la grave et Willelmus Pipard tenent de predictis Priore et Conuentu vnam Carucatam terre et dimidiam, que fuit quondam Willelmi de Parys per homagium et seruisium quinte partis vnus feodi Militis, quando scutagium currit. Modo in manus domini.

¶ Item Thomas Peris tenet vij acras de terra Willelmi de la grave iacentes apud le grenelane, et reddit per annum iij s. x d.

¹ *Liber* meaning Richard Moredon.

³ Harrow.

² MS. *Sarclat'*.

⁴ For *occurrit*.

¶ Iohannes Barneville tenet de eodem Priore et Conuentu j Carucatam terre per homagium et viij partem vnus feodi Militis ad scutagium, quando currit. Modo in manus domini.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus Page tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum ij s. vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Willelmus Page.

Secta. ¶ Iohannes Pers tenet j Mesuagium et xv acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et veniet cum ij hominibus ad magnam precariam autumpnalem, et ipse ibit vltra ipsos et omnes alios ad supervidendum quod bene faciant. Et si male egerint amerciabitur pro eis, si dominus voluerit. Et idem Iohannes habebit prandium suum ter in die, scilicet, ad Gentaculum, Panem, seruiciam,¹ et Caseum. Et ad nonam panem, ceruisiam, potagium et ij fercula, Carnem et Caseum. Et ad vesperam habebit Communiter sicut alij Messores. Item habebit j hominem ad precariam domine. Et ipse veniet ad Cenam suam ad vesperam ad talem corrodium sicut alij messores.

¶ Secta bis. ¶ Willelmus pipard tenet j Mesuagium et xij acras terre que fuerunt Andree Revell' que vocatur vndemslond.² Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos ij terminos. Et habebit ad magnam precariam autumpnalem ij homines. Et ad precariam domine j hominem, et faciet et habebit sicut predictus Iohannes Pers. Modo in manus domini.

¶ Willelmus attistret tenet xxiiij acras terre de feodo Bokenute per Cartam. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. vj d. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales. Modo in manus domini.

¶ Idem Willelmus tenet sine Carta, ut dum [?],³ de eodem feodo vij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xvj d. ad predictos ij terminos, sed reperitur quod tenet per Cartam.

¶ Willelmus Pipard tenet ij acras terre de eodem feodo per Cartam, que fuerunt Willelmi Cryps. Et reddit inde per annum j d. ad festum sancti Michaelis.

¶ Walterus filius Iohannis Chesman tenet iiij acras terre de eodem feodo sine Carta. Et reddit inde per annum xxij d. ad predictos ij terminos Modo Willelmus Bussch'.

¶ Villani. ¶ Willelmus Page tenet ij acras prati apud Horscroft. Et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo in manus Domini.

¶ Idem Willelmus tenet v acras terre apud Brokholes. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Willelmus Page.

Secta bis. ¶ Willelmus Pipard tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre de terra Wlcheri. Et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini.

¶ Idem Willelmus tenet iiij acras terre de nouo captas de domino, iacentes contra Bevell', extendentes de Manerio vsque viam versus Watford. Et reddit inde xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini.

¹ = *cervisiam*, beer.

² MS. *vndemslond* may be for *vndenislond*.

³ MS. *dū* may be mistake for *dīc* = *dicit*.

Secta. ¶ Thomas Frere et Iulianus Frere tenent in Comuni ij Mesuagia et viij acras terre quas Willelmus Barcarius prius tenuit. Et reddit inde per annum vj s. ad predictos iiij terminos. Item duas saracturas¹ ante prandium. Et si dominus voluerit saracturam suam post prandium Inueniet ei cibum suum. Item iuuabit levare fenum domini per duos dies ante prandium et similiter post prandium si Inuenerit ei cibum. Item Inueniet ei duos homines per duos dies ad duas sectas precar' domini, scilicet, vtraque [*sic*] die vnum hominem ad cibum domini ad vnum refectum in die, scilicet, panem, potagium, vnum ferculum, et Caseum. Et ad duas precarias dabuntur vtroque [*sic*] die omnibus Messoribus de sua condicione metentibus duos denarios de argento domini ad potum illorum. Item herciabit per vnum diem ad cibum domini, si habet equum. Item veniet ad Magnam precariam autumpnalem ad duos refectus domini in die cum vno homine, scilicet, pane[m], potagium, vnum ferculum, et Caseum ad nonam. Et ad vesperam, panem, seruisiā, potagium, vnum ferculum, Morterellos et Caseum. Et secundum quod panis eorum erit integer de frumento.

¶ Item venient ad precariam domine eodem modo ad omnia sicut ad Magnam precariam predictam.

Secta. ¶ Rogerus le Wederherd tenet j Mesuagium et iiij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xvj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et faciet omnia que predictus Thomas et Iulianus facit [*sic*] preter herciaturam.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus Vykeri tenet j Mesuagium et iiij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit in omnibus sicut predictus Thomas. Modo Willelmus Atte strate tenet terciam partem predicti Mesuagij. Et reddit per annum iij s. Et Willelmus Tornour partem illius Mesuagij, et reddit per annum xx d. Et Stephanus Reynold j parcellam, et reddit per annum xvj d. Et Iohannes Roose tenet residuum dicti Mesuagij et iiij acras terre, reddendo per annum ij s. Et facit in omnibus sicut predictus Iohannes Reve et Iohannes Salman'.

Secta. ¶ Galfridus Faber tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo continetur in toto tenemento Wilry² diu[i]so vt supra, et predicta terra cum terra supra.

Secta. ¶ Rogerus Colot tenet de tenemento Beatricis Bigge j Mesuagium et iij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum x d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit seruicium sicut predictus Thomas. Modo tenet Thomas Colot idem Mesuagium et j acram terre iuxta idem Mesuagium et ij acras terre in Horscroft in manus domini, et reddit per annum vj d., et facit opera predicta.

Secta. ¶ Idem Rogerus tenet x acras terre et j acram prati et dimidiam. Et reddit inde per annum v s. vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et Inueniet tres homines ad sarclandum. Et iij ad fenum colligendum. Et iij in autumpno, sicut predictus Thomas.

¶ Agnes Henedes tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum xvj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et Inueniet j hominem ad sarclandum. Et j ad fenum colligendum. Et j ad fenum Metendum in autumpno ad cibum domini, sicut predictus Thomas.

¹ Probably for *sarculaturas*.

² For Vykeri.

Secta. ¶ Iohannes in le Hale tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et ipse, simul cum I. de Colecestre et Willelmo Brunote, tenentes [*sic*] partem illius Mesuagij, facit seruicia que predictus Thomas facit.

Secta. ¶ Iohannes de Colecestre tenet partem illius Mesuagij. Et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit seruicia cum predicto Iohanne.

¶ Willelmus Brunnote tenet partem illius Mesuagij. Et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit seruicia cum illo Iohanne.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus Brunnote tenet j Mesuagium et ix acras terre, et reddit inde per annum ij s. x d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit omnia seruicia sicut predictus Thomas.

¶ Idem Willelmus tenet xvj acras terre, iij acras prati et j acram pasture de nouo captas de domino. Et reddit inde per annum xj s. viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et Inueniet ij homines ad sarclandum. Et ij homines ad fenum colligendum. Et ij homines ad Metendum in autumpno, ad cibum domini, sicut predictus Ricardus.

¶ Walterus filius Iohannis Chesman' tenet j Mesuagium, et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit omnia seruicia que predictus Thomas facit.

Secta. ¶ Iohannes le Hayward tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre de tenemento Bokonit. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et debet sarclare per iiij^{or} dies cum vno homine. Et debet leuare fenum per iiij^{or} dies ad vnum repastum sicut sarclare. Et debet Inuenire j hominem ad viij precarias autumpni ad cibum domini. Et si habeat ¹ debet herciare bis in yeme ² et bis in xl^a.³ Et ij gallinas et j gallum ad Natale. Modo Walterus Baker tenet parcellam Mesuagij et j acram terre, et reddit viij d. per annum.

¶ Robertus attestone tenet parcellam dicti Mesuagij et j acram terre, reddendo per annum viij d. Et predictus Walterus Baker tenet parcellam dicti Mesuagij, et reddit per annum viij d. Et Rogerus Claydon' tenet parcellam dicti Mesuagij, et reddit per annum xx d. Et Iuliana Smyth' tenet parcellam dicti Mesuagij, et reddit per annum ¹ Et faciant inter se omnia predicta seruicia.

¶ Idem Iohannes tenet vj acras terre in Campo vocato Hountemusfeld. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo in manus Willelmi Gold ad terminum vite sue pro x s. iiij d. per annum.

¶ Idem Iohannes tenet j acram terre et dimidiam in Horscroft. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Iohannes ¹ ad firmam pro xij d. per annum.

Secta. ¶ Adam Russell' tenet iiij acras terre de tenemento Iohannis le Carpentarij. Et reddit per annum xvj d. ad predictos ij terminos, et facit omnia seruicia sicut predictus Thomas. Modo Willelmus Goold per concessionem Prioris pro xvj d. per annum, pro omnibus seruicijs.

¹ Blank.

² Winter.

³ Quadragesima.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus de Essexia tenet j acram terre quod [*sic*] fuit quondam lucie salery, et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et facit j sarclaturam. Et Inueniet j hominem ad leuacionem feni. Et veniet ad Magnam precariam autumpnalem et ad precariam domini, sicut predictus Thomas.

¶ Et sciendum quod omnes predicti villani debent sequi [ad] Curiam de tribus septimanibus in tres septimanas. Et de liberis tenentibus Willelmus Page et Iohannes Pers, sicut predicti villani. Et Willelmus Pipard pro terra quondam Wlcheri bis per annum, scilicet, ad visum et ad proximam Curiam post festum sancti Michaelis. Et sciendum quod omnes predicti villani pannabunt porcos suos quos habent, licet non venerint per dominicas terras domini. Et si venerint eodem modo, Et dabunt pro porco etatis vnus anni j d. Et si sit etatis dimidij anni, obolum. Et si porci liberorum tenencium predictorum venerint super dominicas terras predictas pannabunt sicut alij vel satisfacient pro transgressionibus factis. Et omnes Custumarij predicti habebunt coniunctim ad Magnam precariam domini, si dominus eam habere voluerit, viij galons [*sic*] Ceruisie post prandium.

¶ Ibidem tenet Willelmus Brunnote xj acras terre et j acram prati que vocatur Le Stane, per Rotulum Curie, per dimissionem Celerarij per Rotulum Curie [*sic*], ut patet ibidem. Reddendo inde annuatim viij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Summa Redditus termini Michaelis xx s. iiij d.

¶ De termino Natalis xij s. ij d. ob., ij galline et j gallum [*sic*].

¶ De termino Pasche xix s. xj d.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis xij s. ij d. ob.

¶ Summa tocus redditus predicti lxvij s. ix d. Et ij galline et j gallum [*sic*], precij iiij d.

¶ Summa operum Custumariorum ad sarclandum xxij, precij cuiuslibet ob. ¶ Et valent xj d.

¶ Summa operum eorundum ad fenum colligendum xxij, precij cuiuslibet ob. ¶ Et valent xj d.

¶ Summa operum eorundem ad herciendum xj, precij cuiuslibet ob. ¶ Et valent de hijs qui habent equos v d. ob.

¶ Summa operum eorundem in autumpno ad ij siccas precarias xxvj, precij cuiuslibet j d. ¶ Et valent ij s. ij d.

¶ Summa operum eorundem ad ij magnas precarias domini et domine xxviij. Et nihil valent quia plus capiunt quam valent.

¶ Summa valoris omnium operum custumariorum predictorum, cum redditu gallinarum, iiij s. ix d. ob.

¶ Consuetu- Memorandum quod predicti villani habent omnes Consuetudines. dines quas et illi de Manerio de Langele habent, hoc excepto, quod vidue, post mortem virorum suorum, non tenebunt ad vitam suam nisi terciam partem tenementorum de quibus viri sui obierunt seisiti.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Idelstre. Ibi habent dicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium quod vocatur Idelstre, de quo Manerio tenent situm cum l acris terre, ix acris bosci et dimidia, et sex acris prati, que sunt de villata de Eggewere, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam, de dono Philippi, quondam Comitis Sarum, nunc de Comitissa Lincoln', que est heres illius Comitis. Et tenent spectantes ad dictum Manerium de feodo de Stanmer parua, de domino Rege per seruicium Militare, cl acras terre, tres acras bosci, Et iiij acras prati. Et est summa predictæ terre cc acre, que valent per annum l s., precij acre iij d. Et est summa predicti bosci xij acre et dimidia, et valet subboscus inde per annum vj s. j d. ob., precij acre vj d. Et est summa prati predicti x acre. Et valent per annum x s., precij acre xij d. Et est ibi de redditu assise liberorum tenencium vij s. vij d., quos soluunt ad iiij^{or} terminos. Et valent ibidem iij opera que Iohannes Palmer facere debet j d. ob. Et tenent ibidem predicti liberi tenentes in dominico v Mesuagia, xiiij acras terre et dimidiam de feodo de Eggewere qui tenentes sunt in visu dictorum Prioris et Conuentus apud Stanmer parua.

¶ Summa extente lxxiiij s. x d.

¶ Aldnam. Ibi habent duas Croftas iacentes in parochia de Boshey, et reddunt per annum ij s. vj d. in festo sancti Bartholomei ad capella [*sic*] de Idelstre.

¶ Redditus et seruicia. Ibidem tenet ricardus ad ecclesiam¹ vij acras in le Marlinges reddendo inde xvij d. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos.

¶ Ibidem tenet Iohannes Palmer j Mesuagium et ij acras terre, et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo Walterus Lepere et heres Thome Ward.

¶ Idem Iohannes tenet ibidem cum carta v acras terre et dimidiam de nouo captas. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. ij d. ob. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et tria opera, vnum ad sarclandum, aliud ad fenum colligendum, tercium in autumpno. Modo heres predictæ [*sic*] Thome Ward, et reddit per annum iij s. pro omnibus seruicijs, et j parcellam edificatam super dictam terram iacentem in manus domini post mortem Radulphi Atstone, et solet reddere xij d. per annum.

¶ Willelmus attecans tenet j Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum xiiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Ricardus de Berford tenet j Mesuagium quod fuit Ricardi de Marisco. Et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos; nunc tenet Ricardus Skynner. Modo heres Iohannis Skynner.

¶ Idem Ricardus debet pro j Mesuagio quod vocatur Coppedehall' iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Nunc tenet illud Willelmus Kynge.

¶ Ricardus le Skynner tenet j Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum obolum ad festum sancti Michaelis.

¶ Et Memorandum quod omnes predicti tenentes debent pannare porcos suos sicut illi de Stanmer in eodem precio.

¹ May be for Richard Attechurch.

¶ Walterus Lepere pro j placea terre intra Mesuagium Thome Ward xvj d. per annum ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Summa redditus predicti vij s. vij d.

¶ Capella. Ibidem habent predicti Prior et Conuentus vnam Capellam infra Curiam suam, vbi veniunt oblaciones die sancti Bartholomei. Et valent per annum xxiiij s.

¶ Summa valoris Capelle predictae xxiiij s. Et celerarius percipit.

In Comitatu Hertford' et eodem Hundredo.

¶ Amwell'. In villa de Amwell' tenent predicti Prior et Conuentus vj acras prati, quarum v acre iacent in prato quod vocatur Brademedede, et sunt de feodo Albatis de Waltham. Et tenentur de philippo de Hertford in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et vna acra iacet sub villa Hertford In prato quod vocatur Bassemede in Wydemeryse. Et tenetur de predicto Philippo in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et est de feodo Philippi Basse. Et valent predictae v acre prati per annum xv s., precij acre iij s.

¶ Summa valoris prati predicti xv s. ¶ Celerarius percipit.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Pont'tegule. Ibi tenet Willelmus de Gollington' de predictis Priore et Conuentu vnum granarium, vnde reddere debet per annum xvij d. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha.

¶ Summa xvij d. ¶ Et Celerarius percipit.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo, et Episcopatu Lincoln'.

¶ De istis debetur homagium.

¶ Hertford Ibi habent dicti Prior et Conuentus redditus de tenentibus infra-extra burgum. Ibi sunt de dono Magistri Alexandri de Scherford. Et sunt de feodo domini Regis, Abbatis de Waltham et Iohannis de la Mare. Et de istis cadit homagium in Amwell'.

¶ De Magistro Roberto Dubayle vj s. iiij d. de decem acris terre Iacentibus particulariter, quarum vna dola vocatur Longevaley, et alia que iacet inter terram Prioris de Hertford, ex vna parte, et terram predicti Roberti, ex altera, que quidem terra fuit quondam Normannj, etc. Et alia dola que vocatur foulegateshalk iacent' [sic] in Watcroft. Et alia dola continet dimidium acram et iacet iuxta retrewey. Et alia que continet in se quatuor acras iacet inter terram Prioris de Hertford, ex parte vna, et terram Edmundi Clowe, ex altera. Et de duobus messuagijs iuxta Mesuagium dicti Roberti. Et de vno Curtilagio quod Iacet inter Curtilagium Osberti Canon et Curtilagium Odem Pelecot, que fuit quondam Rogeri Berold.

¶ De Iohanne Attereschis viij d. de iiij^{or} acris terre Iacentibus iuxta Lonerondane in longitudine.

¶ De Bartholomeo Thomas j denarium vel vnum par cyrotecharum ad Pascha de vj acris terre Iacentibus in Campo vocato Middilfeld inter terram Ricardi le Ferrou, ex parte vna, et terram Iohannis le blund, ex altera.

¶ De Willelmo le Blunt vj d. de duabus acris terre Iacentibus inter terram

Fratrum Trinitatis de Hertford et terram que fuit quondam Simonis Ieremye, ex altera.

¶ De heredibus Simonis Geremyas ix d. de vno Curtilagio iuxta domum Willelmi Dolfyn, et de iiij^{or} acris terre Iacentibus particulariter quarum due acre iacent iuxta regale chiminum¹ versus hospitale sancti Trinitatis Hertford.

¶ De Priore de Hertford x d. de vno Curtilagio et iiij^{or} acris terre Iacentibus particulariter super Asschborn' et Sinegodeswell'.

¶ De Iohanne le Peneter vj d. de j Curtilagium quod iacet inter Curtilagium Magistri Roberti Dabaylle quod de nobis tenet pro tanto seruicio, ex parte vna, et Curtilagium Simonis Germyas, ex altera.

¶ De Osberto Canon xij d. de vno Curtilagio Iacente inter Curtilagium Magistri Roberti Dubaylle [*sic*], ex parte vna, et cursum aque que vocatur Asscheborn'.

¶ De Iohanne de Westrete xij d. de quadam domo iuxta domum Willelmi Dolfyn', ex parte vna, et terram Simonis Germyas, ex altera, que fuit quondam Willelmi le boteler.

¶ De Willelmo Russell' iij d. ob. de j Mesuagio et iiij acris terre et dimidia, que fuerunt Rogeri de Chepman, quod quidem Mesuagium est situm in parochia Omnium sanctorum iuxta Mesuagium quod fuit quondam Gylberti Cole, que debet per annum ij d. Et predicta terra est in Manu Moricij Weylond per wardam cuiusdam heredis infra etatem, et debet per annum j d. ob.

¶ De Bartholomeo Thomas j par cirotecharum ad Pascha pro vj acris terre, que fuerunt Willelmi le Blunt.

¶ De heredibus Roberti de Munden xij d. de iiij^{or} acris terre Iacentibus particulariter.

¶ De Ricardo de Mymmes iiij d. de vna acra terre Iacente inter terram Edmundi Clowe, ex parte vna, et terram Simonis Germyas, ex altera, que fuit Thome Isebert.

¶ De Magistro Willelmo le ken et Emma, vxore eius, de ij acris prati et vno Curtilagio, quas Thomas le sauser tenet, vj d.

¶ De Simone Germyas xxj d. ob. de vno Curtilagio et ij acris terre et dimidia Iacentibus particulariter, quarum quedam pars iacet inter terram Iohannis de Bandak', ex parte vna, et terram quondam Simonis le Warener, ex altera, et abuttant super Regale Chiminum, que terra fuit quondam Stephani filij Warini.

¶ Isti redditus sunt infra burgum de Hertford', de quibus non cadit Homagium.

¶ Hertford ¶ De Mesuagio in quo manet Benedictus le Taylour quod fuit infra bur- Ricardi Marlyn', viij d.
gum. ¶ De Radulpho Mody x d. de vno Mesuagio inter Mesuagium quod

fuit quondam Nigelli de Maraschall' et mesuagium Petri Alwell', etc., et quod tenet Robertus de Hytche.

¶ De tenemento quod fuit quondam Gilberti Cok' in foro de Hertford ijs., vnde Gilbertus le Cutiller tenet j shoppam. Et reddit inde per annum viij d.

¹ The King's highway.

Et Agnes Otemer aliam schoppam, et reddit viij d. Et Agnes le poletter tenet terciam schoppam, et reddit per annum viij d.

¶ De tenemento quod fuit quondam Alicie Tull' xij d., vnde Matilda Serkes tenet j Mesuagium, et reddit per annum viij d. ¶ Et Moricius Weylond aliud Mesuagium quod fuit Osberti Attelane, et soluit iiij d., sed non debet homagium.

¶ De Bartholomeo le Fysscher xij d. de vno Mesuagio quod fuit quondam philippi le Taylour.

¶ De Willelmo Freberd j d. de quodam Curtilagio quod fuit Ricardi Carectarij.

¶ De Hugone de Mereden' de Mesuagio vocato pesmerschall' quod fuit Ade de Coubrigge, ij s. vj d.

¶ De Waltero Fraunceis ij s. de Mesuagio quondam Iohannis le Taylour, quod fuit Willelmi de Elmham.

¶ De Henrico Neel xij d. de vno Mesuagio iuxta pontem quod modo tenet Matilda, vxor eius.

¶ De Reginaldo Mullok' vj d. de dimidia acra Iacente in Bailhawa.

¶ De Willelmo Freberd ij d. de Mesuagio suo quod fuit Alicie de quenehawe.

¶ De Simone Belebrace xvj d. de quodam Mesuagio quod fuit quondam Willelmi Bosme extra barram versus la Sole [*sic*].

¶ De Hugone Crapoun j d. de quodam Mesuagio iuxta Mesuagium Iohannis Euessone, ex parte vna, et Mesuagium Roberti de Hetch'.

¶ De Hugone le Chapman' de quodam Curtilagio quod fuit Iohannis Sittfast iuxta Crucem lapideam, viij d.

¶ De herede Henrici Prest xvij d. de quodam Mesuagio iuxta barram de la Sele [*sic*], quod modo tenet Ricardus persone.

¶ De Thoma le Saucer vj d. de quadam Crofta in Hurham quod fuit quondam Alexandri le Portereue.

¶ De Magistro Willelmo le ken vnum par Citrothecarum vel ij d. de quodam tenemento quod fuit quondam Rogeri le Taylour. Et de duobus Croftis in parochia beate Marie parue iuxta Regale Chyminum versus Hertham.

¶ De Waltero Smerfat iiij d. de vno Curtilagio quod Walterus Fraunceis tenet, et Iacet proximum venelle¹ que ducit versus le kermilne.²

¶ De herede Willelmi Staloun viij d. de vno Curtilagio quod vocatur la brodehawe quod Simon le folour tenet.

¶ De tenemento quod fuit Hugonis de la Sele ij d.

¶ De Roberto Grapoun j d. de quodam Mesuagio iuxta Mesuagium Iohannis Emmesone in parochia Monachorum Hertford' infra barram versus hospitale, et Mesuagium Roberti de Hitche quod fuit quondam Willelmi Henteloue, ex altera [*sic*].

¶ De Reginaldo Mullok iiij d. de quadam pecia terre in bailhawe que vocatur Foubressches.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xvj s. vj d. ob.

¶ De termino Pasche xvj s. ix d. ob. Et iiij paria Citrothecarum.

¶ Summa tocus redditus predicti xxxiiij s. iiij d. Et iiij paria Citrothecarum.

¹ Lane.

² Unable to trace this word.

¶ In eodem Comitatu et Hundredo.

¶ Gormeleg'. Ibi habent Predicti Prior et Conuentus duas acras prati quas tenent de Domino Ricardo de Perers in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Et valent per annum viij s., precij acre iiij s. Et celerarius percipit.

¶ Summa Valoris prati predicti viij s.

In eodem Comitatu Hertfford', et hundredo de Hertfford',
Episcopatu Lincoln'.

¶ Tywinge. Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium quod vocatur Tywyngge, quod tenent de Iohanne Godfrey de Tywinge in puram, liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, qui Iohannes illud Manerium defendere debet versus dominum Edmundum Comyn de quo idem Iohannes tenet pro iiij^{ta} parte vnus feodi Militis. In eodem Manerio tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus quemdam Campum qui vocatur Chelestresfeld vbi sunt xvj acre terre de priore de Widmundel'. Reddendo inde annuatim ij d. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha pro omni seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent quemdam Campum qui vocatur Baldwynesfeld vbi sunt xxvj acre terre et ij acre bosci. Reddendo inde annuatim domino Willelmo Mulksope, de quo tenetur, iiij s. iiij d. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos principales pro omni terreno seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent j Mesuagium et dimidiam virgatam terre in locklege, quam Robertus Kyffeit de eis tenet et aliam dimidiam virgatam terre quam alij tenentes de eis tenent in lockele de Ada de Maundevile. Reddendo inde annuatim v s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos pro omni seruicio. In eodem Manerio tenent j acram prati de Iohanne Godefrey. Reddendo inde annuatim j d. ad festum sancti Michaelis, pro omni seruicio. In eodem Manerio habent visum franci plegij de omnibus tenementis suis et nihil dant domino Regi pro visu. Et pertinet ad dictum Manerium advocacio Ecclesie eiusdem ville, que taxatur ad xx li. Et valet xx li., quam ecclesiam conferunt tempore vacacionis.

¶ Summa redditus inde soluendi ix s. v d.

¶ Inde Robertus Kiffeit assignatur soluere v s. Ade Mandevile.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et habent in eodem Manerio cclij acras terre. Et valent per annum lxx s., precij acre iiij d. Et valet clausum dicti Manerij, cum pomario, herbagio et Curtilagio, iiij s. per annum. Et sunt ibi xvj acre bosci. Et valet subboscus et pastura in eis per annum viij s., precij acre vj d. Et sunt ibi ij acre prati, et valent per annum iiij s., precij acre xvij d. Et sunt ibi sex acre et j roda pasture separalis pro bestiis de Carucis. Et valent per annum vj s. iiij d., precij acre xij d. Et sunt ibi viij acre et dimidia pasture separalis pro vaccis apud le Moore, et valent per annum v s. viij d., precij acre viij d. Et sunt ibi xiiij acre et dimidia pasture separalis de terra inculta apud le Lutfeld' et Horscroft pro eisdem vaccis, et valent per annum iiij s. iiij d. ob., precij acre iiij d. Et est ibi pastura in Campis separabilibus et Communibus ad C bidentes. Et valet per annum x s. Et est ibi de redditu assise de liberis tenentibus et villanis lvij s. ix d., ut patet infra. Et valent opera eorum vij d. ob. ut patet ibidem. Et v Caupones valent x d. Et est ibi quoddam Molendinum aquaticum quod valet per annum xxvj s. viij d. Et ibi habent

visum franci plegij, ut supradictum est, quem tenent ibidem annuatim die Martis in septimana Pentecostes vbi Capitales plegij dant de Comuni fine pro visu xij d. Et valent placita et perquisita Curie per annum iiij s. Et tenent ibidem liberi tenentes et villani xxj Mesuagia, lxxxij acras terre, vna [sic] acram bosci et dimidiam.

¶ Summa extente ix li. xv s. iij d.¹ ¶ De quibus retrahendi sunt ix s. v d., vt supra.

¶ Et sic valent de claro ix li. vj s. iij d. [sic].

¶ In Tewinge.

¶ Redditus ¶ Robertus Asser tenet j Mesuagium et xij acras terre iacentes in et seruicia. le Redyng. Et reddit inde per annum viij s. j d. ad quatuor terminos, scilicet, ad festum sancti Michaelis vj d. ob. et ad Natale domini iij s. vj d. Et ad Pascha vj d. ob. Et ad festum sancti Iohannis iij s. vj d. Modo Willelmus Asser.

¶ Iohannes Modisprot tenet ij Mesuagia et v acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. iij d. ob. ad Pascha et ad festum sancti Michaelis. Modo edmundus de Grymmisby.

Secta bis ¶ Galfridus Modisprot tenet j Mesuagium, x acras terre et j acram per annum. bosci. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos ij terminos sancti Michaelis et Pasche. Modo heres predicti Galfridi, videlicet, Iohanna Modisprott.

Secta. ¶ Hugo le Gome tenet j Mesuagium, ij acras terre et dimidiam. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Anable Gome.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus Carectarius tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre, et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, et ij precarias in autumpno. Modo Iohannes Alisander seruus.

Secta. ¶ Iohannes Gonnil tenet ij Mesuagia, iij acras terre et j croftum. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. xj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, scilicet, ad festum sancti Michaelis xj d. ob. quad. Ad Natale domini v d. ob. quad. Ad Pascha xj d. ob. quad. Et ad festum sancti Iohannis v d. ob. quad. Et ad Natale domini iiij Capones et vj precarias. Modo Iohannes Asschby vnum Mesuagium. Et aliud Mesuagium est terra arabilis in iiij^{bus} croftis continentibus vj acras iacentes apud Trimmuldishole. Et reddit inde per annum iij s. ad iiij^{or} terminos, ut inferius.

Secta. ¶ Walterus Aiswy tenet j Mesuagium et v acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. iij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, scilicet, ad festum sancti Michaelis vj d. Ad Natale vij d. ob. Ad Pascha vj d., et ad festum sancti Iohannis vij d. ob. Modo Iohannes Aisswy.

Secta. ¶ Christiana Heliot tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xx d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ij precarias in autumpno. Modo Ricardus le Gray.

Secta. ¶ Richerus le Taylour tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Willelmus Schepherde.

¹ Should be viij^d to make subtraction in following line correct.

Secta. ¶ Hugo filius Nicholai tenet j Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo in manus domini, et iacet vacanum.¹

Secta. ¶ Laurencius le Bole tenet j Mesuagium et j grauam. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Ricardus Brancoss' tenet Mesuagium et dimidiam acram bosci. Et residet in manus domini racione minoris etatis heredis Iohannis Bole.

Secta. ¶ Robertus Kyffeit tenet j Mesuagium et ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos ij terminos. Et ad Natale ij Caupones. Et ij precarias in autumpno. Modo heres Iohannis Bole.

Secta. ¶ Willelmus Sleeman tenet j Mesuagium et j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini apud molendinum.

Secta. ¶ Galfridus Wastell' tenet j Mesuagium iuxta Molendinum. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Et aliud tenementum vbi manet, pro quo reddit per annum vj d. Modo Andreas Boteler.

Secta. ¶ Idem Galfridus tenet j Mesuagium de terra Willelmi Beaumont. Et reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Nunc tenet Thomas Waylond; et ij precarias. Modo in manus domini; et iacet ex opposito Le Moore.

Secta ad ¶ Iohannes Stern' tenet j Mesuagium de terra eiusdem Willelmi. visum. Et reddit inde per annum xv d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini, et iacet iuxta dictum Mesuagium.

Secta. ¶ Warinus Stonehous tenet j Mesuagium et dimidiam terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij d. ob. ad predictos ij terminos et ij precarias. Modo in manus domini.

Secta. ¶ Richerus le Taylour tenet j Mesuagium quod fuit Ricardi Pryket. Et reddit inde per annum vj d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Walterus Waylond.

¶ Iohannes Weylond tenet ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Gray.

¶ Item Iohannes Gonnild pro ij acris terre in lucascroft de nouo captis xij d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Aisswy.

Item Andreas de Kellynge pro j acra terre de nouo capta iiij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Modo in manus domini.

In Lockeleye. ¶ Robertus Kyffeit tenet j Mesuagium et dimidiam virgatam terre et ij acras terre quas Willelmus Attelote tenuit. Et visum. reddit inde per annum x s. ad predictos ij terminos. De quibus x s. assignatur soluere Ade de Maundeuille v s. nomine prioris, et reliquos v s. recipit.² Balliuis dicti prioris de Tywyngne.

Secta ad ¶ Galfridus Molendinarius tenet ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per visum. annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos.

Secta ad ¶ Iohannes Spragge tenet j acram terre. Et reddit inde per annum visum. xij d. ad predictos ij terminos.

¹ MS. *vac'* = vacant.

² MS. *v'*.

Secta ad ¶ Alicia Coterich' tenet iiij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum visum. ij s. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini; vocatur Coterichesscroft.

Secta ad ¶ Willelmus Petite tenet vij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum visum. ij s. v d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Petyte.

Secta ad ¶ Willelmus de Lockeley tenet ij acras terre supra Dalleygh'. Et visum. reddit inde per annum xv d. ad predictos ij terminos. Modo in manus domini.

Secta ad ¶ Cecilia Pikot tenet j Mesuagium et reddit inde per annum ij d. ad visum. predictos ij terminos. Modo Iohannes Waterford.

Secta ad ¶ Galfridus Attehyll', Molendinarius, tenet j Mesuagium. Et visum. reddit inde per annum xij d. ad predictos ij terminos.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xx s. viij d. quad.

¶ De termino Natalis viij s. v d. quad. et v capones.

¶ De termino Pasche xxj s. viij d. ob.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis viij s. v d. ob.

¶ Summa tocius redditus predicti lx s. iij d. quad. Et inde Robertus Kyffeyt recipit v s. et soluit vterius, vt supra.

¶ Summa valoris v cauponum predictarum x d.

¶ Summa preciarum predictarum xvij, precij cuiuslibet ob. Et valent viij d. ob.

¶ Et ballius respondet de remanenti, videlicet, de lv s. iij d. quad., sed sibi debent inde allocari xx [*sic*] annuatim de redditu Walteri Asschwy solut' pro sursise.

¶ Consuetu- ¶ Memorandum quod omnes predicti tenentes liberi sunt et liberis dines eorum. Consuetudinibus vtuntur, preter Iohannes Gonnild, seruus, et Robertus Kyffeyte tenent villenagium.

¶ In Comitatu Hertford' et Hundredo Dacorum.

¶ Holmes. Ibidem habent predicti Prior et Conuentus quoddam Manerium de dono Ade de Somerey pro quo Inuenire debent ij Canonicos ibidem imperpetuum celebrantes pro anima sua et antecessorum et successorum suorum. In quo Manerio tenent de Thoma de Musham lj acras terre per seruicium Militare, scilicet, terram Alani Newlond. Reddendo inde annuatim xvij s. ad iiij^{or} anni terminos. Et ad scutagium, quando currit, pro xl s., ij s. vj d., pro omnibus seruicijs. Sed Simon de Grindelsgate tenet de predictis Priore et Conuentu de illa terra v acras. In eodem Manerio tenent dicti Prior et Conuentus de Manerio de Schenle ix acras terre iuxta albam viam que vocatur Neleslond. Reddendo inde annuatim iij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et ad scutagium, quando Currit, iiij d. ob. pro xl s., pro omnibus seruicijs. Et tenent de eodem Manerio vij acras pasture in bruera¹ que vocantur le Hoke, reddendo inde annuatim j libram piperis ad Natale, pro omnibus seruicijs. Et valent xvij d. In eodem Manerio soluunt dicti Prior et Conuentus Waltero Ingold obolum per

¹ Heath ground.

annum pro quadam via habenda sub campo Henrici de Durehem. Item in eodem Manerio soluunt annuatim, per manus Thome de la Chapell', tenentis sui, Matrīci ecclesie de Schenle pro Cantaria ibidem habenda et Campana, v s. Et nullum habent ibidem visum franci plegij quia tenentes sui sunt in visu apud Schenle et cum Thoma de Musham.

¶ Summa redditus soluti pro eodem Manerio xxviiij s. j d. ob.

¶ Extenta. ¶ Et sunt ibidem in dominico clxxx acras terre arabilis. Et valent per annum iiij li. x s., precij acre vj d. Et sunt ibi xxvj acre bosci et dimidia, quarum valet subboscus per annum xiiij s. iiij d., precij acre vj d. Et sunt ibi vj acre prati, que valent per annum xiiij s. vj d., precij acre ij s. vj d. Et sunt ibi xxxij acre pasture separalis, que valent per annum xvj s., precij acre vj d. Et est ibi in Campis separabilibus pastura ad C bidentes. Et valent per annum vj s. viij d. Et est ibi de redditu assise de liberis tenentibus xxj s. per annum. Et in Londonia pertin' ad illud Manerium in parochia sancti Nicholai ad Macella de Galfrido de Buckam xx s. per annum. Et tenent predicti liberi tenentes in dominico de predicto Manerio lxix acras terre et dimidiam, Et ij acras bosci. Et in Londonia j Mesuagium cum iiij^{or} Schoppis.

¶ Summa extente ix li. xj s. De quibus retrahendi sunt xxviiij s. ij d. ob. soluti pro dicto Manerio, vt supra.

¶ Et sic valet de claro vij li. viij s. ob.¹

¶ Redditus et Ibidem tenet Henricus de Durehem de predictis Priore et seruicia. Conuentu lv acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum v s. vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Ibidem tenet Aymerus x acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Ibidem tenet Walterus Ingold ij acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Ibidem tenet Robertus Attewell' v acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum ij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et ad scutagium ij d. ob.

¶ Ibidem tenet Simon de Gryndelsgate x acras terre. Et reddit inde per annum iiij s. vj d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos. Et v d. ad scutagium.

¶ Ibidem tenet Thomas de la Chapell' x acras terre et ij acras bosci. Et reddit inde per annum v s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, quos v s. assignatur soluere Ecclesie de Schenle pro Cantaria Capelle in dicto Manerio.

¶ Item in Londonia in parochia sancti Nicholai ad Macella tenet Galfridus de Bockam j Mesuagium. Et reddit inde per annum xx s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos.

¶ Summa termini Michaelis x s. iiij d. ob.

¶ Et omnes alij termini concordant.

¶ Summa tocius redditus predicti xlj s. vj d. ¶ Et inde nichil est Computandum ad proficuum dicte domus, quia nullus officarius eiusdem aliquid inde recipit, sed plus ponit.

¹ Error of 14s. 9d.

¶ In ciuitate London' et suburbij eiusdem.

In parochia Sancti Martini de Ludgate.

Redditus Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus de tenemento quondam pertinentes Ricardi de Herford xxix s. per annum. Et debent solui ad iiij^{or} ad Celerarium. terminos principales, ad quemlibet terminum vij s. iiij d. Et inde debet Celerarius die obitus dicti Ricardi dare C pauperibus viij s. iiij d., cuilibet eorum j d. Et quod remanet debet expendere in pitancia Conuentus.

In parochia sancti Dunstani versus nouum templum.

¶ De tenemento Prioris de Croyros v s. vj d. Et debent solui in Cena domini. Et de eodem redditu debet Celerarius dare v s. lx pauperibus, cuilibet eorum j d., quando Conuentus facit Mandatum.

In parochia sancti Sepulcri.

¶ De tenemento Roberti de Derherst ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos xx s., ad quemlibet terminum v s.

De vna schopa de la Moorehawe, vbi fabrica est, vj s. viij d. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, ad quemlibet terminum xx d.

De v schopis inter illam fabricam et tenementum predicti Roberti, ad eosdem terminos, xxix s., ad quemlibet terminum vij s. iiij d.

De tenemento Petri de Wymborn' ad eosdem terminos xxxiiij s. iiij d., ad quemlibet terminum viij s. iiij d.

In parochia sancti Laurencij in Iudaismo.

¶ De tenemento Iacobi Pyper in Iudaismo ad eosdem terminos xxvj s. viij d., ad quemlibet terminum vj s. viij d.

De tenemento eiusdem Iacobi ibidem ad eosdem terminos vj s., ad quemlibet terminum xvij d.

In parochia sancti Martini Oteswich'.

¶ De tenemento Iacobi Pyper ad eosdem terminos xx s., ad quemlibet terminum v s.

In parochia sancte Marie de Arcubus.

¶ De tenemento Iacobi Pyper ad eosdem terminos xl s., ad quemlibet terminum x s.

De Selda Iohannis le Blunt xxvj s. viij d. ad eosdem terminos, ad quemlibet terminum vj s. viij d.

In parochia Omnium Sanctorum de Bredestrete.

¶ De tenemento Ricardi le Mayer ad eosdem terminos xls., ad quemlibet terminum x s.

¶ Summa tocius redditus predicti xiiij li. ij s. x d. ¶ Quilibet terminus est lxx s. vj d. Pascha vj d. plus.

¶ Oblaciones. ¶ Ibidem pertinent ad Celerarium oblaciones venientes ad magnum altare die sancti Bartholomei. Et valent xij li.

¶ Item valent alie oblaciones venientes ad idem altare particulariter per annum, preter porcionem sacriste quam inde habet, iiij li.

¶ Item valent Annualia veniencia ad idem altare per annum iiij s.

¶ Feria. ¶ Item valent tolleta et consuetudines ferie que est ibi per iij dies in festo sancti Bartholomei, xx s.

¶ Gardinum. ¶ Item valet fructus gardini infra clausum dicti prioratus pertinens ad Celerarium per annum xiiij s. iiij d.

¶ Summa valoris oblacionum, Ferie, et Gardini predictorum xvij li. xvij s. iiij d.

¶ In eadem ciuitate et suburbijis, De termino Pasche, De termino sancti Iohannis, De termino Michaelis, De termino Natalis.

In parochia Sancti Sepulcri.

¶ Redditus pertinentes ad coquinam. ¹	De Martino Tegulatore . . .	} xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
	De Ricardo Auncell' . . .	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
	De Iuliana banus . . .	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
	¶ De Petro Tegulatore . . .	} ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
De Waltero Clerico . . .		xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De Dionisia Louetote . . .		x d.		x d.	
De Radulpho Canon' . . .		iiij s. vj d.	iiij s. vj d.	iiij s. vj d.	iiij s. vj d.
De Rogero de Clare . . .		xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Ricardo Fabro . . .		xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Bartholomeo Monetario . . .		xx d.	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.
De eodem pro redditu Willelmi le Moyne . . .		} ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.
De Iohanne de Schordich' . . .		xij d.		xij d.	
De Alexandro clerico pro redditu claricie . . .		} ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
¶ De eodem pro redditu Iohannis de Norhamton . . .		} ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
De eodem pro redditu Iohannis Wyscher . . .		} xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De eodem pro redditu Mayw poufret . . .		} xij d.		xij d.	
De Ada le Poleter' . . .		xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De Willelmo de Scheneford . . .	xvj d. ob.	xvj d. ob.	xvj d. ob.	xvj d. ob.	xvj d. ob.
De Faueresham . . .		xij d.		xij d.	
De Iacobo Piperario . . .		xij d.		xij d.	
De redditu le Scot . . .		xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.
De Willelmo le Fort . . .		ix d.		ix d.	
De redditu hospitalis sancti Bartholomei . . .		} iiij s.		iiij s.	
De Rogero de Steples . . .		xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
¶ De Michael ² de sancto Edmundo . . .		} v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De Martino seruiente Regis . . .		xij d.		xij d.	

¹ Should be *coquinarium* (kitchener).

² MS. *Micho*.

De Hugone Blunt . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
*De Edmundo otte . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De Willelmo Page in Cockeslane	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.
De Willelmo Bocknynte . . .	v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De Henrico le Grene . . .	vij s.	vij s.	vij s.	vij s.
De domo Stephani le Walur . . .	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.
De Ricardo de Hynton . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Filia Radulphi Gyppe . . .	vj d.		vj d.	
De Radulpho Gyppe . . .	iiij d.		iiij d.	
De Ricardo de Enefend . . .	iiij d.		iiij d.	
De Redditu Elye clerici . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Redditu Warini Pictoris . . .	xviii d.	xviii d.	xviii d.	xviii d.
De Rogero Bonstre . . .	v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De redditu Ricardi rotapij ¹ . . .	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
De eodem redditu . . .	ij d.		ij d.	
De redditu le Engleys in festo sancti Michaelis . . . }			vj d.	
De Magistro Henrico de Bray j libram piperis vel . . . }	viii d.			
De Radulpho Blundo . . .		xviii d.		xviii d.
De Cristina Attehull' in die sancti Bartholomei j libram Cymyni . . . }				
De redditu Smerebat ² . . .				iiij d.

In parochia Sancti Botulphi extra Aldrichgate.

¶ De Iohanne le Gardiner . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De redditu Goffe . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De redditu Iohannis de La- chennelond . . . }	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
De redditu Walteri le Kayere . . .	xviii d.	xviii d.	xviii d.	xviii d.
De redditu Arnoldi le Bletere . . .	xiiij d. ob.	xiiij d. ob.	xiiij d. ob.	xiiij d. ob.
De pepertorij [<i>sic</i>] . . .	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
De Nicholao Brokesonge . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Simone de Furneus . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Iohanne Lukeys, clerico . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De eodem pro redditu quondam Geruasij bean . . . }	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
De eodem pro quadam placea . . .	ix d.		ix d.	
De redditu blangernon' . . .	xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.
De Roberto le teynturer . . .	vij d. ob.	vij d. ob.	vij d. ob.	vij d. ob.
De redditu Martini Balistarij . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
¶ De Idonea grauntebrigge . . .	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
De Gilberto obabloc . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.

¹ Mistake for *rotarij* = Wheeler.² In original probably *Smerevat*.

De Margeria de la Vigne pro redditu de Seperton' . . . }	v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De Ricardo Abell' . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De hospitali sancti Bartholomei . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De Ricardo Fabro . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De Abbate de Kyrkstede . . .	iiij s. v d.		iiij s. v d.	
De quadam domo quam Lum- bard tenuit . . . }	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De alia domo iuxta . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De domo Aakeleyse . . .	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
De domo Roberti le Francleyn' . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De terra Gilberti le despenser . . .	xij d.		xij d.	
De domina Iohanna de Tyborn' pro quodam gardino . . . }	xij d.			

¶ In parochia sancti Egidij extra Crepulgate.

De Isabella de Fonte . . .	v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De Alicia de Gosewell' . . .	iiij d. ob.		iiij d. ob.	
De Wilhelmo Tylly . . .	x d.	x d.	x d.	x d.
De Galiot . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De Matilda Blunda . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De Wilhelmo Gent . . .	xij d.		xij d.	
De Aungero . . .	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
De Stocfis pro domo Emme . . .	xvij d.	xvij d.	xvij d.	xvij d.
De Nicholao le Whitawyer apud Moram . . . }	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.

In parochia sancti Andree apud Holborn'.

¶ De redditu Willelmi le vylour . . .	xij d.	xij d.
---------------------------------------	--------	--------

In parochia sancti Dunstani apud Nouum templum.

De Wilhelmo Passemer . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
----------------------------	--------	--------	--------	--------

In parochia sancte Brigide apud Flete.

¶ De Wilhelmo de Enfend . . .	xxj d.	xxj d.
-------------------------------	--------	--------

In parochia sancti Martini infra Ludgate.

¶ De redditu Iohannis le Minour . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De Stephano Capillario . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.

In parochia sancti Andree de Castell' Baynard.

¶ De Iuleyn de Dureme . . .	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De Hervico [<i>sic</i>] de Coloyne . . .	xij d.		xij d.	
De Nicholao Monetario . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.

In parochia sancti Benedicti de Wodewarne.

¶ De Simone Passelewe . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Reginaldo le bocher . . .	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De Wilhelmo le Frater . . .	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.
De Roberto le bucher per manus sacriste . . . }	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.	ij s. vj d.

In parochia sanete Marie de Somersede.

¶ De Hugone Bygot iij s. iij s. iij s. iij s.

In parochijs sanete Marie Magdalene et sancti Nicholai Cold Abbey in piscaria.

¶ De Radulpho de Bromlee ij s. j d. ij s. j d. ij s. j d. ij s. j d.

De Ricardo le Lung' xv d. xv d. xv d. xv d.

De Stephano le Gras xij d. xij d.

¶ De Iohanne de Bremford xij d. xij d.

De Waltero piscatore vj d. vj d.

De Henrico Kyngessone xx d. xx d. xx d. xx d.

In parochia sanete Margarete in Fridaystrete.

¶ De Willelmo Donekon ix d. ix d.

In parochia Omnium sanctorum in Bredstrate [sic].

¶ De Willelmo Bontinge iiij s. iiij s. iiij s. iiij s.

De Willelmo de Harwe v s. v s. v s. v s.

De Radulpho tany. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d.

In parochia sanete Trinitatis parue.

¶ De redditu petri de Honylane iij s. ix d. iij s. ix d. iij s. ix d. iij s. ix d.

De redditu Lefwini befaunt [sic] xij d. xij d.

De redditu petri de gisors ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d.

In parochia sancti Iacobi de Garlechide.

¶ De domo quondam Iohannis

de Stratford xvj s. iij d. xvj s. iij d. xvj s. iij d. xvj s. iij d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis de Ripa Regine.

¶ De Clemente vj d. vj d. vj d. vj d.

In parochia pater noster strate.

¶ De Petro De Tryere (?) xx d. xx d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis in Crokedlane.

¶ De redditu Iohannis filij Alani iiij s. vj d. iiij s. vj d.

In parochia sancti Leonardi apud Estehepe.

¶ De Wyteconte xx d. xx d. xx d. xx d.

In parochia sancti Dunstani versus Turrim.

¶ De Willelmo de Walebroke vj s. vj s. vj s. vj s.

De redditu Flael iij d. iij d. iij d. iij d.

In ¹ Fancherch'.

¶ De Wlmaro pistore x d. x d. x d. x d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis de Cornhull'.

¶ De Waltero le furmag' ² xv d. xv d. xv d. xv d.

De Radulpho le Batur ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d.

In parochia sancti Olai in Bradestrade [sic].

¶ De Fulcone Duly x d. x d. x d. x d.

In parochia Omnium sanctorum super Murum.

¶ De Henrico de la barre iij d. iij d. iij d. iij d.

¹ Blank.² Or *furinag'*.

In parochia sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete.

¶ De Willelmo le Paneler . . .	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
De redditu Grenderkym in festo } sancti Michaelis . . . }			iiij d.	

In parochia sanete Margarete in Lodebury.

¶ De Thoma de Balsam . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
De Henrico de Coventre . . .	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.

In parochia de Wolchirchhawe.

¶ De Bartholomeo ylger . . .	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.
------------------------------	---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------

In parochia de Colmanchirch'.

¶ De Selda de Merton' . . .	xxxiiij s. iiij d.	xxxiiij s.	iiij d.	
De Godfrido de sancto Albano . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.		

In parochia sancti Pancracij de soperslane.

¶ De Selda Arsa . . .	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.
De nouo hospitali pro eadem } selda . . . }	xij d.	xij d.		

In parochia sanete Marie de Arcubus.

¶ De redditu Iohannis Travers . . .	ij d.	ij d.	ij d.	ij d.
De redditu Roberti West- monasterij . . . }	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
De Willelmo de Lyncolnia . . .	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij d. [sic]
De nouo hospitali pro redditu } Iuliani Aywyf . . . }	ij s. j d.	ij s. j d.	ij s. j d.	ij s. j d.
De Selda Edwardi le Blunt . . .	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.	iiij s. ix d.
De domo Radulphi Apotecarij . . .	v s.	v s.	v s.	v s.
De Avicia de Kent . . .	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
De Agnete de Enfend . . .	ij s. viij d.	ij s. viij d.	ij s. viij d.	ij s. viij d.
De filia Avicie de Kent . . .	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.

In parochia sancti Stephani de Walbroke.

¶ De redditu Iohannis Wedercok j d.				
De Alexandro le ferun . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.

In parochia sancti Mathej in Fridaystrete.

¶ De Coleman' le Ken . . .	xxj d.	xxj d.		
----------------------------	--------	--------	--	--

In parochia sancti Albani in Wodestrete.

¶ De redditu Iohannis Clilond[?] . . .	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

In parochia sancti Vedasti in foro.

¶ De Willelmo de Glouernia . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.
De Willelmo de Herd, lorimario . . .	xviiij d.	xviiij d.		
De Agnete Atteloft . . .	xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.	xxj d.
De eadem pro redditu Thome } Harang' . . . }	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De Radulpho de Holond . . .	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.	xx d.

In parochia sancte Marie Aldermanbury.

¶ De redditu Iohannis Adrian'	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.
De Stephano Bokerell'	xij d.	xij d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis in Bassinghawe.

¶ De hospitale sancti Iacobi	xij d.	xij d.
De Thoma Clerico	vj d.	vj d.
De nouo hospitale pro nouo Gardino	} xij d.	xij d.
De pencione ecclesie de bassinghaue in Crastino Omnium sanctorum		

In parochia sancti Alphegi infra Crepulgate.

¶ De Galfrido le Coreour	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.	xij d.
De feodo sancti Martini	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	
De feodo sancti Pauli	vj d.			
De Stephano Bokerell'				iiij d.

In parochia sancte Marie de Stanynglane.

¶ De Waltero le Taylour	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.	iiij s.
-------------------------	---------	---------	---------	---------

In parochia sancti Iohannis Zacharie.

¶ De Osberno Clerico	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.	vj d.
----------------------	-------	-------	-------	-------

In parochia sancte Agnetis infra Aldrichgate.

¶ De Roberto le Bokeler	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.	iiij s. iiij d.
-------------------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

In parochia sancti Leonardi iuxta sanctum Martinum.

¶ De Reginaldo le Orbatur	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.	ix d.
---------------------------	-------	-------	-------	-------

¶ In parochia sancti Nicholai de macella.

¶ De Schopa Edmundi otte	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.
De Schopa Gerardi	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.	ij s.
De beuchesham	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.	xv d.

¶ In parochia sancti Audoeni ¹ infra Newgate.

¶ De la Hole ²	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.	xviiij d.
---------------------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis xvij li. xvj s. v d.

¶ Et Pascha concordat.

¶ Summa termini Natalis xiiij li. xv s. vj d. ob.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis xiiij li. ij s. ij d. ob.

¶ Summa tocus redditus predicti lxiiij li. x s. vij d., et j li. cymini in festo sancti bartholomei.

De Gardinis. ¶ Memorandum quod predictus Coquinarius habet Gardinum de la Morehawe pertinens ad officium suum. Et valet per annum xx s.

¶ Item spectat ad officium suum solum ³ magni Gardini infra clausum prioratus predicti. Et valet per annum vj s. viij d.

¶ Summa valoris gardinorum predictorum xxvj s. viij d.

¶ Summa valoris Redditus et Gardinorum predictorum lxxv li. xvij s. iiij d.

¹ Owen.

² Or *Hoke* (?) but more like *Hole*.

³ The soil.

¶ Detrahi ¶ Et memorandum quod inde retrahendi sunt x s. soluti per annum soluciones. Ecclesie sancti Martini Magni London' pro minutis decimis quibuscumque animalium nutritorum infra clausum dicti Prioratus, et pro Gardinis supradictis.

Redditus ¶ Item retrahende [sic] sunt xvij d. soluti annuatim Monialibus de soluti. Clerkenwell' pro tenemento quondam Ricardi fabri.

¶ Item xvij d. soluti annuatim Ecclesie sancti Sepulcri pro tenemento quondam Michaelis de sancto Edmundo.

¶ Item v s. soluti per annum heredi Dionisie Bokerell' pro tenemento Radulphi Batur.

¶ Item viij s. soluti per annum heredi Edwardi le Blunt pro quodam [sic] Schoppa in Westchepe.

¶ Item iiij s. soluti annuatim Canonicis hospitalis extra Bysschopesgate pro quadam schoppa ibidem.

¶ Summa tocus redditus soluti et decimarum solutarum xxx s.

Socagium ¶ Item retrahendi sunt ij solidi soluti annuatim die sancti Martini solutum pro socagio domini Regis. Et hoc ad ostium ecclesie prioratus sancti Bartholomei.

¶ Item iiij s. soluti annuatim domino Regi pro socagio in vigilia Pasche. Et hoc ad Gildam hallam.

¶ Item j d. solutus eodem die heredi Margarete Godard. Et hoc in ecclesia sancti Benedicti de Wodewharfe.

¶ Item iiij d. ob. soluti per annum Abbati de Westmonasterio pro socagio in die Palmarum. Et hoc apud Aldermanbury.

¶ Item iiij s. soluti annuatim domino Regi pro socagio die Natiuitatis beate Marie. Et hoc ad ecclesiam sancti Nicholai ad Macellam.

¶ Summa socagij predicti soluti x s. v d. ob.

¶ Summa decimarum, Redditus et socagij solutorum xl s. v d. ob. que retrahenda sunt de sua Recepta.

¶ Et sic valet Officium Coquinarij per annum lxij li. xvj s. ix d. ob. Excepto quod percipit de Manerijs et de officio Celerarij. ¶ Sed inde retrahendi sunt redditus vacuarum placearum et existencium in manus Conuentus.

Vacua [sic] ¶ In primis tenementum Petri Tegulatoris quod reddit per annum placea. iiij s. Item tenementum Iohannis Fyscher quod fuit Maheu poufret quod reddit per annum ij s.

¶ Item tenementum Magistri Henrici de Bray quod reddit per annum j libram piperis vel viij d. Item tenementum Walteri le Kayer quod reddit per annum vj s.

¶ Item tenementum Arnoldi le bleter quod reddit per annum iiij s. vj d. Item tenementum Martini balistarij quod reddit per annum viij s.

¶ Item tenementum Isabelle de fonte quod reddit per annum xx s. Item tenementum Ricardi le Lung', quod reddit per annum v s.

¶ Item tenementum Thome de Balsam quod reddit per annum v s. Item tenementum Noui hospitalis pro vno Gardino quod reddit per annum ij s.

¶ Item tenementum Osberni Clerici quod reddit per annum ij s. Item tenementum Beuchesham quod reddit per annum v s.

¶ Summa vacuarum placearum predictarum lxij s. ij d.

¶ In manus ¶ In primis tenementum Iohannis Fisscher quod reddit per Conuentus. annum v s. Item tenementum Iohannis de Stratford quod reddit per annum lxxv s. Item tenementum Wytecont quod reddit dimidiam Marcam.

¶ Summa redditus in manus Conuentus lxxvj s. viij d.

¶ Summa redditus vacuarum placearum et existentium in manus conuentus vj li. xix s. x d.

¶ Et sic valet officium coquinarij de claro per annum lvj li. xvj s. xj d. ob.

¶ Excepto quod percipit de Celarario et Manerij.

In eadem Ciuitate et suburbio eiusdem.

In parochia sancti Sepulcri.

Redditus per- Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus de tenemento quondam tinentes ad Odonis presbiteri versus pontem de Holeborn xvij d., ad sacristam. Natale domini ix d. Et ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste ix d.

Ibidem habent de eodem tenemento quod fuit quondam Ade de Westmonasterio ad eosdem terminos xvij d., ad quemlibet terminum ix d.

Ibidem habent de eodem tenemento quod Galfridus de Holfrige¹ aliquando tenuit ij s. ad festum sancti Michaelis et Pascha, ad quemlibet terminum xij d.

¶ De Monialibus de Clerkinwell' pro terra quondam Walteri Stogeyn' xij d., scilicet, ad Pascha vj d. et ad festum sancti Iohannis vj d.

¶ De tenemento quondam Ricardi Dagun ad iiij^{or} anni terminos iiij s., ad quemlibet terminum xij d.

In parochia sancti Botulphi extra Aldrichgate.

¶ De Arnulpho le Cornmanger vij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} anni terminos, ad quemlibet terminum xxj d.

In parochia sancte Marie de Stanynglane.

¶ De tenemento Roberti de Meldburn' ad eosdem terminos xij s. iiij d., scilicet, ad quemlibet terminum xl d. Vnde debent solui per annum heredibus Elye de sancto Olavo ij s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, Et ecclesie de Stanynglane xxvij d., videlicet, ad Natale domini xiiij d. et ad festum sancti Iohannis xiiij d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis de Wodestrete.

¶ De quodam tenemento in Wodestrete quod Thomas Montsorell' aliquando tenuit xx s. ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos, ad quemlibet terminum v s. Vnde debentur dominis feodi per annum ad eosdem terminos vij s., scilicet, ad quemlibet terminum xxj d.

In parochia sancti Stephani de Colmanstrete.

¶ De quadam terra et domibus in Colemanstrete ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos vj s., ad quemlibet terminum xvij d. Vnde debetur heredibus Edmundi Campanarij per annum obolus.

¹ Or *Holsrigge*.

In parochia sancte Margarete de Lodebury.

¶ De terra ¹ Euerardi le Corryour super lodebur' ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos xij s., ad quemlibet terminum iij s. Vnde debetur Waltero Cardoun j d.

In parochia sancti Michaelis super Cornhull'.

¶ De terra et domibus Walteri le Formag' super Cornhull' ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos ix s., ad quemlibet terminum iij s. iij d.

In parochia Omnium sanctorum de Garlykhyde.

¶ De tenemento quondam Hugonis le Bole apud Garlykhyde ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos xxxiiij s. iij d., ad quemlibet terminum viij s. iij d. Vnde debentur diuersis dominis feodi illius duo paria Citrothecarum vel cuilibet eorum obolus.

In parochia sancte Wereburge ² infra Bisschopesgate.

¶ De quadam domo infra Bisschopesgate ad festum sancti Michaelis xij d.

In parochia Omnium sanctorum secus Murum London'.

¶ De Fratribus hospitalis sancte Katerine pro terra quondam Durandi Capellani versus Murum London' ad Pascha j libram Cimini vel j d.

In parochia sancti Thome Apostoli.

¶ De domo que fuit quondam Iohannis le Clerk, pistoris, ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos ij s., ad quemlibet terminum vj d., vnde debentur iiij^{or} grana piperis.

In parochia sancti Stephani de Colmanstrate.

¶ De schoppa [*sic*] que fuit Simon le Furbur ad predictos iiij terminos vj s., ad quemlibet terminum xvij d.

In parochia sancte Marie de Arcubus.

¶ De selda Iacobi piperarij in foro london' ad predictos iiij terminos liij s. iij d., ad quemlibet terminum xij s. iij d.

In parochia sancte Marie Magdalene.

¶ De schopa Iohannis Berkinge in Milkstrete ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos xx s., ad quemlibet terminum v s., vnde debentur [*sic*] Henrico filio Stephani Aurifr' ³ dimidia libra Cimini vel j d.

In parochia sancti Benedicti de Wodewharfe.⁴

¶ De kaia ⁵ sancti Pauli quod fuit Roberti Buschar' et nunc est in manu sacriste. Et valet per annum Cs., vnde debetur [*sic*] pro socagio domini Regis in vigilia pasche ij d. Et ad pitanciam Conuentus die obitus Ade de Milkstrete x s., quos coquinarius percipit. Et ad refectorarium x s., qui ⁶ debent solui ad predictos iiij terminos.

In parochia sancti Michaelis vbi bladum ⁷ venditur.

¶ De nouo hospitali pro tenemento Stephani vinetarij ad predictos iiij terminos xij s. iij d. Ad quemlibet terminum xl d.

¹ Blank.

² For *Ethelburga*.

³ ? *Aurifrisarij*=embroiderer, or *Aurifabri*=goldsmith.

⁴ St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf.

⁵ Quay, wharf.

⁶ MS. *q̄*=*que*.

⁷ St. Michael-atte-Corn, or le Quern.

In parochia sancti Martini de ludgate.

¶ De tenemento Ade Piper extra ludgate ad predictos iiij terminos ij s. iiij d., ad quemlibet terminum vij d.

De tenemento proximo quod fuit Henrici pistoris ad predictos iiij terminos ij s., ad quemlibet terminum vj d.

In parochia sancti Dunstani West'.

¶ De tenemento Ricardi Dunstan' ad predictos iiij terminos viij s., ad quemlibet terminum ij s.

In parochia ¹ .

¶ De herede Petri Donkoy in dystaflane, per manus coquinarij, xvj d. ad festum sancti Michaelis et ad pascha. Ad quemlibet terminum viij d.

In parochia ¹ .

¶ De tenemento Isabelle de Fonte, per manus dicti Coquinarij, ad predictos ij terminos xvij d. Ad quemlibet terminum ix d.

¶ Summa redditus termini Michaelis iiij li. xiiij d.

¶ De termino Natalis domini lxxix s. vj d.

¶ De termino Pasche iiij li. ix d.

¶ De termino sancti Iohannis iiij li.

¶ Summa tocius redditus predicti xvj li. xvij d. ¶ De quibus retrahendi sunt xxxj s. viij d. ob. soluti pro eisdem tenementis per annum, ut supra.

¶ Et sic est redditus sacriste de claro xiiij li. ix s. viij d. ob.

De fortuit'. ¶ Et habet predictus sacrista oblaciones venientes per annum ad altare sancti Ipoliti. Que valent per annum iiij li.

Et habet quartum denarium extra festum sancti Bartholomei particulariter per annum de oblacionibus venientibus ad Magnum altare, que valent xxxvj s. viij d.

Et habet Stallagium in festo sancti Bartholomei de hijs que sunt in Ecclesia et extra fixa ad Ecclesiam, que valent vj s. viij d.

Et habet herbagium ij Cimiteriorum, que valent per annum iiij s.

Et valent fructus crescentes in Gardino et Cimiterijs predictis per annum iiij s.

¶ Summa valoris Fortuit' predict' vj li. xvj d.

¶ Et sic valet officium Sacriste per annum xx li. xj s. ob.

¶ Redditus ¶ De ecclesia sancti Martini de Pomerio per annum viij s. ad pertinentes festum sancti Michaelis et ad Pascha, ad quemlibet terminum ad infr- iiij s. marium.

In parochia sancti Augustini.

¶ De Galfrido le Taylour ad iiij^{or} anni terminos ij s., ad quemlibet terminum vj d.

De Rogero le perour vj s., videlicet, ad Natale ij s. Et ad Pascha ij s. Et ad festum sancti Iohannis ij s.

De Galfrido le Perour ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos xvij s., ad quemlibet terminum iiij s. vj d.

¹ Blank.

In parochia sancti Benedicti.

¶ De Reginaldo le Wodemanger ad predictos iiij terminos xij s. iiij d., ad quemlibet terminum xl d.

In parochia sancti Antonij.

¶ De Radulpho Adrian' ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos x s., ad quemlibet terminum ij s. vj d.

In parochia sancti Sepulcri.

¶ De Simone Tegulatore ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos vj s. vj d., ad quemlibet terminum xix d. ob., de quodam tenemento contra aulam de Sympringham.

1

¶ De Iohanne le gardiner ad predictos iiij^{or} terminos iij s., ad quemlibet terminum ix d.

In parochia sancti Stephani de Walbroke.

¶ De Iohanne Tolesan apud Walbroke ad festum sancti Michaelis ij s. vj d.

2

¶ De redditu Iohannis de Lond' quod fuit Willelmi persone ad predictos iiij terminos iij s. iiij d., ad quemlibet terminum x d.

¶ Summa termini Michaelis xx s. vj d. ob.

¶ Natalis xvj s. ob.

¶ Pasche xxij s. vj d. ob.

¶ Iohannis xvj s. ob. Et soluent inde ad Pascha pro socagio ij d.

¶ Summa tocus redditus lxxv s. ij d.

¶ Et valet fructus gardini ij s.

¶ Et sic valet Officium infirmarij lxxvij s.

In parochia sancti Benedicti de Wodewharfe.

Redditus pertinentes ¶ De tenemento quondam Roberti Buscar', per manus sacriste, ad Refect- ad iiij^{or} anni terminos x s., ad quemlibet terminum ij s. vj d.
rarium. De tenemento Radulphi Canon' ad predictos iiij terminos,

xxij d., ad quemlibet terminum v d. ob.

¶ Summa tocus redditus pertinentis ad refectorarium xj s. x d.

Redditus Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus Ecclesiam sancti Sepulcri
pertinentes extra Newgate London' in proprios vsus, que assignatur ad
ad Camera- inueniendum vesturam et Calciamenta Canoniorum dicte domus.
rium. Et taxatur illa Ecclesia, preter porcionem vicarie, ad viij li. Et
valet per annum xij li. Et taxatur vicaria per se ad C s. Et valet
per annum x Marcas, ad quam vicariam dicti Prior et Conuentus presentant
tempore vacationis eiusdem.

Summa valoris ecclesie predicte xij li.

Ecclesia Ibi habent predicti Prior et Conuentus Advocacionem Ecclesie
sancti Mar- sancti Martini de Pomerio. Ad quam presentant tempore vaca-
tini de cionis. Et valet per annum iiij li.
Pomerio.

¹ A space of a line is left blank, probably for the name of a parish.

² Space of a line blank.

- ¶ Summa valoris omnium bonorum pertinencium ad Celerarium clxxxx li. iiij s. vj d.
- ¶ Summa omnium bonorum pertinencium ad sacristam xx li. xj s. ob.
- ¶ Summa bonorum pertinencium ad Infirmarium lxxvij s.
- ¶ Summa bonorum pertinencium ad Refectorarium xj s. x d.
- ¶ Summa bonorum pertinencium ad Coquinarium lvj li. xvj s. xj d. ob.
- ¶ Summa bonorum pertinencium ad Camerarium xij li.
- ¶ Summa valoris omnium bonorum pertinencium ad dictum Prioratum cclxxiiij li. xvj d.

Hic incipit taxacio omnium bonorum nostrorum spiritualium et Temporalium secundum Taxacionem veri valoris in locis vbi fiebat illa taxacio, et summa decime inde soluende secundum taxacionem illam.

¶ Memorandum quod bona nostra spiritualia in Archidiaconatibus Midd' et London' taxantur ad lxiiij s. iiij d. ob. ¶ Decima vj s. v d. quad.

¶ Item bona temporalia in eisdem Archidiaconatibus taxantur ad lxxvij li. xv s. vij d. ob. ¶ Decima vij li. xvij s. vj d. ob. quad.

¶ Summa decime predictae vij li. iiij s. quad.

¶ Item, preter hoc, Ecclesia sancti Sepulcri taxatur ad viij li. vj s. viij d. ¶ Decima xvj s. viij d., preter vicariam que taxatur ad Cs.

¶ Item bona nostra spiritualia in Archidiaconatibus Colcestr' et Essex' ad ix li. ¶ Decima xvij s.

¶ Item bona nostra temporalia in eisdem Archidiaconatibus ad xj li. v s. xj d. ob. ¶ Decima xxij s. vij d.

¶ Summa decime predictae xl s. vij d.

¶ Item bona nostra spiritualia in Archidiaconatu Suffole' taxantur ad xxxj li. xvj s. viij d. ¶ Decima lxiiij s. viij d.

¶ Item in Archidiaconatibus Buk' et Huntindon' taxantur ad x li. vij s. vj d. ¶ Decima xx s. ix d.

Vnde Manerium de Holmes taxatur ad xlvij s. vj d. Et est inde decima iiij s. ix d. Et de Mentemore xvj s.

¶ Summa decime predictae iiij li. iiij s. v d.

¶ Summa decime debite de omnibus bonis nostris predictis xv li. v s. viij d. quad.

ROYAL CHARTERS AND LETTERS PATENT

No. 1.

Charter of Henry I dated at Westminster, A.D. 1133, in his 33rd year, granting to the church, to Rahere the prior, the canons regular, and to the poor of the hospital freedom from all earthly service, and peace to all coming to the fair.

It is witnessed by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and others. (See this volume, p. 62.)

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae* (R.O.), Vol. L, No. 1.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17 (No. 24 below).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 ,,).

do. do. 8 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 8 (No. 26 ,,).

Printed *in extenso* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, VI, 296.

For translation see Sir Norman Moore's *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 1912, I, 39.

No. 2.

Charter of the same king, the same date, and the same witnesses. It differs only slightly from No. 1 above, by calling the church the king's 'Demesne Chapel' and by saying that the king's faithful clerk Rahere had founded it for the use of regular canons. It omits reference to the poor of the hospital and to the church not having freedom from episcopal customs, but completes the sentence concerning the Fair.¹

It occurs :

Memoranda Rolls, L.T.R., 37 Edw. III, M'mas, Roll 23, m. 40.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17, (No. 24 below).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 ,,).

Printed *in extenso* Cal. Pat., 7 Hen. V, Vol. II, p. 239.

For translation, witnesses, and explanation of terms see this volume, pp. 60-64.

No. 3.

Charter of the same king, dated at Westminster, no year. It is a shortened form of the last (No. 2 above). It speaks of the king's 'Demesne space in Smithfield'.

The witnesses are Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Geoffrey the Chancellor, Stephen Earl of Mortaigne, Aubrey de Vere, Richard Basset and Milo de Gloucester.

It occurs :

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17 (No. 24 below).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 ,,).

Printed *in extenso* Cal. Pat., 7 Hen. V, Vol. II, p. 242.

No. 4.

Charter of Henry II, dated at Rouen, no year (probably 1173). It recapitulates the privileges granted by Henry I. It is witnessed by T. Roch Ebr. and others (see p. 98).

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 2.

By *Inspeximus* Charter Roll, 37 Hen. III (No. 16 below).

do. do. 17 Edw. II (No. 20 ,,).

do. Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V (No. 24 ,,).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI (No. 26 ,,).

Printed *in extenso* Calendar Charter Rolls, Vol. II, p. 368.

¹ See p. 62.

No. 5.

Charter of Henry II, dated at Rouen, no year (probably 1173), a reminder charter. It is witnessed by Richard de Humoz and Manasser Biset.

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 8.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V (No. 24 below).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI (No. 26 „).

Printed in *extenso* Cal. Pat., 7 Hen. V, Vol. II, p. 242 (see above, p. 98).

No. 6.

Charter of Henry II, dated Westminster, no year (*cir.* 1176), enumerating and confirming in frankalmoign the grants made by King Henry I and others.

Witnessed by Richard, Bishop of Winchester, and others (see above, p. 100).

It occurs (only) as *Inspeximus* Pat., 11 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 8 (No. 19 below).

As follows :

Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et Comes Andegavorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus totius Anglie salutem Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei de Lundonie et Canonicis regularibus ibidem deo seru(i)entibus in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam omnia subscripta que eis rationabiliter data sunt vel que imposterum rationabiliter adquirere potuerunt¹ dono sive empcione scilicet ex dono Henrici Regis aui mei locum de 'Smerefeld' in quo ecclesia eorum fundata est et domum hospitalem eiusdem ecclesie cum omnibus tene-mentis et pertinentiis suis quam Raherus fundator eiusdem ecclesie construxit ad vsus pauperum et infirmorum. Ex dono Rogeri Episcopi Saresburie ecclesiam Sancti Sepulchri de Balio cum decimis et pertinentiis suis infra Burgum et extra. Ex dono Hugonis Buisel medietatem ecclesie de Mentmore et hidam et dimidiam quicquid habeant in eadem parochia ex dono Walteri de Duni et partem quam Robertus de Cestresham de decima sua illis concessit apud Granam. Ex dono Roberti de Ramis ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei de Tidulfuestre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Ex dono Rogeri de Ram' ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii de Stanmere cum pert(in)entiis suis et quicquid Willielmus de Ramis vel Adam Buchiunte vel comes Patricius vel Ela Comitissa illis in villa de Eggeswere et apud Tidulfuestre concesserunt. Ex dono Radulphi Trochet ecclesiam Sancti Martini de Pomerio. Ex dono eiusdem Radulphi medietatem ecclesie de Aldmarichirche.² Ex dono Comitibus Willielmi de Mandeville medietatem ecclesie de Danningebere. Ex dono Gaufridi filii Ailwini medietatem ecclesie de Wannachester cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Ex dono Atropii de Merc ecclesiam de Berdefeld cum pertinentiis. Ex dono Willielmi de Rames

¹ For *poterunt*.

² Charter No. 10 here inserts 'Ex dono Gilberti episcopi Londoniensis ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Bassingheh. Ex dono Willielmi de Boscho ecclesiam de Taiden cum pertinentiis suis'.

ecclesiam de Bradefeld cum ¹ pertinentiis suis. Ex dono Gaufridi capellam Sancti Bartholomei de Wennachester cum pertinentiis suis. Ex dono Milonis de Verdun duas partes decime cum toto mobili de dominio suo de Oslakester. Ex dono Alani Dapiferi partem decime de dominio suo de Cherbuton. Ex dono Radulphi de Berners dimidiam hidam in Peltend. Ex dono eiusdem Radulphi decem solidatas in Iseldun. Ex dono Milonis de Verdun et Willielmi de Niuieris duas Idas apud Sortegrave. Ex dono Oswardi quicquid habent in Maldona. Quicquid habent ² in Laindon ³ (ex dono Roberti Lebel et ex dono Henrici Cawesuefes ⁴ et ex dono Cecilie filie Roberti Bloet et ex dono le fumi ⁵ Carbonarii et Gocsalini pessonarii ⁶. Preterea concedo eis et confirmo omnia alia que eis rationabiliter data sunt vel adquisita. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ecclesia de Bartholomei de Lundonie et canonici eiusdem ecclesie habeant et teneant omnia prenominata et quelibet alia que eis rationabiliter data sunt vel adquisita cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano in pratis et pasturis in aquis et molindinis in piscariis et vivariis in viis et semitis et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad ea pertinentibus bene et in pace libere et quiete plenarie et integre et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut carte donatorum suorum quas inde habent testantur. Testibus Ricardo Wynt', B. Elien', J. Norwyc', Episcopis, Ricardo de Luci Comite Alberico Simone de Bello Campo Gaufrido de Sai Gervasis de Canvilla apud Westmonasterium.

No. 7.

Charter of Henry II, dated Windsor, no year (*cir.* 1176), granting protection to the church and canons. Witnessed by Geoffrey, Bishop of Ely, and others (see p. 103).

It occurs only as *Inspeximus* Pat., 11 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 8 (see No. 19 below).

As follows :

Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglie [*or* Anglorum] et Dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus ministris et fidelibus suis Francis et Anglicanis salutem Sciatis me suscepisse ecclesiam sancti Bartholomei Lond' et Canonicos ibidem deo seruientes et omnes homines et res et terras eorum et possessiones sicut meos dominicos Canonicos et meas dominicas possessiones in manu et protecone et defensione mea contra omnes homines sicut coronam meam. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod manuteneatis et custodiatis et protegatis predictam ecclesiam et Canonicos et omnes homines et res et terras et possessiones eorum sicut meas dominicales possessiones. Ita quod predictis Canonicis vel hominibus vel terris suis nullam iniuriam vel molestatem aut gravamen faciendum vel ab aliquo fieri permit(t)atis prohibeo etiam super forisfacturam meam quod nullus siue clericus siue laicus de predicta

¹ Charter No. 10 here inserts 'capella de Mannester et'.

² Charter No. 10 here inserts 'de feodo Roberti filii Rogeri'.

³ In charter No. 10 *Langeleia*.

⁴ Do. *Cawesnefes*.

⁵ Do. *Lefumer*.

⁶ Do. *in London*.

ecclesia Sancti Bartholomei que est dominica Capella mea siue de possessionibus suis siue de hospitali eorum se intromittat nisi per bonam voluntatem prioris et Canonice eiusdem ecclesie set predicta domus hospitalis et omnia que ad ipsam domum pertinent sint in dispositione et ordinatione et subiectione prioris et Canonice predictae ecclesie sicut fuerunt eo tempore quo Raherus primus prior eiusdem ecclesie eam fundavit et sicut fuerunt tempore Henrici Regis Aui mei. Si quis vero predictam domum hospitalem ab ecclesia et subiectione prioris et Canonice separari voluerit ipse et omnia que ad ipsum pertinent in ius regale deveniant et fiat de eo sicut qui libertatem corone mee diminueret voluerit.

Testibus Gaufrido Elyen' episcopo Ranulfo de Glanvill Comite Alberico Simone de Bello Campo G(aufrido) de Say apud Wyndeles'.

[NOTE.—Above enrolment [11 Edw. II] is an *inspeximus* and exemplification of a confirmation and protection severally, and not a confirmation and is not witnessed.]

No. 8.

Charter of Henry II, dated Winchester in his 33rd year (1187), enumerates and confirms in frankalmoigne the grants made in the previous charter (No. 6 above) with many omissions, but with the following additions :

Ex dono eiusdem (Hen. I) ecclesiam de Gorleston cum aliis ecclesiis et capellis de Ludyngland.

Ex dono Willelmi filii Milonis aliam mediaetatem eiusdem ecclesie (Mente-more).

Ex dono G. episcopi Londoniensis ecclesiam de Bassengeshagh.

Ex dono Willelmi de Bosco ecclesiam de Taiden.

Witnessed by Richard, Bishop of Winchester, and others.

It occurs (probably in part only) :

Memo. Roll, L.T.R., M'as, 19 Edw. II, m. 31d (A.D. 1325).

do. do. Trinity, 1 Edw. III, m. 46d, 47 (A.D. 1327).

do. do. M'as, 37 Edw. III, m. 41d, No. XXIII (A.D. 1363).

The 33rd year Hen. II is named in the roll as the date of the charter, but only a few lines are recited. (See pp. 101, 103.) Not printed here, as it follows closely the previous charter (No. 6) above.

No. 9.

Charter of Richard I, dated Rouen, 23 or 24 March, in his 1st year (1190); recapitulates the privileges granted by Henry I (No. 1) and by Henry II (No. 4).

Witnessed by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others (see p. 103).

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 3 (dated 23 March).

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17 (dated 24 March, No. 24 below).

do. do. 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (6th inspected, No. 25 below).

In extenso Cal. Pat., Vol. III, p. 243.

No. 10.

Charter of Richard I, dated Rouen, 23 March, in his 1st year (1190); recapitulates the grants of land, &c., confirmed by Henry II, *cir.* 1176 (No. 6).

Witnessed by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others (see above, p. 103).

It occurs (only) :

Memo. Roll, L.T.R. 1 Edw. III, Trinity, m. 46d, 47.

do. do. 19 Edw. II, M^{as}, m. 31d (only in brief).

Not printed here, being a recapitulation of No. 9 above. It, however, adds *cum capella de Mannester*.

No. 11.

Charter of Richard I, dated at Rouen, 22 or 26 March, in his 1st year (1190). Above, p. 104.

Witnessed (only) by W(illiam Longchamp), Bishop of Ely.

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, 9 (dated March 22).

By *Inspeximus*, 11 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 8 (dated March 26, No. 19 below), as follows :

CARTA RICHARDI REGIS—DE CONFIRMATIONE.

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dux Normannie Aquitanie Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Iusticiariis Vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie beati Bartholomei Londonie que est dominica capella nostra et Canonicis nostris ibidem Deo servientibus omnes cartas et omnes donationes et libertates et liberas consuetudines quas H. Rex Anglie proavus noster et H. Rex Anglie pater noster predictae Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei et Canonicis concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt. Preterea concedimus eis pro amore Dei et salute nostri et antecessorum nostrorum et pro stabilitate regni nostri omnes terras et redditus suos tam ecclesiasticos quam laicos infra Civitatem Londonie et extra. infra burgum et extra. cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis et quicquid tenuerunt tempore H. Regis patris nostri bene et in pace teneant sicut carta ipsius testatur. Et prohibemus ne Prior vel Canonici ponantur in placitum de aliquo tenemento suo quod tenent nisi coram nobis vel coram capitali iusticia nostra. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicta Ecclesia Sancti Bartholomei et Canonici nostri hec omnia habeant et teneant bene et in pace libere et quiete integre et honorifice in perpetuum. Teste W. Elyensi Episcopo et Cancellario nostro apud Rothomagum xxii^o die Marcii Regni nostri anno primo.

No. 12.

Letters Patent of Richard I, dated at Rouen, 23 or 24 March, in his 1st year (1190): a mandate to the sheriffs of London not to interfere with the Fair of the p. and c. (see above, p. 104).

Witnessed (only) by W(illiam Longchamp) Bishop of Ely.

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, 4 (March 24).

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17 (March 23, No. 24 below).
(7th inspected.)

do. do. 2 Hen. VI, part I, m. 4-1 (March 24, No. 25
below). (7th inspected.)

Printed *in extenso* in Cal. Pat., 7 Hen. V, Vol. II, p. 245. (For translation,
see above, p. 299.)

No. 13.

Charter of John, dated at Brill, 29 December, in his 5th year (1203).
It granted protection and confirmed all liberties and possessions granted by
Henry I and Henry II.

Witnessed by G(eoffrey), son of Peter Earl of Essex, and others (see p. 107).

It occurs :

Charter Rolls, 5 John.

Patent Rolls, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17 (8th inspected).

Printed *in extenso*, *Rotuli Cartarum*, by T. Duffus Hardy, p. 115. It may
be translated thus :

‘ John by the Grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland Duke of Nor-
mandy & Aquitaine Earl of Anjou to the Archbishops, Bishops Abbots Earls
Barons Justices Sheriffs Provosts Officers and to all his Bailiffs and faithful
subjects Greeting. Know ye that we have taken the church of St. Bartholomew
London and the canons therein serving God and all their men and tenants goods
lands and possessions as being our Demesne canons and our Demesne possessions
into our hand protection and defence against all men like our crown. Wherefore
we will and strictly ordain that ye maintain and guard protect and defend the
said church and the canons and all their men and tenants goods lands and
possessions like our Demesne possessions so that ye do no injustice trouble or
inconvenience to the aforesaid canons or their men or lands nor suffer such to
be done by any person. We forbid moreover upon pain of forfeiture by us that
any person whether clerk or layman shall interfere with the said church of
St. Bartholomew, which is our Demesne Chapel, or its possessions or its hospital
except by the good pleasure of the prior and canons of the same church but the
aforesaid house of the hospital and all things which belong to the said house
shall be in the rule order and governance of the prior and canons of the said
church as they were at the time when Rahere the first prior of the said church
founded it and as they were in the time of King Henry our great grandfather
and King Henry our father. But if any shall desire to withdraw the said house
of the hospital away from the said church and the rule of the prior and canons
he and all that belong to him shall be amenable to our royal prerogative and it
shall be done unto him as to one who shall desire to infringe the liberty of our
crown. Know ye besides that we have granted and by our present charter have
confirmed unto God and unto the said church of St. Bartholomew London which
is as we have said our Demesne Chapel and unto our canons there serving God
all the charters and all the gifts franchises and free customs which King Henry
our great grandfather and King Henry our father have granted unto the said
church and by their Charters have confirmed. Further we grant unto them
for the love of God and for the salvation of the souls of us and our heirs all their

lands and revenues as well Ecclesiastical as Lay within the city of London and without within borough and without together with all their franchises and free customs and whatsoever they held in the time of King Henry our father they shall well and peaceably hold. And we forbid that the prior or canons of the said church of St. Bartholomew be set to plead concerning any of their tenements which they hold save in presence of us. Wherefore we will and strictly ordain that the aforesaid church of Saint Bartholomew and the canons shall have and hold all these premises well and peaceably freely and quietly entirely and honorably for ever. As the charters of King Henry our father which they have from him sufficiently witness. These being witnesses—

Geoffrey the son of Peter Earl of Essex
 William Marshall Earl of Pembroke
 Robert son of Roger
 Hugh de Nevill
 Robert de Nipont
 Peter de Stok
 Geoffrey de Lucy
 William Briwer

Given by the hand of Simon Provost of Beverley and Archdeacon of Wells at Brehull the 29th day of December in the fifth year of our Reign.'

No. 14.

Charter of Henry III, dated at Westminster, 16 March, in his 11th year (1227). It is identical with the preceding. It is witnessed by Jocelyn the Bishop of Bath and others (see above, p. 114).

It occurs :

Chancery, *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 6.

Charter Rolls, 11 Hen. III, pt. 1, m. 19.

Not printed here, being the same as No. 13 (above).

No. 15.

Charter of Henry III, dated at Rochester, 13 September, in his 13th year (1229). A confirmation of grant of various churches in Suffolk. Witnessed by Hugh de Burg and others (see above, p. 114).

It occurs :

Charter Rolls 13 Hen. III, pt. 1, m. 4. As follows :

H. Rex etc. salutem Noveritis nos intuitu Dei et pro salute anime nostre etc. concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londonie que est dominica capella nostra et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus ecclesiam de Gorleston et ecclesias Sancti Nicholai de Parva Iernemuth et de Lodewistoft et de Beleton que sunt de donacione nostra cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis decimis ouentionibus¹ et omnibus aliis rebus ad predictas ecclesias pertinentibus habendas et tenendas de nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem Canonicis et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad eorum sustentationem Quare volumus etc. quod predicti Canonici et eorum successores habeant et teneant de nobis et heredibus nostris predictas ecclesias cum omnibus

¹ Probably offerings.

pertinentiis decimis ouentionibus et omnibus aliis rebus ad easdem ecclesias pertinentibus bene et in pace libere quiete et integre sicut predictum est et sicut carta H. Regis avi H. Regis avi nostri et confirmatio ipsius H. Regis avi nostri et R. Regis avunculi nostri quas ipsi Canonici inde habent rationabiliter testantur Hiis testibus H. de Burgh etc. H. de Sedgrave R. de Gray Johannes filius Philippi Data apud Roffa . . . xiii die Septembris.

No. 16.

Charter of Henry III, dated at Winchester, 15 June, in his 37th year (1253). A confirmation and enumeration of the possessions of the monastery.

Witnessed by Aymer Vallance, Bishop elect of Winchester, and others (see above, p. 127).

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 11.

By *Inspeximus* Charter Rolls, 18 Edw. I, m. 17 (No. 18 below).

do. Patent Roll, 11 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 8 (No. 19 „).

do. Memoranda Rolls, L.T.R. 7 Edw. III, Roll 7 (at foot 40th m.).

do. Charter Roll, 6 Rich. II, No. 7 (No. 23 below).

do. Patent Roll, 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4 (9th inspected, No. 25 below).

do. do. 5 Edw. IV, pt. 3, m. 15 (No. 28 below).

Printed Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 295, and may be translated thus :

‘ Henry by the Grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou to the Archbishops Bishops Abbots Priors Earls Barons Justices Foresters Sheriffs Provosts Officers and all Bailiffs and faithful subjects of his Greeting.

Know ye that we for the salvation of our own soul and of the souls of our predecessors and our heirs have granted and by this our Charter have confirmed unto our beloved in Christ the prior and canons of the church of St. Bartholomew of Smethfeld in the suburbs of London all the gifts and grants hereunder written to wit of the gift of Henry the first, King of England the place in Smethfeld wherein the said church of S. Bartholomew has been built with the hospital of the poor of the same church ; of the gift of the same King Henry the church of St. Nicholas of Little Yarmouth with other churches and chapels in Luddingland ; of the gift of Roger sometime Bishop of Sarum the church of the Holy Sepulchre of the Bailiwick of London with its appurtenances within borough and without ; of the gift of Hugh Bussell the moiety of the church of Mentmore ; of William son of Milo the other moiety of the same church. Of the gift of Robert de Ramis the chapel of St. Bartholomew of Tydulnestre. Of the gift of Roger de Ramis the church of St. Lawrence of Stanmere. Of the gift of William de Bosco the church of Teydene. Of the gift of William Earl of Mandeville a moiety of the church of Danigbere. Of the gift of Geoffrey son of Ailwin a moiety of the church of Wennakexton. Of the gift of William de Ramis the church of Bradfield. Of the gift of Ralph Tricket the church of St. Martin Pomeroy. Of the gift of G. sometime Bishop of London the church of St. Michael Bassingshaw. Further we grant and by his own charter we confirm unto the

same prior and canons that they shall have and hold all the gifts and grants hereunder written to wit all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Islington of the fee of Ralph de Berniers and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in Idulnestre of the fee of William sometime Earl of Sarum. And all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in Little Stanmere and Bradesend of the fee and of the gift of William de Ramis and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Shenle of the gift and the fee of Adam son and heir of Ellis de Somery and of Saier (*Saerii*) son of Henry and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Mentmore of the fee of Ralph Lepoer and of Walter son of Hugh Bussell of Nicholas le Dun and of Richard of Idebure and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in Langley of the fee of Robert son of Roger and of John son of Robert of the manor of Clavinging and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Twying of the gift of Alexander of Swereford sometime Treasurer of S. Paul's London of the fee of Godfrey of Twying son of Richard of Twying and of John son of John son of Vitalis with the advowson of the church of the same vill and all the lands and rent with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Hertford Amwell and Lockley of the gift of the said Alexander of Swereford and all the lands and rents with their appurtenances which they hold in the vill of Shortgrave of the fee of Henry de Merk and of William de Verdon. Wherefore we will and strictly enjoin for ourselves and our heirs that the said prior and canons and their successors for ever shall have and hold all the lands and tenements aforesaid together with the churches and chapels and the advowsons of the same and all other their appurtenances well and peaceably freely and quietly together with all franchises and free customs unto all the premises belonging and that the house of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew of Smethfeld aforesaid and all things that belong to the same house shall be in the rule ordinance and governance of the said prior and canons of St. Bartholomew as the charters of the Lord King John our father and of King Henry the First and as the charters of the aforesaid benefactors and grantors which they have concerning the aforesaid gifts and grants more fully and reasonably bear witness These being witnesses the venerable father Aymer Bishop elect of Winton Besham of Crioll John de Grey John de Lessington Peter Chaceport Archdeacon of Wells Master William de Kilkennor Archdeacon of Coventry Henry de Wenham Bartholomew Pecche William de Grey William of St. Ermine and others Given by our own hand at Wynton on the fifteenth day of June in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.'

No. 17.

Charter of the same king at the same place and year, 15 June, 1253; an *Inspeximus* of Charter Henry II, *cir.* 1173 (No. 4 above).

Witnessed by the same as No. 16 (above) with the omission of Archdeacon Chaceport (see above, p. 128).

It occurs :

Chancery *Cartae Antiquae*, Vol. L, No. 14.

By *Inspeximus* Charter Rolls, 18 Edw. I, m. 17 (No. 18 below).

The charter inspected is printed in Cal. Charter Roll, Vol. II, p. 368.

No. 18.

Charter of Edward I, dated at Westminster, 10 July, in his 18th year (1290); an *Inspeximus* of the two charters above, Nos. 16, 17.

Witnessed by Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and others (see above, p. 137).

It occurs :

Charter Rolls, 18 Edw. I, m. 17.

By *Inspeximus* Charter Rolls, 17 Edw. II, m. 1, No. 2 (No. 20 below).

do. do. 6 Rich. II, No. 7 (No. 23 below).

do. Patent Rolls, 2 Henry VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 below).

The charters inspected have been printed as above.

No. 19.

Letter Patent of Edward II, dated at Westminster, 6 June, in his 11th year (1318); an *Inspeximus* of the following Charters (which see) (see above, p. 161) :

Two Charters (*cir.*) 22 Henry II (Nos. 6 & 7 above).

Charter—1 Rich. I (No. 11 above).

It occurs : Patent 11 Edward II, pt. 2, m. 8.

No. 20.

Charter of Edward II, dated at Westminster, 10 June, in his 17th year (1324); an *Inspeximus* for both the p. and c. and the m. and b. of the hospital, of the charter 18 Edward I (No. 18 above) (see above, p. 161).

Witnessed by Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others.

It occurs :

Charter Roll, 17 Edw. II, m. 1, No. 2.

Memo. Roll, 19 Edw. II, M'mas, m. 3rd.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 2 Henry VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 below).

No. 21.

Letter Patent of Edward III, dated at Westminster, 2 July, in his 38th year (1364). A protection to merchants coming to the Fair. It is fully set out in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls of that year, p. 524 (see above, p. 298).

No. 22.

Letter Patent of Edward III, dated at Westminster, 15 July, in his 38th year (1364); granting an exemption to the prior of Smythefeld and other lords who have fairs in the suburbs from an ordinance restricting the use of the mystery of drapery in the city to those who had been apprenticed therein.

It is fully set out in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls of that date, p. 4; also in the Calendar of the Close Rolls of the same date, p. 75 (see above, p. 302).

No. 23.

Charter of Richard II, dated at Westminster, 28 January, in his 6th year (1383); an *Inspeximus* of the following:

A charter 17 Edw. II (No. 20 above).

do. 18 Edw. I (No. 18 above).

Witnessed by William, Bishop of Canterbury, and others (see above, p. 178).

It occurs:

Charter Rolls, 6 Rich. II, m. 7.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1 (No. 25 below).

do. do. 5 Edw. IV, pt. 3, m. 15 (No. 28 below).

No. 24.

Letters Patent of Henry V, dated at Westminster, 27 September, in his 7th year (1419); an *Inspeximus* to the p. and c. of the church and to the m. and b. of the hospital, of the following:

1. A charter of Hen. I, dated A.D. 1133 (No. 1 above).

2. Another charter of the same, dated A.D. 1133 (No. 2 above).

3. Another charter of the same, no date, same witnesses (No. 3 above).

4. A charter of Hen. II, dated at Rouen about 1173 (No. 4 above).

5. Another charter of the same, about 1173 (No. 5 above).

6. A charter, 1 Rich. I (No. 9 above).

7. Letters Patent of the same king, the same year (No. 12 above).

8. A charter, 5 John (No. 13 above).

9. A charter, 6 Rich. II (No. 23 above) (see above, p. 209).

It occurs:

Patent Roll, 7 Hen. V, m. 19-17.

By *Inspeximus* Patent Roll, 2 Hen. VI, m. 4-1 (No. 25 below).

Hospital Cartulary, pp. 72-9.

No. 25.

Letters Patent of Henry VI, dated at Westminster, 8 June, in his 2nd year (1424); an *Inspeximus* by advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in the Parliament held at Westminster in the king's first year, to the prior and canons, of letters patent, 7 Henry V (No. 24 above) (see above, p. 209).

It occurs:

Patent Roll, 2 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 4-1.

No. 26.

Letters Patent of Henry VI, dated at Westminster, 8 October, in his 8th year (1429); an exemplification, at the request of the p. and c., of a charter of Henry I (No. 1 above) (see above, p. 209).

It occurs:

Patent Roll, 8 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 8.

No. 27.

Letters Patent of Henry VI, dated at Westminster, 30 December, in his 19th year (1440); relieving the p. and c. from the collection and levying of tenths and fifteenths and making them immune in case of non-payment (see above, p. 212).

It occurs :

Patent Roll, 19 Hen. VI, pt. 1, m. 15.

No. 28.

Letters Patent of Edward IV, dated at Westminster, 15 November, in his 5th year (1465); *Inspeximus* and confirmation to the p. and c. and to the m. and b. of the hospital, of the charter 6 Richard II (No. 23 above) (see above, p. 214).

It occurs :

Patent Roll, 5 Edw. IV, pt. 3, m. 15.

No. 29.

A Charter of Henry VII, dated at Westminster, on the 7 October, in his 5th year (1489); a charter of confirmation to the p. and c. and to the m. and b. of the hospital of the Letters Patent 5 Edward IV (No. 28 above) (see above, p. 220).

It occurs in an exemplification of its enrolment at the request of Robert Lord Rich, 25 Elizabeth, 14 May (1583). (It is entered in Lord Holland's cartulary, f. 123, but we have been unable to find where it has been enrolled.)

OTHER CHARTERS AND DEEDS

GRANT OF THE BENEFICE OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH BY
RAHERE TO HAGNO THE CLERK, A.D. 1137.

[St. Bartholomew's Hospital Safe. Two seals attached.¹]

Notum sit universis fidelibus quod ego Raheus sancti bartholomei qui est in smethefeld prior totusque ecclesie nostre conventus ecclesiam sancti sepulchri hagnoni clerico si regulam alterius professionis non inierit usque ad finem dierum suorum in elemosina concessimus. Illud autem scitote quod idem predictus hagno singulis annis ad usus canonicorum simul et pauperum in hospitali degentium quinquaginta solidos nobis reddet. In festivitate Sancti michaelis xxv solidos xxv. in pascha. Anno incarnationis domini millesimo. c. xxxvii. Anno vero secundo imperii Stephani regis in anglia. His existentibus testibus, Haco decanus. hugo Sancti martini canonicus. Gwalterus frater Gwillelmi Archidiaconi. Tioldus canonicus. Radulfus magister. Gilebertus presbiter. Osbertus presbiter. Rodbertus de Sancta MARIA. Algarus presbiter. Godefridus filius baldewini sacerdos. Rogerus niger. Alexander, Odo, Gaufridus cunestable. Ricardus presbiter. Burdo clericus. Gaufridus de heli.

¹ See above, p. 77.

CHARTER OF THOMAS OF CANTERBURY WHEREBY HE TAKES THE
CHURCH AND CANONS UNDER HIS PROTECTION AND CONFIRMS
THEIR POSSESSIONS, A.D. 1162-1170.

[Hospital Cartulary, f. 39d.¹]

Thomas dei gratia Cantuariensis Ecclesie humilis minister omnibus sancte matris ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris Salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos. ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et canonicos regulares ibidem deo servientes sub proteccionem domini et nostra suscepisse eisdemque confirmasse carte nostre testimonio corroborasse locum illum de Smythfeilde in quo ecclesia eorum fabricata est et domum hospitalis eiusdem ecclesie cum terris et tenementis et libertatibus et omnibus rebus ita bene et libere et quiete sicut Rex Henricus primus in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam eundem locum eis donavit et carta sua confirmavit. Preterea confirmamus eis omnes ecclesias et possessiones quas iuste et canonice in presentiam possident aut in futurum iuste adipisci poterunt. Has ergo prescriptas possessiones et quas in posterum adipisci iuste poterunt prefatis canonicis sancti Bartholomei presentis scripti munimine et sigilli nostri appositione confirmamus precipientes ut has prefatas possessiones et omnes libertates et dignitates quas tempore Regis Henrici primi habuerunt in summa pace et quiete possideant ita ut decetero nulli omnino homini liceat ecclesiam eorum temere perturbare aut dignitates eorum minuire aut possessiones auferre aut ablatas retinere aut eos quibuslibet vexacionibus fatigare. Omnes autem hanc confirmationem nostram conservantes dei et nostram optineant benedictionem eam vero infirmantes dei et nostram incurrant maledictionem.

CHARTER OF PRIOR THOMAS WHEREBY HE APPOINTS ADAM THE
MERCER MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL AND MAKES REGULATIONS
FOR ITS FUTURE GOVERNMENT, A.D. 1147.

[From the Hospital Cartulary, f. 46.²]

Thomas Prior Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei de Lundon et Conventus eiusdem ecclesie universis matris ecclesie filiis salutem. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod nos Adam mercarium in fraternitatem nostram recepimus ad participandum beneficiis corporalibus et spirituabilibus que in ecclesia nostra fiunt. Qui quoniam laicus est et scimus eum non posse in conventu fratrum clericorum supplere vicem curam domus hospitalis eius fraterne prudencie commisimus. Hac dispensacione: ut quaecunque ille vel alius in terris vel redditibus: vel in quibuscumque domus illius utilitatibus perquisierit omnia integra et illibata domui hospitali finabiliter permaneant. In externis agentem vel fervenciori desiderio volentem habitum ex integro canonicum suscipere parati erimus ex animo eius satisfacere desiderio. Et quia Adam solemniter fecit fidelitatem Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei iuramento astrictus et promisit obedienciam Thome priori et successoribus suis salva convencionem de custodia domus ho-

¹ See above, p. 97.

² For shortened English rendering, see above, p. 95.

spitalis sicut ista carta testatur. Ideo quo adiuxerit in habitu conversionis exteriori : prefate domus curam ad salutem anime sue presentis scripti attestacione firmamus. Ut sit ei libera potestas in pauperes orphanos pueros proiectos vicinos pauperes. Infirmos quoslibet et sine hospicio vagantes quantum eis deus inspiraverit : misericordie visceribus habundare. Gratum eciam erit nobis si quempiam de familiaribus suis vel de benefactoribus domus ad congregandum secum quandoque susceperit et humanitatis studio eis honeste obsecutus fuerit. Nostre autem reservamus auctoritati ne ad victum aut vestitum concinnum et perpetuum absque nostro consensu nullum admittat nec extra domum prebendam alicui assidue prebeat. Capellam que fere cum prefata domo fundari cepit damus assensum ut proficiat obstruso tamen hostio versus mercatum equorum. In qua vero scrinium truncum collocabitur ad collectam faciendam. Capellam autem que in medio domus ex religionis dispensacione et caritatis intuitu hactenus fuit : complanabit. Ut domus pulcrior appareat et adventantibus capacior fiat. Cum autem vite modo fecerit convocatis fratribus ad capitulum ecclesie si quis per suam industriam in domum prefatam attraxerit communi assensu auctoritate nostra unus ex illis dignus et honestus et utilis prefate domui preferetur. Et alii custodes qui per successionem post eum venient eandem curam quam predictus Adam habuit perpetue habuerint. Et quicunque Ade successerit in predictam domus hospitalis custodiam : simili iuramento fidelitatis et obediencia solempniter astringetur. Et preterea concedimus Ade et fratribus suis hospitalis ut habeant capellanum alium quam Canonicum virum honestum consilio nostro et fratrum suorum qui assiduum divinum officium in hospitali predicto ministret. Et fratres domus hospitalis eant in aquisicionem ea que sunt necessaria domui hospitalis sicut hactenus consuetudo fuit. Beneficium quod hactenus de ecclesia scilicet totam panis nostri decimacionem et fratrum reliquias tam panis quam carniū et piscis et potus maiori si potest fieri hilaritate quam hactenus et uberius dabimus. Et si, quod absit, domus illa aliquibus eguerit que nobis exuberent vel si predicta domus aliquibus habundaverit quibus ecclesia nostra indigerit : vicissim sibi absque utriusque gravamine subvenient. Et quicunque capellanus in ecclesia ierit ecclesie nostre et hospitali propositis sacris fidelitatem faciet. Ut igitur cunctis appareat quo studio quam insolubili caritatis vinculo volumus ut illa domus cum ecclesia nostra societur : et in unitate consistat. Et quod nostra ecclesia et domus predicta unum in Deo simus : Ego Thomas prior et conventus ecclesie anathematizamus et excommunicamus omnes qui divisionem et separationem facere attemptaverint. Hiis testibus Stephano priore de Ecclesia Sancte trinitatis. Roberto canonico suo Priore de Ecclesia Sancte marie de ultra pontem. Adam Canonico suo. Ricardo presbytero de Sancta Mildreda. Ismaele presbytero de Sancto Thoma. Magistro Clemente nepote Willelmi Grand. Willelmo de Coveham. Radulpho Buctel. Roberto de Cornhull. David fratre suo. Petro filio Walteri. Willelmo Magno. Edwardo Albo. Willelmo de Blemunt. Goce Vinitore. Audrea Bukerell. Bentinaro de Haverhull. Willelmo filio suo. Galfrido filio Sabelline. Willelmo fratre suo. Radulpho Brand. Laurencio fratre suo. Remerdo mercerio. Theobaldo mercerio. Willelmo Faceto. Bartholomeo mercerio. Malgero mercerio. Hugone de Clovilla. Ricardo filio Rameri. Ricardo

de Haverhull. Adamo filio Lisurni. Beremunde Iohanne Filia Stephane Brande. Gaufrido filio Stephani. Waltero de Clovilla. Rogero de Wittebie.

BOND OF PRIOR PETER AND THE CONVENT TO GIVE SEISIN TO
ALEXANDER DE SWEREFORD FOR HIS LIFE OF THE LAND OF
TYWINGS WITH THE ADVOWSON OF THE CHURCH. *Cir.* 1240.

[St. Paul's Library, A. Box 40. No. 1452.¹]

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Petrus Prior Canoniorum Sancti Bartholomei Londonie et eiusdem loci Conventus salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum Alexander de Swereford Thesaurarius Sancti Pauli Londonie divine caritatis intuitu nobis dederit et concesserit totam terram suam de Tywing' cum advocacione ecclesie eiusdem ville et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis perpetuo possidendam ad sustentacionem quatuor Canoniorum inperpetuum divina celebrancium pro eo in ecclesia nostra conventuali et de eadem terra cum pertinentiis et advocacione predicta in plenam nos posuerit seisinam : nos ob amorem specialem quem erga predictum Alexandrum gerimus concessimus eidem Thesaurario totam predictam terram cum pertinentiis possidendam quoad vixerit et de eadem terra cum pertinentiis cum ab eodem fuerimus requisiti in plenam ponemus seisinam sub pena centum marcarum Ita tamen quod per instrumentum dicti Thesaurarii vel alio modo nobis caveatur quod predicta terra cum advocacione ecclesie et aliis pertinentiis suis revertetur ad nos et ad successores nostros post mortem dicti Thesaurarii ad sustentacionem predictorum quatuor Canoniorum et in huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposimus. Hiis testibus Willelmo Capellano. Radulpho Capellano. Ricardo Clerico. Willelmo de Alneto. Willelmo de Pres. Waltero de Felebrug' et aliis.

Endorsed] Carta Prioris et Conventus Sancti Bartholomei Londonie de concessio Alexandri de Swereford ad sustentacionem quatuor Canoniorum.

In later hand] Alexander de Swerford Thesaurarius. Tywing' cum advocacione ecclesie ibidem concessa Priori &c. Sancti Bartholomei.

A RECEIPT OF A PSALTER AND GLOSS; AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY
THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF THE RECEIPT OF A PSALTER AND
GLOSS AND OTHER THINGS, A.D. 1250.

[St. Paul's Library, Box 70, No. 1759.²]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus Prior de Sancto Bartholomei et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos recepisse de dono Magistri Ricardi de Wendouere pie caritatis intuitu vnum psalterium glosatum in duobus voluminibus et epistolas beati Pauli et unam mensam et unum mensale ad honorem Dei et omnium Sanctorum et domus nostre melioracionem. Et nos pie et plene caritatis intuitu eum recepimus in fratrem de consensu et voluntate tocius conventus Et concedimus et donamus ei participacionem omnium bonorum in domo nostra factorum et fiendorum inperpetuum quod nomen eius cum

¹ See above, p. 118.

² *Ib.*, p. 120.

fratribus Christi nostro inscribatur. Actum anno gratie Millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo die Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

Endorsed] Wendovere.

CONFIRMATION OF THE ELECTION OF PRIOR COLLIER,

7-10 FEB., 1435-6.

[St. Paul's Library, Register of the Dean and Chapter, W.D. 13, f. 156d and 157.¹]

Septimo die dicti mensis Februarii anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo quinto coram venerabili viro Magistro David Pryce officario Londoniensis et Custode Spiritualitatum Episcopatus Londoniensis sede Episcopali Londoniensis vacante in dicta domo capitulari iudicialiter sedente comparuit personaliter Frater Iohannes Elys canonicus Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei in Smythfeld in suburbiis Londonie Procurator Conventus eiusdem Prioratus et presentavit et cetera ibidem dicto domino Officiario—decretum electionis de Fratre Reginaldo Colyer Canonico eiusdem Prioratus factum et celebratum instrumento publico quo quidem instrumento per ipsum recepto et inspecto prefatus dominus Officiarius ad petitionem dicti Procuratoris decrevit omnes et singulos qui contra huiusmodi decretum electionis elective personam aut personas eligentium dicere vel opponere voluerint vocandos fore erga diem Veneris tunc proximam futuram ad opponendum et dicendum quidquid dicere vel opponere voluerint cum intimatione quod sive dictis die et loco comparuerint sive non ipse ad confirmationem electionis huiusmodi procederet ipsorum contumacia non obstante Dicto vero die Veneris adveniente coram eodem domino Officiario in eadem domo capitulari iudicialiter sedente prefatus Frater Iohannes Elys Procurator antedictus et ibidem in presencia dicti Fratris Reginaldi electi predicti peciit instanter dictam electionem confirmari et proposuit quendam articulum pro confirmatione huiusmodi habendo et in subsidium probacionis contentorum in eodem articulo exhibuit huiusmodi decretum electionis et duas litteras sigillatas Et tunc ibidem post altercationes et allegationes in eadem parte habitas dictus dominus officarius negocium confirmationis huiusmodi usque in crastinum in eodem statu continuavit Quo quidem crastino videlicet undecimo die eiusdem mensis Februarii adveniente prefatus dominus officarius in eadem domo Capitulari ut prius iudicialiter sedens in presencia dicti Fratris Reginaldi electi predicti ad petitionem dicti Procuratoris et electi predicti in scriptis confirmavit prout in quadam cedula in hac parte conceptis continetur.

ORDINANCE BY ROBERT (FITZHUGH) BISHOP OF LONDON FOR THE
BETTER MANAGEMENT OF THE CHURCH AND PRIORY, A.D. 1433.

[St. Paul's Library, Box 25, No. 645.²]

Universis et singulis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes litteras inspectur' liqueat manifeste quod pro bono et utilitate ecclesie Sancte Bartholomei in Smethfeld London' necnon pro redintegracione status prioratus predicti ac

¹ See above, p. 211.

² Ib., p. 204.

reformatione defectuum plurimorum quasi Importabilium per venerabilem in Christo patrem ac dominum Dominum Robertum Dei gratia Londoniensi Episcopum in visitatione sua ordinaria dictorum ecclesie et prioratus nouiter compertorum et presertim de bonis temporalibus et spiritualibus ad eosdem ecclesiam et prioratum spectantibus sumptuose et Inordinate Dispositis et gubernatis. Idem venerabilis in Christo pater et Dominus ex consensu pariter et assensu Religiosorum virorum Williemi Coventrie Prioris et conventus prioratus predicti necnon ad specialem requisicionem et Instanciam eorundem fecit ordinavit et pro tempore hic inferius limitato stabilivit ordinaciones subsequentes.

Primo videlicet quod omnia et singula redditus et proficua tam spiritualia quam temporalia prioratus predicti per providum et circumspectum virum Magistrum Iohannem Druett prefati Domini episcopi Commissarium durante tempore supradicto recipientur et colligentur et per eundem Magistrum Iohannem per assensum deliberacionem et supervisum Walteri Shiryngton Cancellarii Domini Regis de Ducatu suo Lancastrie secundum formam et effectum hic subsequenter declaratum erunt pro bono et utilitate prioratus predicti disposita administrata soluta et gubernata.

Et quoniam verus valor exituum reuencionum reddituum et proficuorum predictorum summam quingentarum librarum per annum hiis diebus ut asseritur non excedit unde onera pensionum feodorum annuitatum et corodiorum usque ad summam Centum et septem librarum Resoluciones vero reddituum usque ad summam quinquaginta et octo librarum annuatim se extendunt. Ordinatum est igitur et appunctuatum quod predicta onera de exitibus revencionibus redditibus et proficuis supradictis persolvantur.

Item pro eo quod debita dictorum prioris et Conventus diversis creditoribus debita et a retro existencia verum valorem annum supradictum in multo excedunt Appunctuatum est igitur et ordinatum quod prefati Prior et Conventus pro sustentacione sua et servientum suorum certa rationabili summa exituum revencionum reddituum et proficuorum predictorum per annum Inter predictum dominum Episcopum et ipsos communicata [qy.] et finaliter concordata durante tempore supradicto debeant contentari videlicet quod prefatus Prior percipiet quolibet anno ad iiij anni terminos usuales per equales porciones pro sua capellani sui concanonici et servientum suorum sustentacione omnimoda viginti libras sterlingorum tantum Quilibet vero Canonicus predicti prioratus preter Canonicum capellanum prioris predicti pro sua et suorum sustentacione omnimoda Centum solidos tantum. Et uterque Clericorum in ecclesia predicta serviencium pro sua sustentacione lxvijs. iiijd. tantum. Et quidam Dominus Ricardus Sutton Capellanus pro sustentacione sua pro qua contentavit predictos priorem et Conventum ante hec tempora ut asserint xlijs. iiijd. per annum tantum. Et quod prefatus Conventus habeat xxxiys. iiijd. quolibet anno pro pictancia. Et quod redditus infirmarie videlicet xliiys. solvatur quolibet anno et expendatur super Canonicis infirmis et debilibus.

Item circa reparaciones necessarias eisdem ecclesie et prioratui Incumbentes summa xl. librarum expendatur et non amplius absque causa rationabili et necessaria prefatis priori et Conventui prius cognita et declarata.

Item de residuo exituum revencionum reddituum et proficuum supra-
dictorum prelibata debita persolvantur et contententur.

Item quod Prior et Conventus predicti de recepcione gubernacione disposicione
seu administracione bonorum spiritualium aut temporalium prenominati prio-
ratus seu alicuius parcelle eorundem durante termino supradicto absque assensu
prefatorum Cancellarii et Commissarii se nullatenus Intromittant nec eorum
aliquis Intromittat nec prefati Cancellarius et Commissarius aut alter eorum
de observancia Religionis absque assensu prefatorum prioris et conventus se
Intromittant aut eorum alter se aliquatenus Intromittant.

Item ad effectum quod amodo per tempus predictum non fiat alienacio
Impugneracio aut alia quevis disposicio preiudicialis prioratui supradicto de
exitibus revencionibus redditibus aut proficiis supradictis neque de bonis aut
localibus eidem prioratui pertinentibus Ordinatum est et provisum quod
sigillum commune unacum omnibus et singulis localibus ecclesie et prioratus
predictorum preter ea que quotidiano habentur in usu in quadam Cista ponantur
sub tribus diversis clavibus obserata quarum unam habeat Prior alteram
Supprior et terciam Cancellarius vel Commissarius antedictus.

Item quod dictus magister Iohannes Druell dictis priori et Conventui seu
ipsorum deputatis in presentia prefati Walteri Shiryngton de dicti prioratus
quibuscumque receptis solutis et qualitercumque administratis per eundem
Magistrum Iohannem Druell bis in anno videlicet in festo Michaelis Arch-
angeli et in festo Annunciationis beate Marie compotum et plenam reddat
rationem.

In cuius rei testimonium sepedictus Reverendus in Christo pater de assensu
et consensu prenominatorum prioris et Conventus et ad ipsorum requisicionem
et Rogatum speciales has ordinationes predictas tam suo quam predictorum
prioris et Conventus communi sigillo sigillatas fecit fieri tripartitas unas videlicet
penes eundem Reverendum patrem alias penes dictos priorem et Conventum
et tercias penes prefatos Cancellarium et Commissarium remansuras hinc ad
triennium Duraturas. Datum in Domo nostra Capitulari Mensis Maii die
prima Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post Conquestum undecimo.

Endorsed] Ordinatio super Prioratu Sancti Bartholomei.

B. vij^o.

Ordinationes prioratus sancti Bartholomei in Smythfelde.

B. vij^o.

RECORDS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

A PLEA OF WARRANT OF CHARTER, 1201.

[Curia Regis Roll, No. 25, Michaelmas [3], John, m. 1.¹]

Ricardus Prior Sancti Bartholomei ponit loco suo Andream Canonicum suum
versus Henricum del More de placito warrantie carte etcetera.

¹ See above, p. 106.

CONCERNING A PLEA OF LAND, 1199-1216.

[Curia Regis Roll, No. 61, m. 2, time of John.]

Andreas Canonicus attornatus Prioris de Sancto Bartholomeo de Londonia versus Rogerum de Argent de placito terre per Trustram Pollard In Octavis Sancti Hillarii affertur coram Rege.¹

A WRIT OF SUMMONS. JOHN DE SHELFORD AND ROBERT DE AMUEVILL AGAINST THE PRIORS OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S AND HOLY TRINITY AND THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, A.D. 1219.

[Curia Regis Roll, No. 70 B, m. 7d, and duplicate entry on Roll No. 71, m. 9d, the latter dated Michaelmas, 3 and 4 Henry III.²]

Iohannes de Sheford et Robertus de Amuevill optulerunt se quarto die versus Priores Sancti Bartholomei et Sancte Trinitatis Londonie et Decanum Sancti Pauli Londonie de placito quare tenuerunt placitum in curia christianitatis etcetera de laico feodo ipsorum Roberti et Iohannis Crokesle etcetera. Et ipsi non venerunt etcetera. Et Vicecomes mandavit quod non fuerunt inventi et ideo sicut alias preceptum est quod attachientur eos quod sint in Crastino Sancti Martini etcetera. Unde Vicecomes mandavit quod non fuerunt inventi etcetera.

CLAIM OF AN ADVOWSON. WILLIAM DE RENNES CLAIMS THE ADVOWSON OF THE CHURCH OF BRADEFELD [ESSEX] AGAINST THE PRIOR OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S, LONDON (M'MAS, 8 AND 9 HEN. III., A.D. 1224).

[Curia Regis Roll, No. 87, m. 13d, and duplicate entry on Roll No. 85, m. 19d.³]

Assisa venit recognitura Quis advocatio etcetera ad Ecclesiam de Bradefeld etcetera cuius advocatio Willelmus de Rennes clamat versus Priorem Sancti Bartholomei Londonie Qui venit et dicit quod assisa non debet inde fieri quia idem Willelmus alias tulit assisam ultime presentationis coram Iusticiariis ultimis itinerantibus apud Chelmerford et tandem ibidem coram eis adiudicata fuit eidem Priori presentatio sua. et inde ponit se super recordum curie.

Et Willelmus dicit quod hoc non debet ei nocere quia idem Prior nullam recuperavit presentationem immo Episcopo loci auctoritate concilii contulit cuidam clerico ecclesiam illam et inde ponit se super iuratum.

Et Prior dicit quod Walterus qui ultimo obiit persona presentatus fuit ab eodem Priore eandem Ecclesiam. Et inde ponit se super Assisam. Et Willelmus similiter et ideo procedat assisa. Iuratores dicunt quod Walterus qui ultimo obiit persona etcetera habuit Ecclesiam illam ex dono Episcopi Londoniensis auctoritate concilii et non ad presentationem Prioris Et quesiti quis presentavit Adam qui prius obiit persona ante Walterum dicunt quod Willelmus de

¹ See above, p. 107.² See above, p. 111.³ See above, p. 112.

Rennes avus Willelmi. Et ideo consideratum est quod Willelmus recuperavit presentationem suam. Et Prior in misericordia mandetur Episcopo Londoniensi quod admittat clericum suum.

A CLAIM OF LAND IN CLERKENWELL. THE PRIOR CLAIMS AGAINST GERMAIN THE GORGERER AND DENIS HIS WIFE LAND IN CLERKENWELL, A.D. 1266.

[Curia Regis Roll 176, m. 22d.¹]

Middlesex.

Prior Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld per attornatum suum petit versus Gerinum le Gorgerer et Dyonisiam uxorem eius decem et octo perticatas terre et dimidiam in longitudine et quinque pedes terre in latitudine cum pertinentiis in Clerkenewelle strete ut ius ecclesie sue etcetera in quas iidem Gerinus et Dionisia non habent ingressum nisi per Robertum filium Ricardi le Fevere qui Petrum quondam Priorem Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld predecesorem predicti Prioris inde iniuste et sine iudicio disseisivit post primam etcetera. Et Gerinus et Dyonisia veniunt et defendunt ius suum etcetera et bene cognoscuntur quod habent ingressum in predictam terram per predictum Robertum set bene defendunt quod predictus Robertus nunquam disseisivit predictum Petrum quondam Priorem Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld. Set dicunt quod quidam Ricardus le Fevere pater predicti Roberti obiit seisitus de predictis tenementis ut de libero tenemento suo et quod idem Robertus post mortem predicti Ricardi intravit in predicta tenementa ut filius et heres predicti Ricardi. Et de hoc ponunt se super patriam. Et Prior similiter. Ideo preceptum est Vicecomiti quod venire faciat hic in Octabis Sancti Hillarii duodecim etcetera per quos etcetera. Et qui nec etcetera ad recognitum in forma predicta. Quia tam etcetera.

ADAM DE STRATTON AGAINST THE PRIOR OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S, A.D. 1268.

[Curia Regis Roll 184 B, m. 1d.²]

Adam de Stratton optulit se quarto die versus Priorem Sancti Bartholomei Londonie et Margeriam ve . . . ad hunc diem ad cognoscendum per que servicia tenent tenementum suum in parochia de Sene . . . Sacri que servicia idem Iohannes in curia Regis hic concessit predicto Ade et heredibus suis per finem . . . factam. Et ipse non venit et preceptum fuit Vicecomiti quod faceret eum venire ad hunc diem . . . quod Robertus de Horemad et Alexander Crubbe manucapti predictum Priorem Et quod Robertus de Ponte . . . David manucapti predictam Margeriam. Ideo ipsi in misericordia. Et preceptum est Vicecomiti quod distringat eos per omn . . . etcetera. Ita quod de exitibus etcetera. Et quod habeat corpora eorum in Octabis Sancte Trinitatis etcetera.

¹ See above, p. 132.

² See above, p. 132.

AN INQUISITION AS TO THE CUSTODY OF THE HOSPITAL AND THE
RIGHT OF THE KING TO THE ADVOWSON OF THE SAME,
A.D. 1285.

[Chancery *Inquisitio Post Mortem*, 13 Edw. I, n. 125.¹]

A translation :

'The king assigned Master Henry de Bray, his escheator on this side the Trent, to enquire concerning the right of the king to the advowson of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and also to enquire by the oath of good and lawful men as well of the city of London and the suburbs of the same as by others of those parts whether the custody of the said hospital belongs to the king or to the prior of St. Bartholomew's Priory there, whereupon an inquisition was taken thereof before the said H. at St. Martin's the Great, London, on Wednesday in the feast of St. James the Apostle 13 Edward I (1285) by Richard de la Grene, William le Flamang, Andrew le Blader, John le Proud Barber, William Pikart le Tayllur, William de Haversham, Iocous atte Welle, Reginald de Wymbildon, Robert de Wyke, Adam le Pestur, John le Barber, John Datchet and Walter de Hengham, who say that the said priory of St. Bartholomew is of the foundation of the progenitors of the new king as a free chapel of the king, to the which priory the said hospital is annexed as a member of the same and immediately subject to it, so that from time immemorial, the hospital being vacant, the priors of the said priory always had the custody of the said hospital, taking nothing of the temporalities or spiritualities thereof, but all the issues and profits thereof were converted to the use of the poor and the ministers of the said hospital. The brethren of the said hospital have their election, and choose whom they think fit to be master, and present whom they have chosen to the prior, who presents him to the bishop of London to be confirmed, whereupon the custody of the hospital when vacant belongs to the said prior. Neither the king nor his ministers have hitherto intermeddled in the custody of the said hospital when vacant, unless it should happen that while the priory was vacant the said hospital should also happen to be vacant, in which case the custody ought to belong to the king.'

A PETITION TO THE KING FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE 'CHRIST'S
DOLE' OF FISH AT YARMOUTH, ABOUT A.D. 1323.

[Ancient petitions, R.O. 272/13570.²]

A nostre seign^r le Roi mustre le Priour et le Couent de saint Berthelemeu de Londres q̄ com il teignent leglise de petyt Jernemuth en ppres vs du doun des auncestres n̄re seign^r le Roi a quele eglise apent un p̄fit qest apele Cristesdale cest asauer q̄ la dite eglise de chescun nef de la paroche qest peschaunt en la Meer deit auer sa porcion del gayn de la pescherie tant com affert a un de pesch[eurs ?] ou mariners de mesme la nef le quel q̄ les ditz mariners seijent de mesme la vile ou dautre pays de quel p̄fit la dite eglise ad este seisie du temps dont nule memoire ne court com de dreit de leglise com esteit plus pleynement troue [en] la dreyne visitacion Larceuesq̄ de Caunterbyrs, ci la q̄ a vynt aunz de cy, un John fiz Aleyn de Kessinglond ensemblement oue autres de autres poches unt cele porcion detenu iesqes ensa au damage de ditz Priour e couent

¹ See above, p. 136.

² For translation see above, p. 151.

e desheritesun de leglise auantdite prie au nre seignr le Roi le dit Priour qil voille pur dieu tel remede ordener en ces cas q̄ la dite eglise ne seit desherite.

[*Endorsed*] Heant bre formatum in Cancellaria sup contentis in ista peticoe vsus iniuriantes, &c.

A DISPUTED ACQUITTANCE FOR BEER, A.D. 1445.

[Early Chancery proceedings, R.O. 23 Henry VI, Bundle 13, No. 38.¹]

John Spenser, brewer of London *ver.* Reynold, prior of St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield.

Alleged acquittance: (Examinations of John Venys, sub-prior and others). 23 Henry VI.

' Be it had in mynde that the X day of Juyl (July) ye xxiii yere of King Henry the sixth² per John Venys supprior of ye priorie of seynt Bartholomew in Westmythfeld London John Elys and Thomas Banbery, chanons of ye sayd priorie appearyng in their proper persones before the king in his channcorie by speciall comaundement of ye same court thereof had. And there streytly at the request of Reynold priour of ye sayd priorie sworn every man above sayd be hymself upon a boke to sey the playn trowthe whether that they had any knowleche or noo of ye making and selyng (sealing) of a quitance that was made by one John Spenser of London brewer in the vigill of Seynt John Baptiste the yere of the regne of Kyng Henri ye sixte after ye Conquest ye xvii to ye seyde priour & conent (convent) of the same place by the which acquittance it apperith that ye seyde John hath resceyved of ye seyde priour & conent LX. li in full payment of all manner of arrerages to the seyde John by the seyde priory & convent before the date of the seyde acquittance in any wyse dewe or owyng. The seyde John Venys John Elys and Thomas Banbery playnly and openly seyde by the othe that they had made and be ther prestehode as they wode answere to God that eon Symkyn Braban a clerk sumtyme of the Eschekey (Exchequer) and now of new Salesbery Gentelman wrote the seyde acquittance with his owne hand and that the seyde acquittance was redde in Englissh tonge accordyng to the Latyn and in noon other covine³ afore ye selyng thereof to the seyde John Spenser in the chamber of ye seyde priour withyn ys seyde priorie. In presence of ye seyde priour John Venys supprior John Elys Thomas Thornton Thom Banbery chanons of the seyde hous Robt. Bayley a clerk of the Eschekey Willm. West citezen & Founder⁴ of London Reynold Newton of London yoman and other and so thereupon the same John Spenser thanne and there with good deliberacion and avisement thereof selid ye seyde acquittance with his owne handis and to ye seyde Reynold priour there delivered and with ye same sele selid that the seyde John Spenser had selid y acquittance to prior Willm. Coventre predecessor of the seyde priour that now is the which matier is trewe as God knowith and all his seyntis.'

Bundle 19, No. 348.

Margaret, late the wife and executrix of John Spenser, brewer of London *ver.* John Ball, late servant of Reginald Collyer, prior of S. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield.

Forgery of an acquittance of debt by the said Prior, one Elys his co-canon, and John Parker, Sanctuary monger.

' To the most reverent Father in God the Archbisshop and Cardinal of York

¹ See above, p. 215.

² 10th July, 1445.

³ Collusion.

⁴ Founders were workers in metal.

and Chancellor of England Mekeley besecheth Margaret¹ late the wife of John Spencer late citizen & brewer of London the executrix of the testament of the same John that where one Reynold Colyer priour of the chyrche of seynt Bartilmew's in West Smythfeld in the subarbis of London was indetted unto the said John Spencer testator of your said besecher cccij^{xx} xlii li xliii & xvii^d ob.² for ale of the same hadde to the use of his said priorie as hit appered be diverse wrytynges and tailles therof made for the whiche the said John Spencer toke an accion of dette ageynst the said priour reteanable before the justice of the comyn place (Common Pleas) process thereof contynned unto the tyme the said priour appered and (blank) leted (pleaded) in barr of the said accion of dette an acquitannce supposed to be made to the said priour in the name of the same John Spencer the whiche acquittance was totally fourged and of grete untrouth ymagyned made and sealed in the name of the said John Spencer by the said priour and one Elys his cochanon and one John Parker late Goldsmyth and of Seynt Marteyne the grete of London Seynt Warymongar(*sic*) the which was never the dede of the said John Spencer and for the said priour durst not abide the triell therof in London where the said accion of dette was sued he laid the same Reles (release) to be made in the Shire of Surrey because of which acquitannce so ymagyned and fourged and foreyn ple so pleted the testator of youre said besecher was putte to greyte delays and the said matter to take such conclusion the whiche was to the irreparable hurte of hym and of your said besecher with oute your gracious lordeship to youre said besecher shewed in this behalf and of the whyche acquitannce so fourged and made with all the circumstance therof one Jhn. Bell thenne beyng servaunt of the said priour knowes the truth of the matter in that particular the which were to youre said besecher a mene of a speddy remedy. Wherefore please hit youre said gode lordship the premisses considere if to grante a writte of subpena to be directe to the said Jhn. Bell to apere afore youe atte a certeyn day to be examyned thereupon the premisses and doo and prescribe in that particular by your grete wysdom and gud faith and conscience requireth and that for the luf of God and in the waye of charite.³

DEED OF PENSION TO ROBERT GLASIER, 20TH NOVEMBER,
31 HENRY VIII, 1539.

[Augmentation Office (R.O.) Miscellaneous Books, No. 234. Deeds of Pension.
A similar deed was given to 12 other canons.⁴]

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Cum nuper Monasterium Sancti Bartholomei in Smythfelde iuxta Londoniam in comitatu nostro Middlesexiae iam dissolvatur; unde quidam Robertus Glasier, tempore dissolutionis illius, et diu antea, Subprior ibidem fuit: Nos, volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem sive promocionem condignam eidem Roberto, ad victum, exhibitionem, et sustentacionem suam melius sustinendos provideri: Sciatis igitur, quod nos, in consideracione praemissorum, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, per advisamentum et consensum Cancellarii et Consilii Curiae Augmentacionum Revencionum Coronae nostrae, dedimus et

¹ Daughter of John Cruse admitted to freedom or city, 30th May, 1449. See Cal. Wills Ct. Husting, ii. 520.

² £293 14s. 17½d.

³ The above is simply a request for a subpoena to John Bell to give evidence, but there is nothing to show the subpoena was granted.

⁴ See above, p. 254.

concessimus, ac per praesentes damus et concedimus, eidem Roberto quandam annuitatem, sive annualem pensionem, quindecim librarum sterlingorum; habendum, gaudendum, & annuatim percipiendum, easdem quindecim libras praefato Roberto assignatis suis, a Festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo praeterito, ad terminum & pro termino vitae ipsius Roberti, vel quousque idem Robertus ad unum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica, sive aliam promotionem condignam clari annui valoris quindecim librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus Thesaurarii Revencionum Augmentacionum Coronae nostrae pro tempore existentis, de Thesauro nostro in manibus suis, de revencionibus praedictis remanere contingente, quam per manus receptorum exituum & revencionum dicti nuper Monasterii pro tempore existentium de eisdem exitibus et revencionibus, ad Festa Annunciacionis beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, per equales porciones, annuatim soluendas, eo quod expressa mencio, etc. In cuius rei, etc. Teste Ricardo Riche Milite, apud Westmonasterium vicesimo die Novembris, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

Per Cancellarium et Consilium praedictum, virtute warranti praedicti.

THE DEED OF SURRENDER DATED 25 OCTOBER, 31 HEN. VIII, 1539.

[Augmentations R.O. Deeds of Surrender, No. 136.¹]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit, Robertus permissione divina Abbas Monasterii de Waltham in comitatu Essex, ac Prior & Commendatorius Monasterii sive Prioratus sancti Bartholomaei in Smythfelde iuxta civitatem nostram London' in com'. Midd' & eiusdem loci Conventus, salutem. Sciatis nos praefatum Abbatem et Conventum, certis de causis & considerationibus nos ad praesens specialiter moventibus, unanimi assensu & consensu, ac spontanea voluntate nostris, dedisse, concessisse, & hac praesenti carta nostra confirmasse, excellentissimo Principi & Domino nostro Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei gratia, Angliae & Franciae Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hiberniae, & in terra supremo capiti Anglicanae Ecclesiae, totum praedictum Monasterium & Prioratum nostrum sancti Bartholomaei praedicti, ac totum scitum, procinctum, & circuitum eiusdem nuper Prioratus, ac omnia et singula dominia, maneria, hundreda, grangias, messuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, mariscos, pascuas, pasturas, boscos, parques, warrennas, communias, vasta, iampna, brueras, aquas, piscarias, redditus, reversiones, annuitates, feodi firmas, ecclesias, capellas, rectorias, vicarias, cantarias, advocaciones, praesentationes, iura patronatum, pensiones, porciones, decimas, oblationes, feoda militum, escaetas, relevia, curias letas, visus franci plegii, nundinas, marcatas, ac alia iura, iurisdictiones, franchises, libertates, privilegia, possessiones, & hereditamenta nostra quaecumque, tam spiritualia quam temporalia, cuiuscumque sint generis, naturae, vel speciei, seu quibuscumque nominibus sciantur, censeantur, vel cognoscantur, situat', iacen', vel existen' tam in' com' Midd', Hertf., & Essex, ac in civitate London', quam alibi ubicumque infra regnum Angliae, quae dicto Monasterio sive Prioratui Sancti Bartholomaei

¹ See above, p. 253.

praedicti spectant vel pertinent, aut parcell' possessionum, iurium, revencionum, seu hereditamentorum eiusdem Monasterii sive Prioratus Sancti Bartholomaei, sunt vel existunt, aut quae ratione vel praetextu seu in iure eiusdem Monasterii sive Prioratus Sancti Bartholomaei habemus, tenemus, vel gaudemus, aut habere, tenere, vel gaudere debemus ; ac etiam omnia et omnimoda ornamenta ecclesiae, iocalia, bona, catalla, & debita nostra quaecumque, quae in iure, ratione, vel praetextu dicti Monasterii sive Prioratus Sancti Bartholomaei habemus, seu quoquomodo habere debemus : Habendum, tenendum, et gaudendum totum praedictum Monasterium et Prioratum Sancti Bartholomaei praedicti, ac omnia & singula praedicta dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, servicia, rectorias, vicarias, ecclesias, capellas, bona, catalla, debita, & caetera omnia & singula praemissa superius specificata, cum suis pertinentiis universis, praefato Domino nostro Regi, haeredibus & successoribus suis imperpetuum. Et nos vero praefati Abbas & Conventus & successores nostri totum praedictum Monasterium et Prioratum Sancti Bartholomaei praedicti, ac omnia praedicta dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa, & caetera omnia & singula praemissa superius specificata, cum pertinentiis, praefato Domino nostro Regi, haeredibus & successoribus suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & imperpetuum defendemus per praesentes. In cuius rei testimonium, huic praesenti cartae nostrae sigillum nostrum commune apposimus. Dat' in domo nostra capitulari, vicesimo quinto die Octobris, anno regni dicti Domini Regis nunc Henrici Octavi tricesimo primo.

Recognavit coram me Williamo Petre uno clericorum cancellarii domini Regis die et loco intrascriptis
per me Will^m Petre.

PARTICULARS FOR THE GRANT OF THE MONASTERY TO SIR RICHARD
RICH, KNT., DATED 8 APRIL, 35 HENRY VIII, 1544.

[Augmentations, Particulars for Grant, R.O. No. 927, m. 5.¹]

Bunde et Limites, Circuitus et procinctus clausi vocati greate seynt Bartilmewes Close, nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei in West Smythfelde in Suburbio London videlicet

Incipiendo apud magnam Portam vocatam le Southgate clausi praedicti in vltiori parte eiusdem porte ad australem finem venelle vocate Duklane, et abinde tendendo borialiter per medium illius venelle vocate Duklane videlicet per le Cannell in medio eiusdem venelle sicut idem le Cannell in medio illius venelle ducit a dicta australi porta vsque quendam locum vocatum le Cheyne dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus, et sic deinde procedendo borialiter per exteriorem partem occidentalis partis eiusdem le Cheyne versus Smythfeld vsque ad finem borialem illius le Cheyne, et tunc deuertendo orientaliter per exteriorem partem ad finem borialem dicti le Cheyne prout illud le Cheyne ducit ad finem borialem inde, et tunc diuertendo et de inde procedendo borialiter a fine boreali dicti le Cheyne per exteriorem partem Porte occidentalis ferie

¹ See above, p. 264, and Vol. II, chap. xii, bounds.

Sancti Bartholomei, et per exteriores partes et muros domorum et tenementorum parcellæ possessionum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus versus Mercatum de Smythfeld vsque quandam venellam vocatam Longlayne et tunc deuertendo orientaliter per exteriorē partē muri lapidei dicti clausi et dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus versus dictam venellam vocatam Longlayne vsque murum lapideum dicti clausi et dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus ad finem orientalem eiusdem Muri lapidei erga dictam venellam vocatam Longlayne, et tunc diuertendo australiter ab eadem venella vocata Longlayne per exteriorē partē dicti muri lapidei dicti clausi et dicti nuper Monasterii sicut idem murus lapideus ducit a dicta venella vocata Longlayne vsque domos et edificia nuper parcellam possessionum nuper domus dudum fratrum de Honneslowe et deinde procedendo australiter per occidentalem partē earundem domorum et edificiorum nuper parcellæ possessionum dicte domus dudum fratrum de Hounslowe vsque quandam locum vocatum Pety Walles et tunc deuertendo orientaliter a Pety Walles per exteriorē partē boralis partis cuiusdam loci vocati Paradyse iuxta Pety Walles vsque vltiorem partē in oriente eiusdem loci vocati Paradyse et tunc deuertendo australiter per exteriorē partē orientalis partis dicti loci vocati Paradyse vsque alteriorem partē in Australi parte eiusdem loci vocati Paradyse, et tunc deuertendo occidentaliter per exteriorē partē australis partis dicti loci vocati Paradyse vsque dictum locum vocatum Pety Walles et deinde procedendo occidentaliter per exteriorē partē dicti loci vocati Pety-Walles versus et iuxta domorum edificia et vacuam terram parcellam de Blackhorse Alley pertinencia et spectancia Societati Piscenariorum Londoniensium vsque finem occidentalem dicte vacue terre parcellæ dicte le Blackhorse Alley et tunc diuertendo australiter per finem occidentalem dicte vacue terre parcellæ dicti le Blackhorse Alley, et per exteriorē partē Gardini et Messuagii in tenura Roberti Burgoyne Armigeri versus orientem vsque murum de Bryck ad finem Australem eiusdem Messuagii in tenura ipsius Robert Burgoyne et tunc deuertendo occidentaliter per exteriorē partē dicti muri de Bryck ad finem Australem dicti Messuagii in tenura dicti Roberti Burgoyne usque murum de Bryck iuxta Messuagium in tenura Thome Burgoyne Armigeri et tunc diuertendo Australiter per exteriorē partē versus orientem eiusdem muri de Bryck iuxta idem Messuagium, et Gardinum in tenura ipsius Thome Burgoyne prout idem murus de Bryck extendit vsque Gardinum in tenura Thome Andrewes generosi et tunc diuertendo orientaliter per exteriorē partē eiusdem Gardini in tenura ipsius Thome Andrewes versus boriā vsque finem orientalem eiusdem Gardini in tenura ipsius Thome Andrewes, et tunc deuertendo australiter per exteriorē partē orientalis finis eiusdem Gardini in tenura illius Thome Andrewes versus orientem vsque messuagium Ricardi Mody Armigeri. Et sic abinde procedendo australiter per exteriorē partē Messuagii dicti Ricardi Mody versus orientem vsque murum de Bryck ad finem australem eiusdem Messuagii ipsius Ricardi Mody et tunc diuertendo occidentaliter per exteriorē partē Muri de Bryck ad finem Australem Messuagii et gardini dicti Ricardi Mody versus Austrum et ad finem australem Gardini in tenura Ricardi Bartlett in Medicinis Doctoris versus Austrum usque murum de Bryck ad finem occidentalem

eiusdem Gardini in tenura ipsius Ricardi Bartlett, et tunc diuertendo borialiter per exteriorem partem muri de Bryck ad finem occidentalem dicti Gardini in tenura dicti Ricardi Bartlett versus occidentem vsque australem partem Mesuagii in tenura dicti Ricardi Bartlett et tunc diuertendo occidentaliter per exteriorem partem eiusdem Messuagii in tenura ipsius Ricardi Bartlett versus Austrum, et sic deinde procedendo occidentaliter per exteriores partes domorum, tenementorum, et edificiorum parcellarum possessionum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus versus Austrum vsque ad dictam Portam Australem dicti clausi vocati great Seynte Bartlemewes Close.

Richard Ryche.
Ricardus Duke.
Thomas Burgoyne.

Parcelle possessionum Domini Regis nuper Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei iuxta West Smithfeld London.

Clausum Sancti Bartholomei valet in

Redditu vnus tenementi scituati in le Church rowe in tenura Iohannis Smythe per annum	} liij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Nicholai Garrardson per annum	} xxvj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem scituati iuxta tenementum predictum in tenura Iohannis Smythe per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Willelmi Wilson per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Ricardi Watts taylor per annum	} xx ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem scituati iuxta tenementum predictum in tenura Iohanne Dauby vidue per annum	} x ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi scituati iuxta tenementum predictum nuper in tenura Willelmi Lee per annum et postea in tenura Margarete uxoris eiusdem Willelmi per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem scituati iuxta tenementum predictum dimissi Iohanni Williams per annum	} xx ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi scituati iuxta tenementum predictum in tenura predicti Iohannis Williams per annum	} xx ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi scituati infra dictum clausum in tenura Ricardi Tyrrell generosi per annum	} xl ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi iuxta portam Australem dicti clausi in tenura Iohannis Ussher per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi siue Camerae scituati supra portam Australem clausi predicti dimissi Iohanne Martyn vidue per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu vnus Camerae scituatae supra dictam Portam in tenura dicti Iohannis Ussher per annum	} xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Redditu vnus tenementi ibidem in tenura Thome Wrothe per annum	} xx ^s .

Redditus tenencium ad voluntatem.	Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi Iohanni Remyngton per annum	} xx ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi per annum	Iohanni Browne	} xx ^s .
Redditu vnus tenementi infra dictum clausum in tenura Thome Tyrrell per annum per Indenturam vt dicitur		} xx ^s .
Redditu vnus tenementi in Paradyse in tenura Roberti Pyers per annum		} v ^s .
Redditu duorum tenementorum in petye Wales nuper in tenura Willelmi Geffrey et modo in tenura Thome England per annum		} x ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu vnus tenementi in Paradyse nuper in tenura Willelmi Parker per annum		} viij ^s .
Redditu vnus tenementi ibidem in tenura Georgii Freman per annum		} v ^s .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Relicte Edwardi Whithers per annum		} xij ^s . iij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Stephani Bu- keram Brewer per annum		} vj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem nuper in tenura Ricardi Robyns et modo in tenura Georgii Corne per annum		} vj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Iohannis Hodge- ney per annum		} vj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Gervasii Wath per annum		} vj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Roberti Adams per annum		} v ^s .
Redditu vnus tenementi ibidem in tenura Thome Toye per annum		} vj ^s . viij ^d .
Redditu vnus Cottagii ibidem in tenura Thome Buknall per annum		} ij ^s .
Redditu vnus Tenementi scituati infra dictum Clausum in tenura Dorothee Pauer vidue per annum per Indenturam vt dicitur		} xl ^s .
		xxiiij ^l xij ^s . iij ^d .
Firma vnus tenementi infra dictum Clausum dimissi Matheo White per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		} xxxiiij ^s . iij ^d .
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem in tenura Hugonis Ap Harry dimissi Iohanni Higham per Indenturam pro termino annorum		} xxvj ^s . viij ^d .
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Ricardo Mody per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		} xlvj ^s . viij ^d .
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Ricardo Aleyn per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		} xl ^s .
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi prefato Ricardo Aleyn per Indenturam predictam pro termino annorum modo in tenura Thome Barker per annum		} xxvj ^s . viij ^d .

Firma alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi Iohanne Glascock per	}xl ^s .	
Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi Willelmo Wadeley	}xl ^s .	
Taylor per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi Iacobo Rokesby per	}xl ^s .	
Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem dimissi Ricardo Bartelett per	}liij ^s . iiij ^d .	
Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		
Firma vnus Messuagii siue tenementi ibidem dimissi Iohanni	} nihil quia	
Porte militi per Indenturam pro termino annorum pro lxvj ^s .		} venditur Ricar-
viiij ^d . per annum		
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem sic dimissi Thome Andrewys	}cvj ^s . viij ^d .	
et Agnete vxori eius per Indenturam pro termino annorum per		
annum	}	
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Thome Byt ^t per Inden-	}liij ^s . iiij ^d .	
turam pro termino annorum per annum		
Firma alterius tenementi ibidem cum Gardino dimissi Iohanni	}xliij ^s .	
Plumstede per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum		

Firma tenementorum dimissorum per Indenturam.

Firma vnus tenementi cum pertinenciis ibidem dimissi Iohanni Burgoyne armigero iam defuncto per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	} xl ^s .
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Stephano Fyndeley, et Agnete vxori eius pro termino annorum per annum	
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Iohanni Mantell per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	} xxvj ^s . viij ^d .
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Iohanni Dodyngton per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	
Firma vnus Messuagii siue tenementi ibidem ac vnus parui tenementi ibidem scituati iuxta exteriorem portam eiusdem tenementi cum omnibus et singulis suis Iuribus et pertinenciis ac vnus alterius parui tenementi ibidem vocati John Bates house dimissi Willelmo Marteyn et Dorothee vxori eius per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	} lxvj ^s . viij ^d .
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Willelmo Geffrey per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	
Firma vnus tenementi ibidem dimissi Ricardo Warde generoso per Indenturam pro termino annorum modo in tenura Ricardi Duke per annum	} xl ^s .
Firma vnus Messuagii siue Mansionis cum Camera supra dictum Messuagium scituati et existentis in pety Wales dimissi Iohanni Deyne clerico per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	
Firma vnus tenementi in Pety Wales predicto dimissi Iohanni Lambe per Indenturam pro termino annorum per annum	} xxvj ^s . viij ^d .

Redditus Domino Regi reseruato pro vno
 Regi reseruatus. messuagio cum pertinenciis infra Clausum
 Sancti Bartholomei predicti modo in } vj^s. viij^d.
 tenuta Ricardi Mody per Dominum Regem vendito Iohanni
 Williams et Edwardo Northe Militibus per annum

Redditu siue firma Capitalis Mansionis dicti nuper Monasterii
 cum Aula, Cameris, Capella, Coquina, Panatria, Promptuario,
 Gallar[i]o, Farmario, Dormitorio, Claustis, Frateria cum veteri
 Coquino, domo lignaria, solariis, cellariis et aliis quibuscunque
 domibus et edificiis infra et supra dictam Capitalementem Mansionem
 edificatis vna cum gardinis et lez yarges dicte capitali man-
 sioni adiacentibus et annexis, ac cum
 Capitali mansione sioni adiacentibus et annexis, ac cum
 nuper Monasterii tota terra et solo infra Scitum et Septum
 Sancti Bartholomei Capitalis Mansionis predictae. Necnon
 supradicti. cum quadam domo Granaria vocata a } vj^l.
 Garner scituata infra magnam viridem
 nundini ibidem. Ac etiam cum quodam Stabulo vocato le
 Priours Stable scituato infra precinctum Clausi predicti.
 Quae omnia et singula premissa nuper fuerunt in propria tenuta
 manurac[i]one? et occupacione nuper Prioris et Conuentus
 eiusdem nuper Monasterii tempore dissolucionis illius Ac
 modo per Ricardum Southewell militem Edwardum Northe
 militem, et Thomam Pope militem arentata per Annum
 lxxij^l. viij^s. viij^d.

Nundinum Sancti Bartholomei valet in :

Exitibus et proficuis Nundini Sancti Bartholomei cum proficuis,
 Stallagiis et lez Bothes infra precinctum eiusdem nuper
 Monasterii cum terra et solo eiusdem vocato les Grenes. Ac
 cum proficuis Curie pedis pulverizati et Tolnetis nundini pre-
 dicti clare ultra Feoda, vadia, vacaciones, Reparaciones,
 Sturas de lez Bothes et alias Reprisas eiusdem hoc anno } lxxv^l. xvj^s. iij^d.

Parochia Sancti Stephani [*for Sepulcri*] valet in

Firma vnus tenementi iuxta Portam occidentalem Nundini
 Sancti Bartholomei in tenuta Iohannis Chesewicke et Alicie
 vxoris eius per Indenturam pro termino vitae eorum per annum } xl^s.
 Redditu quatuor tenementorum et duorum stab[ul]orum
 ædificat¹ in via¹ Regis extendente a tenemento predicto in
 tenuta Iohannis Chesewyke vsque le long lane ende in Smyth-
 field in separalibus tenuris Iohanne Dauy vidue (xiiij^s iij^d),
 Thome Hiley (x^s), Mathei White (v^s), Roberti Chidley
 armigeri (xiiij^s iij^d), Ricardi Silvester (viij^s) et eiusdem
 Ricardi Silvester (viij^s) et eiusdem Ricardi Silvester (xxxiiij^s
 iij^d) ad voluntatem domini per annum } iij^l. iij^s.
 vi^l. iij^s.

Summa Totalis valoris supradicti

cxliiij^l. vij^s. xj^d.

¹ MS. *vna*

Miscellanea et Reprise

allocatur	Feodis Thome Burgoyn auditoris omnium Posses-	} xl ^s . xx ^s .
y ^e moytie	sionum dicti nuper Monasterii infra Ciuitatem London et Subburbia eiusdem sibi concessarum	
pro termino vite sue per annum		
y ^e moytie	Regardo Iohannis Vsher Custodis Australis Porte Clausi Sancti Bartholomei per annum	} xliij ^s . iiij ^d . vj ^s . viij ^d .
allocatur	Feodis Hugonis Apharry Collectoris Reddituum et firmarum infra precinctum clausi predicti per	
annum		} liij ^s . iiij ^d .
allocatur	Stipendio clerici Auditoris per scripturam Com- potorum tam Collectoris Reddituum clausi quam	
proficuum Nundini per annum		} x ^s .
y ^e moytie	Annuitate Iohannis Dodyngton ad xl ^s per annum sibi concessa pro termino vite sue per litteras	
patentes nuper Prioris et Conuentus dicti nuper Monasterii per annum		} xl ^s . xx ^s .
y ^e moytie	Annuitate Iohannis Chesewyke et Alicie vxoris eius ad xl ^s per annum sibi concessa pro termino vite eorum per scripturam Indentatam nuper Prioris et Con- uentus predicti Monasterii et postea per decretum Curie Aug- mentacionum confirmata etc.	
allocatur	Salario siue stipendio Iohannis Deyne capellani Curati Ecclesie Parochialis infra Clausum predic- tum ad viij ^l . per annum sic sibi assignato per Cancellarium et Consilium Curie Augmentacionum etc. per annum	} viij ^l .
allocatur	Stipendio siue vadio Stephani Fyndeley Clerici Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Bartholomei predicti sibi concesso pro termino vite sue per scriptum sub sigillo Conuentuali nuper Monasterii predicti posteaque confirmato per decretum in Curia augmentacionum editum etc. ad lxx ^s per annum	
		xxi ^l . vj ^s . viij ^d .
allocatur	Vacatione tenementorum supradictorum tenencium ad voluntatem Communibus	} c ^s .
annis per estimacionem		
Reparacionibus eorundem tenementorum et aliorum infra clausum predictum Communibus Annis per estima- cionem		} xx ^l . ix ^l . xxix^l .
allocatur	Reparacionibus siue sustentacione aque- ductus a capite viuarii eiusdem vsque Cis- ternam infra Clausum predictum Communibus Annis per estimacionem	
		xxviij ^l .

M^d. the Kings highnesse hath no lands, tenements, Rents, possessions, or

heredytaments within the said Close of great Seynt Bartilmewes other than the aboue expressed and conteyned.

Et Remanent vltra clare cxvij^l. vij^s. xj^d.

Examinatur per Thomam Burgoyne Auditorem.

vij^o. die Aprilis Anno Regni Regis Henrici viij^{ui}. xxxv^o pro Richardo Riche milite

Furste certain houses at S^t. Bartilmewes with the Fayer there }
parcell of the possessions of the late Monasterie of S^t. Bartil- } cxvij^l. vij^s. xj^d.
mewez aforesaid is }

which rated at ix yeares purchase doth amount to the Summe of m^l. lvj^l. xj^s. iij^d. to be paid all in hand. Adde thereto for the Advouson of the Church of Seynt Bartilmewez newly to be erected there viij^l. and then the sole ys m^l. lxiij^l. xi^s. iij^d. to be paid all in hand.

Memorandum the King must discharge the buyer of all incumbrances except leazez and suche allowances as byn recited in the particulars and except all suche charges as the Fermers are bounden to paye.

M^d. A tenure in Socage for all the premisses without any tenth

William Seint John, Tho. Wriothesley

Richard Ryche, Ric. Southwell.

Memorandum that I S^r Richard Riche Knyght Chauncellor of the Kings Highnes Court of Augmentacion of the Reuenues of his Crowne doe desire to purchase of his grace by vertue of his Maties Commission of sale the premisses being of the cleere yearely value of cxvij^l. vij^s. xj^d. In witnesse whereof I the said S^r Richard haue subscribed and seallyd this Cedula annexed to these particulers bounds and limitts made of the same, the day and yeare mencioned and expressed in the rate thereof made

per me Ricardum Ryche

THE GRANT OF THE MONASTERY TO SIR RICHARD RICH BY LETTERS PATENT, 19 MAY, 36 HENRY VIII, 1544.

[Patent Roll, 36 Henry VIII, pt. 12, m. 1, and Originalia Rolls, 147 and 148, 36 Henry VIII, pt. 4, m. 9-1.]

Henricus Octavus dei gracia Angliae, Francie, et Hibernie Rex fidei defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie Supremum Caput. Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos tam in consideratione boni veri et fidelis servicii et consilii nobis per dilectum et fidelem conciliarium nostrum Ricardum Rich militem cancellarium Curie Augmentacionum reuencionum Corone nostre ante hec tempora facti et impensi quam pro summa Mille sexaginta quatuor librarum vndecim solidorum et trium denariorum legalis monete Anglie ad manus Thesaurarij Curie nostre Augmentacionum Reuencionum Corone nostre ad vsum nostrum per eundem Ricardum Riche soluta. De qua quidem summa Mille sexaginta quatuor librarum vndecim solidorum et trium denariorum fatemur nos plenarie fore contentatos et satisfactos et persolutos dictumque Ricardum Riche heredes et

¹ See above, p. 267.

executores et administratores suos inde esse exoneratos et acquietatos per praesentes de gracia nostra speciali et ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus eidem Ricardo Riche militi totum Scitum et Capitale Messuagium ac Domum Mansionis nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei in West Smythfeild in Suburbis London modo dissoluti ac in manibus nostris iam existentes. Necnon totum clausum eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus in West Smythfeild predicto vulgariter nuncupati Greate Saint Bartholomewes Close et totum ambitum et precinctum eiusdem clausi ac omnes Portas, Muros, Parietes, Bundas, limites, idem Clausum et circuitum ambitum et precinctum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus includentes prout iidem Muri parietes bunde et limites proportionant et extendunt in longitudine, latitudine et circuitu Videlicet incipiendo ad Magnam Portam vocatam le Southgate . . .

[Here follow 'The Bounds' as above.]

Damus eciam et pro considerationibus predictis per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi omnia illa Messuagia domos et edificia nostra vocata le Fermery, le Dorter, le Frater, lez Cloysters, le Galleries, le Hall, le Kechen, le Buttery, le Pantry, le old Kechyn, le Woodhouse, le Garner et le priors Stable dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus infra Clausum predictum existencia, Necnon omnia alia domos edificia, Curtilagias, Gardina, vacua funda, terras, et solum nostra quecumque infra clausum predictum dictis Scitui et Capitali messuagio ac domui mansionis dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus quoquo modo spectancia vel pertinencia aut in manibus Prioris et Conventus dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus pro tempore existencia ante dissolutionem eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus vsualiter reseruata existencia. Et Cum Nos per litteras nostras Patentes sub magno Sigillo nostro Anglie confectas gerentes datum vicesimo quarto die Februarii Anno Regni nostri tricesimo quarto inter alia dederimus et concesserimus Iohanni Williams de Ricote in Comitatu Oxoniensi Militi et Edwardo Northe de London militi vnum tenementum cum gardino eidem adiacente cum omnibus cameris, Stabulis, domibus, solaris, et ceteris omnibus suis pertinentiis scituatis, iacentibus et existentibus infra precinctum siue Clausum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus que Robertus Blage vnus Baronum Scaccarii nostri nuper habuit et occupauit, ac reuersionem inde, ac etiam quandam annule[m] *[sic]* redditum sexaginta sex solidorum et octo denariorum reseruatum per Indenturam gerentem, Datum vicesimo die Februarii, Anno Regni nostri tricesimo quinto Iohanni Porte Militi vni Iusticiariorum nostrorum de Banco nostro de eodem tenemento et ceteris premissis nuper in tenura dicti Roberti Blage pro termino annorum confectam. Habendum et tenendum eandem reuersionem eorundem tenementi, gardini, stabulorum, domorum et edificiorum ac ceterorum premissorum in tenura dicti Roberti Blage vt prefertur existencium prefato Iohanni Williams et Edwardo North, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Tenendum de nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris per seruicium Centesime partis vnus feodi militis pro omnibus seruiciis. Ac reddendo annuatim nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris ad Curiam nostram Augmentacionum Reuencionum Corone nostre pro eodem tenemento et ceteris premissis sex solidos et octo denarios ad festum

Sancti Michaelis Archangeli annuatim soluendos. Quequidem [*sic*] Iohannes Williams et Edwardus Northe per eorum scriptum sufficienter in lege confectum predictum tenementum et cetera premissa nuper in tenura dicti Roberti Blage vt prefertur existencia ac reuersionem inde, ac predictum annualem redditum sexaginta sex solidorum et octo denariorum cuidam Ricardo Mody armigero postea dederunt et concesserunt. Habendum et tenendum eidem Ricardo Mody, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum ad proprium opus et vsum ipsius Ricardi Mody, heredum et assignatorum suorum imperpetuum. Tenendum de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris per seruicium predictum et per predictum redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum.

Sciatis quod nos pro consideracionibus predictis ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus prefato Ricardo Riche militi totum predictum seruicium Centesime partis vnus feodi militis, et totum predictum seruicium centesimae partis vnus feodi militis, et totum predictum annualem redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris vt prefertur reseruata per predictas litteras patentes prefatis Iohanni Williams et Edwardo Northe vt prefertur per nos confectas. Necnon totum illum annualem redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum ac seruicium nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris pertinens et spectans exeuntia de mesuagio siue tenemento dicti Ricardi Mody scituato infra Clausum predictum ac de Gardino eidem Messuagio siue tenemento adiacenti, spectante et pertinente. Damus eciam et pro consideracionibus predictis per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi totum messuagium et tenementum nostrum [Here follow the names of the tenants as in 'Particulars for Grants', pp. 504-506 above, from J. Smythe to J. Lambe] ac omnia domos, edificia, curtilagia, Gardina, Emolumenta, profecta, easimenta et commoditates quecunque predictis Mesuagiis et tenementis seu eorum alicui pertinentes quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinentia aut cum eisdem seu eorum aliquo ante hac diuissa [*sic*] locata occupata seu vsitata existentia. Que quidem Mesuagia, tenementa ac cetera premissa scituantur iacent et existunt infra dictas limites et Bundas, ac precinctum dicti Clausi vocati Great St. Bartholomewes Close, et dicto nuper Prioratui Sancti Bartholomei dudum spectabant et pertinebant ac parcella possessionum inde extiterunt. Necnon damus et pro consideracionibus predictis per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi omnia illa quinque Mesuagia et tenementa nostra ac duo stabula nostra cum eorum pertinentiis vniuersis modo vel nuper in separalibus tenuris Iohannis Chesewyke, Iohanne Davy vidue, Thome Hilaye, Mathei White, Roberti Chidley Armigeri et Ricardi Syluester insimul scituata et existentia in West Smythfeild predicta in via le Ramyge inter venellam vocatam Longe lane ex parte Boriali et Portam Occidentalem Nundinarum Sancti Bartholomei ex parte Australi et abbuttantia super Mercatum de Smythfeild versus Occidentem et super vacuam terram Ferie Sancti Bartholomei infra Clausum predictum versus Orientem. Que quidem Messuagia tenementa et stabula dicto nuper Monasterio siue Prioratui Sancti Bartholomei spectabant et pertinebant ac parcella possessionum inde extiterunt. Damus vlterius et pro consideracionibus predictis per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche


militi reuersiones quascumque predictorum Messuagiorum, terrarum, tenementorum et ceterorum omnium et singulorum premissorum superius expressorum et specificatorum cum eorum pertinentiis ac cuiuslibet inde parcelle necnon redditus et annualia proficua quecumque reseruata super quibuscumque dimissionibus seu concessionibus de premissis seu de aliqua inde parcella alicui vel aliquibus quoquomodo factis seu concessis Damus etiam et pro consideratione predicta per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi omnia et singula alia messuagia domos, Edificia Capellas, Claustra, Aqueductus, Curtilagialia, gardina, vacua funda, terras, et solum, redditus, reuersiones, seruicia, proficua, comoditates, emolumenta, possessiones et hereditamenta nostra quecumque scituata Iacentia et existentia infra limites, bundas, ambitum, Circuitum et Precinctum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei et infra Limites, Bundas, Ambitum, Circuitum et Precinctum dicti clausi eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus vocati Great Saynt Bartholomewes Close. Necnon damus et pro consideratione predicta per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi totum illud aquam et aqueductum ac cursum aque nostrum deuenientem et currentem a quodam loco vocato Le Condite Hede of Saynt Barthilmewes infra Manerium de Canbery in Parochia de Iseldon in comitatu nostro Middlesex vsque ad et in dictum scitum et clausum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus sancti Bartholomei et omnia lez Cesternes et lez Pypes de Plumbo in quibus et per que eadem aqua et cursus aque deuehitur et traducitur a capitali et Principali origine et fonte eiusdem Aque in Iseldon predicto vsque ad et in dictum scitum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus ac vsque ad et in dictum Clausum eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus vnacum plena potestate, libertate et autoritate eadem lez Cesternes et Pipes de tempore in tempus purgandum emendandum et de nouo faciendum ac terram fodiendum et subuertendum et iterum cooperiendum totiens quotiens necesse fuerit dictos les Cesternes et Pipes quoquomodo purgari emendari et de nouo fieri, Adeo plene libere et integre ac eisdem et in tam amplis et consimilibus modo et forma prout Willelmus Bolton quondam Prior dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei ac Predecessores sui Prioris eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei et eiusdem loci Conuentus aliquo tempore ante dissolucionem eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei fecerunt et facere debuerunt seu potuerunt. Habendum tenendum et gaudendum predictum Scitum et Capitale Messuagium ac domum mansionis dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei ad predictum Clausum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei vocatum Great Saynt Barthilmewes Close ac predictas Bundas limites et precinctum eiusdem clausi necnon predictum annualem redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum ac predictum seruitium centesime partis vnus feodi militis nobis vt prefertur reseruatum per predictas litteras nostras patentes prefatis Iohanni Williams et Edwardo North vt prefertur confectas. Ac predictum Annualem redditum et seruitium vt prefertur exeuntia de predicto Messuagio et gardino ac ceteris premissis dicti Ricardi Mody. Ac etiam omnia et singula predicta Messuagia, Tenementa, Claustra, Edificia, Aquas, Aquarum Cursus, Aqueductus, Gardina, vacua funda, Terras, solum, redditus, reuersiones,

seruicia, proficua, commoditates, emolumenta, possessiones et hereditamenta, ac cetera omnia et singula premissa superius expressa et specificata cum suis pertinentiis vniuersis prefato Ricardo Riche militi heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Tenendum de nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris per fidelitatem tantum, et non in capite pro omnibus seruitiis et demandis quibuscunque.

Et vltcrius Sciatis quod nos de vberiori gratia ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris et pro consideratione predicta dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris damus et concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi, heredibus et assignatis suis totam feriam nostram et Nundinas nostras vulgariter nuncupatas et vocatas Bartilmew fayer singulis annis tentas et tenendas in predicto Clauso vocato Greate Saynt Barthilmewes Close and in West Smythfeld predicto per tres dies videlicet in vigilia diei Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli et in die Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli, ac in Crastino eiusdem diei Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli annuatim duraturas. Necnon totum Stallagium, Picagium, Theloneum et Custumas eiusdem ferie et Nundinarum. Ac etiam totam Curiam nostram pedis puluerisati infra feriam et Nundinas predictas tempore ferie et Nundinarum illarum singulis annis tentam et tenendam. Ac omnia Iura, Iurisdictiones, auctoritates, priuilegia, Officia, Commoditates, proficua, et Emolumenta nostra quecunque huiusmodi Curie pedis puluerisati quoquomodo spectantia, pertinentia, incumbentia vel appendentia. Ac etiam totum Scrutinium emendationem, et Correctionem ponderum et mensurarum quarumcunque in Feria et Nundinis predictis tempore ferie et Nundinarum illarum singulis annis occupatorum et occupandorum, necnon scrutinium aliarum rerum quarumcunque vendicioni exponendarum in feriis [*sic*] et Nundinis predictis tempore ferie et Nundinarum illarum Necnon Assisam et Assaiam ac emendacionem et Correctionem Panis, vini et seruicie, et aliorum victualium quorumcunque in Feria et Nundinis predictis tempore Ferie et Nundinarum illarum vendicioni exponendorum Ac omnia et singula fines, amerciamenta, forisfacturas, exitus et proficua ac alia Iura proficua, Commoditates et emolumenta quecunque in feria et Nundinis predictis. Ac de et in predictis Curia pedis puluerisati, et de Stallagio et Picagio ac Scrutiniis predictis in tempus contingentibus, accidentibus, prouenientibus, emergentibus seu Crescentibus. Ac etiam omnia alia iura, iurisdictiones, priuilegia, franchiseas, libertates, consuetudines, officia, auctoritates, exempciones, exoneraciones quietancias, comoditates, proficua, emolumenta quecunque dicte feriis et nundinis quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinencia aut ratione vel pretextu illius ferie et Nundinarum ante hac gauisa seu vsitata existencia, Adeo plene, libere et integre, ac in tam amplis et consimilibus modo et forma prout Willelmus Bolton quondam Prior dicti nuper Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei aut aliquis vel aliqui Predecessorum suorum Priorum eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus aliquo tempore ante dissolutionem dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus vel antequam nuper Monasterium siue Prioratus ille ad manus nostros deuenit, huiusmodi Nundinas et ferias et Stallagium, Picagium, Thelonium, Custumas Curie pedis puluerisati, Scrutinium, assisam, assaiam, emendationem correctionem fines, Amerciamenta, forisfacturas, Iura, Iurisdictiones, priuilegia

franchesias, libertates, liberas consuetudines, officia, auctoritates, exempciones, exonerationes, quietancias, comoditates, proficua, et emolumenta habuerunt, tenuerunt, vel gauisi fuerunt, aut habere, tenere, vel gaudere debuerunt seu eorum aliquis habuit, tenuit, vel gauisus fuit, seu quoquomodo habere, tenere vel gaudere debuit in predicto Clauso vocato great Saynt Bartillmews Close, et in West Smythfeild predicto siue in eorum aliquo, ratione vel pretextu alicuius Carte, doni Concessionis vel Confirmationis, aut aliquarum Cartarum vel Litterarum Patencium seu Confirmationum per nos seu per aliquem, vel per aliquos Progenitorum nostrorum Regum Anglie prefato Willelmo Bolton quondam Priori dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei, aut alicui vel aliquibus predecessorum suorum Priorum eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus et eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Conuentus quoquomodo factarum vel concessarum seu confirmatarum. Aut ratione vel pretextu alicuius prescriptionis, vsus seu Consuetudinis ante hac habiti seu vsitati, vel aliter quocunque modo. Ac adeo plene, et integre, ac libere prout ea omnia et singula ad manus nostras ratione, vel pretextu dissolucionis dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei aut ratione vel pretextu alicuius Carte, doni, Concessionis vel confirmationis sub Sigillo Conventuali dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus, vel aliter nobis de feria predicta, et ceteris premissis quoquomodo facti, seu ratione vel pretextu alicuius Actus Parliamenti, vel quocunque alio modo iure seu titulo deuenerunt seu deuenire debuerunt ac in manibus nostris iam existunt, seu existere debent vel deberent Habendum, tenendum et gaudendum totam predictam feriam, et Nundinas ac predicta Stallagium, picagium, Thelonium, Custumas, Curiam pedis puluerisati, Scrutinium, assisam, assaiam, emendationem, Correctionem, fines, amerciamenta, foris-facturas, exitus, proficua, iura, Iurisdictiones, priuilegia, franchises, libertates, liberas consuetudines, officia, Auctoritates, exempciones, exonerationes, quietancias, commoditates et emolumenta predicta, ac omnia et singula premissa ad feriam et Nundinas predictas spectantia prefato Ricardo Riche militi, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, ad vsum proprium ipsius Ricardi Riche militis, heredum et assignatorum suorum imperpetuum. Tenendum de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris per seruicium vicesime partis vnus feodi militis pro omnibus seruitiis et demandis quibuscunque. Que quidem ferie et Nundine ac predicta Messuagia, terre, Tenementa, redditus et cetera omnia et singula premissa superius expressa et specificata modo extenduntur ad clarum annum valorem Centum Septemdecim librarum, septem Solidorum et vndecim denariorum. Et vltcrius volumus ac pro nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris per presentes concedimus quod Mercatores et omnes alie persone venientes ad feriam et Nundinas predictas causa vendendi vel emendi quod ipsi et eorum quilibet in eorum veniendo et in eorum ibidem morando tempore ferie et Nundinarum illarum, et in eorum abinde redeundo habeant et habebunt, habeat et habebit firmam pacem nostram, heredum et Successorum nostrorum, ita quod non aliquis regalium vel Episcopaliu ministrorum eos in placitum mittat, nec ab eis tempore ferie et Nundinarum predictarum in transitu Viarum aut Pontium vel alibi ubicunque quisquam Consuetudines exigat aliquales vel aliquid quod diminuat libertatem ferie, et

Nundinarum predictarum, sed omnia sint prefato Ricardo Riche militi heredibus et Assignatis que ex iure feriarum et Nundinarum proueniant. Adeo plene, libere et integre prout dictus Willelmus Bolton quondam Prior dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus dicti Sancti Bartholomei et predecessores sui Priores eiusdem nuper Monasterii, siue Prioratus et eiusdem loci Conuentus, ac Mercatores et alii venientes ad feriam eorundem Prioris et Predecessorum suorum predictorum apud West Smythfeld predictam ante dissolucionem illius nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei huiusmodi libertates et priuilegia habuerunt vel gauisi fuerunt, aut habere vel gaudere debuerunt, ratione vel pretextu alicuius prescriptionis, vsus seu consuetudinis aut ratione, vel pretextu alicuius Carte, doni concessionis vel confirmationis, aut aliquarum Cartarum vel Litterarum Patencium, seu Confirmationum per nos, seu per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum Regum Anglie quoquomodo factarum, seu concessarum vel confirmatarum aut quocunque alio modo. Et vltcrius volumus ac pro nobis, heredibus et Successoribus nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi heredibus, et assignatis suis, ac omnibus aliis personis feriam et nundinas predictas, ac Messuagia, Terras et tenementa predicta, ac Cetera premissa vel aliquam inde parcellam imposterum, et post-hac possidentibus vel seisis inde existentibus quod ipsi et eorum quilibet de cetero imperpetuum habebunt, tenebunt et gaudebunt, habebit, tenebit et gaudebit, ac habere, tenere, et gaudere valeant et possint, valeat et possit, tam pro se quam pro eorum tenentibus, seruientibus, officiariis et Ministris in premissis, et in qualibet inde parcella, aut alibi vbicunque tot tanta, talia, huiusmodi eadem et Consimilia franchisesias, libertates, iura, Iurisdictiones, priuilegia, exempciones, libertates, liberas consuetudines, officia, officiarios, Ministros, proficua, commoditates, emolumenta, quietancias, exonerationes, acciones, et hereditamenta quecunque quot, qualia, quanta et que. Et adeo plene libere et integre prout dictus Willelmus Bolton quondam Prior dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei, aut aliquis vel aliqui predecessorum suorum Priorum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei et eiusdem loci Conuentus in iure eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus vnquam habuerunt, tenuerunt, vel gauisi fuerunt aut habere, tenere vel gaudere debuerunt, aut eorum aliquis vnquam habuit, tenuit vel gauisus fuit, seu quoquomodo habere tenere vel gaudere debuit in aliqua feria in Clauso, et West Smythfeild predicta aut in Ceteris premissis vel in aliqua eorundem parcella seu alibi vbicunque ratione vel pretextu alicuius Carte doni Concessionis seu Confirmationis, aut aliquarum Cartarum, donorum, Concessionum seu confirmationum per nos seu per aliquem Progenitorum nostrorum Regum Anglie dicto Willelmo Bolton quondam Priori dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei aut alicui vel aliquibus predecessorum suorum Priorum eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus et eiusdem loci Conuentui quoquomodo factorum concessorum seu confirmatorum, aut racione vel pretextu alicuius prescriptionis, vsus seu consuetudinis ante hac habiti seu vsitati seu quocunque alio modo iure seu titulo. Damus insuper et pro consideratione predicta per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi omnia exitus redditus reuenciones et proficua omnium predictorum Nundinarum, feriarum, Messuagiorum, terrarum, tenementorum

ac ceterorum omnium et singulorum premissorum superius expressorum et specificatorum cum eorum pertinentiis vniuersis a festo Annunciationis beate Marie virginis vltimo preterito huc vsque prouenientia seu Crescentia. Habendum eidem Ricardo Riche militi ex dono nostro absque compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis heredibus vel successoribus quoquomodo reddendo, soluendo et faciendo. Et cum dictum Clausum dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei vulgariter nuncupatum Greate Saynt Bartholomewe Close a tempore cuius contrarii memoria hominum non extitit ante dissolutionem eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei omnino habitum, vsitatum et acceptum fuit pro Parochia, Et vt Parochia in se distincta et separata ab aliis Parochiis et Inhabitantes eiusdem Clausi, et infra idem Clausum per idem tempus omnino habuerunt Ecclesiam suam Parochialem et Cimiterium infra Ecclesiam dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus, ac eidem Ecclesie annexum, ac omnia Sacramenta et Sacramentalia, ac alia diuina seruicia eisdem Parochianis, et Inhabitantibus per quendam Curatum ad onus prioris, et Conuentus dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei ibidem ministrata et celebrata fuerunt eisdem modo et forma prout in Ecclesiis Parochialibus infra hoc Regnum Anglie vsitatum et consuetum fuit et existit pretextu cuius quidem Monasterii siue Prioratus dissolutionibus non solum magna pars Ecclesie eiusdem nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus verum etiam quedam capella vulgariter vocata  Parishe chapell eidem Ecclesie annexa vbi dicti Parochia et Inhabitantes diuina seruicia habere, recipere, et audire consueuerunt, et per dictum Curatum sibi administrari modo abinde penitus adempta existunt, ac Plumbum, Lapides et Maeremium inde ad vsum nostrum conuertuntur et venduntur tamen quedam Pars Ecclesie dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus conueniens et idonea pro Ecclesia parochiali ibidem erigenda adhuc remanet constructa et edificata. Iam pro eo quod dicti Inhabitantes nullum locum habent vbi diuina seruicia ac sacramenta et sacramentalia sibi ministrari et celebrari valeant et possint prout Cristianis pertinet, ac pertinere debet et decet. Sciatis igitur quod nos premissa considerantes volumus ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi, heredibus et assignatis suis ac omnibus Inhabitantibus infra dictum Clausum vocatum Great Seynt Barthylmewes Close qui nunc sunt et de tempore in tempus imposterum erunt quod illa pars dicte Ecclesie dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus sancti Bartholomei modo ibidem vt prefertur constructa et edificata remanens de cetero imperpetuum ibidem remanebit et continuabit ac de cetero imperpetuum erit et vocabitur Ecclesia parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli Magni in West Smythfeild in Suburbio London distincta et separata ab aliis Parochiis, ac ipsam partem dicte Ecclesie dicti nuper Monasterii siue Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei vt prefertur remanentem constructam et edificatam Ecclesiam Parochialem sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni in West Smythfeild in Suburbio London pro omnibus Inhabitantibus infra dictum Clausum vocatum great St. Bartholomewes Close facimus, ordinamus, erigimus et stabulamur per presentes perpetuis temporibus duraturam. Et quod tota vacua terra et solum continens in longitudine octoginta et septem pedes et in latitudine sexaginta pedes de Assisa proxime adiacens ad dictam Ecclesiam Parochialem Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti vt prefertur

per nos executam ex parte Occidentali eiusdem Ecclesie de cetero erit accepta et reputata pro cimiterio dicte Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli Magni. Et quod dictum Clausum vocatum great Seynt Bartholomews Close, Ac omnia domos, edificia, gardina et terra et solum infra limites circuitum et precinctum eiusdem clausi vocati great St. Bartholomews Close Necnon omnes et singuli Inhabitantes infra clausum predictum qui nunc sunt et imposterum erunt de cetero imperpetuum habeantur et reputentur in Parochia et de Parochia dicte Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli Magni predicti. Et volumus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus quod Iohannes Dean clericus modo Curatus dicte Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei apostoli magni predicti sit primus Rector et Incumbens eiusdem Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti pro termino vite sue ac ipsum Iohannem Dean primum Rectorem et Incumbentem Ecclesie illius pro termino vite sue facimus, ordinamus et constituimus per presentes. Et volumus ac pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris per presentes concedimus quod ipsi Iohannes Deane et Successores sui Incumbentes eiusdem Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti erunt et imperpetuum vocabuntur Rectores illius Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti, et habiles sint et erunt per hoc nomen placitare et implacitari in quibuscunque locis et Curiis infra hoc Regnum Anglie et alibi vbicunque et quod ius patronati dicte Rectorie et Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti spectabit et pertinebit dicto Ricardo Riche militi, heredibus et Assignatis suis imperpetuum. Et quod omnes persone que post decessum dicti Iohannis Dean de cetero nominabuntur et appunctuabuntur esse Rectores dicte Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei apostoli magni predicti admittantur, et constituentur ac inducantur in eadem per ordinarium et ordinarios London Diocesis pro tempore existentes infra cuius et quorum iurisdictiones eandem Ecclesiam esse volumus prout alii Rectores huius Regni Anglie instituuntur et inducuntur. Et quod soluerit nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris primos fructus et decimam eiusdem Ecclesie iuxta ratam et valorem octo librarum per Annum iuxta formam statuti in illo casu nuper editi et prouisi in Curia nostra primorum fructuum et decimarum annuatim soluendorum. Et vltcrius dedimus, concessimus et perdonauimus ac per presentes damus, concedimus et perdonamus prefato Iohanni Dean modo Rectori dicte Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bartholomei apostoli magni predicti, omnes et omnimodos primos fructus, ac denariorum summam quamcunque et denariorum summas quascunque nobis de se seu pro primis fructibus quoquo modo debitas per ipsum Iohannem Dean pro eadem Ecclesia Parochiali Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti ratione et pretextu Institutionis eiusdem Iohannis Deane in eadem Ecclesia, ac omnes et omnimodas penas et penaltates ac denariorum summas quascunque per ipsum Iohannem Deane nobis quoquomodo forisfactas et forisfaciendas pro non solucone dictorum primorum fructuum dicte Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Bartholomei apostoli magni predicti, seu pro non composicione pro eisdem primis fructibus statuto in illo casu edito, aut et proviso aliquo alio Statuto actu, ordinacione seu prouisione in contrarium inde ante hac habito facto, ordinato seu prouiso aut aliqua alia re, causa vel

materia quacunq̃ue in aliquo non obstante. Et insuper de ampliori gratia nostra, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostris, et pro consideracione predicta dedimus, et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi aduocacionem, donacionem liberam disposicionem et ius patronatus Rectorie, et Ecclesie Parochialis sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti. Habendum et gaudendum eidem Ricardo Riche militi heredibus et Assignatis suis imperpetuum. Tenendum de nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris per fidelitatem tantum et non in capite pro omnibus seruiciis et demandis quibuscunq̃ue. Ac etiam volumus et licentiam dedimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris licentiam damus et concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi quod ipse Ricardus Riche miles heredes vel Assignati sui terras, tenementa, redditus, seruicia et hereditamenta ad annum valorem vndecim librarum licet de nobis tenentur in Capite vel aliter prefato Iohanni Dean Rectori dicte Ecclesie Parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni predicti, et successoribus suis Rectoribus eiusdem Ecclesie ad eorum sustentacionem imperpetuum dare et concedere possit et valeat. Et eidem Iohanni Dean et Successoribus suis quod ipse et ipsi eadem terras, tenementa redditus seruicia et hereditamenta de prefato Ricardo Riche, milite, heredibus et assignatis suis recipere valeat et possit, valeant et possint; similiter licentiam damus et concedimus per presentes statuto de terris ad manum mortuam non ponendo aut aliquo alio statuto, actu ordinacione seu prouisione in contrarium inde ante hac habito, ordinato seu prouiso, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunq̃ue in aliquo non obstante Volumus etiam et per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi quod ipse habeat et habeat has litteras nostras patentes sub Sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo factas, et sigillatas absque fine seu feodo magno vel paruo nobis in hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad vsum nostrum proinde quouis modo reddendo, soluendo seu faciendo. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de certitudine premissorum, siue eorum alicuius aut de aliis donis siue concessionibus per nos prefato Ricardo Riche militi ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione, prouisione siue restrictione inde in contrarium facto, edito ordinato siue prouiso, aut aliqua alia re causa, vel materia quacunq̃ue in aliquo non obstante. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium decimo nono die Maii Anno Regni nostri Tricesimo sexto.

B. Godsalue

Per Breue de priuato Sigillo et data predicta autoritate Parliamenti.

ENDOWMENT OF THE RECTORY BY SIR RICHARD RICH, DATED
24 MAY, 36 HEN. VIII, 1544.

[We have not been able to trace the original enrolment of the Charter of feoffment but it occurs as an *inspeximus*, 25 Eliz. (1583), in Lord Holland's Cartulary, Add. MSS. Mus. Brit., 34768, ff. 168-9b.¹]

Elizabeth dei gracia Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie Regina fidei Defensor etc. Omnibus ad quos presentes Littere peruenerint salutem. Inspeximus quandam

¹ See above, p. 273, and Vol. II, chap. xiii, glebe.

cartam factam Iohanni Dean clerico tunc Rectori Ecclesie parochialis sancti Bartholomei Appostoli magni in Westsmithfeld in Suburbio London et Successoribus suis Rectoribus eiusdem Ecclesie per Ricardum Ryche Militem tunc Cancellarium Curie Augmentacionum Revencionum Corone Regie et sigillo ipsius Ricardi Ryche vt dicitur sigillatam vnacum indorsamento eiusdem carte cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba:—OMNIBUS CHRISTI FIDELIBUS ad quos hec presens Carta pervenerit Ricardus Ryche Miles Cancellarius Curie Augmentacionum Revencionum Corone Regie Salutem. SCIATIS me prefatum Ricardum Ryche dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse dilecto michi in Christo Iohanni Dean Clerico Rectori Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Appostoli in Westsmithfeld in Suburbio London ad sustentacionem ipsius Iohannis Dean et Successorum suorum Rectorum eiusdem Ecclesie totum illud messuagium et tenementum meum cum pertinenciis modo in tenuta et occupacione Ricardi Tyrrell generosi. Ac totum illud Messuagium et Tenementum meum cum pertinenciis nuper in tenuta Ricardi Mody Armigeri et modo in tenuta et occupacione Galfridi Danyell Generosi, ac totum illud Messuagium et tenementum meum cum pertinenciis in quo Ricardus Alen Generosus modo inhabitat, Ac totum illud Messuagium et tenementum meum modo in tenuta et occupacione Willelmi Barker. Ac totam illam Cameram et edificium meum modo in tenuta Iohanne Martin vidue situata supra portam australem clausi sancti Bartholomei. Ac totum illud Messuagium et tenementum meum ac Cameram meam cum eorum pertinenciis modo in tenuta et occupacione Iohannis Vsher situata iuxta portam Australem clausi sancti Bartholomei. Ac omnia Solaria celaria Curtilagia introitus gardina vacua funda comoditates proficua aisiamenta et emolumenta quecunque predictis messuagio et tenementis ac ceteris premissis seu alicui inde parcelle quoquo modo spectancia seu pertinencia aut cum eisdem seu eorum aliquo visitata seu occupata existencia. Que quidem messuagia et tenementa ac cetera premissa insimul scituant iacent et existunt infra Clausum vulgariter nuncupatum Great Saint Bartylmewes Close in West Smithfeild in Suburbis London ac nuper Monasterio seu prioratui Sancti Bartholomei in West Smithfeild in Suburbis London dudum spectabant et pertinebant. Ac parcelle possessionum inde extiterunt et que inter alia nuper habui michi prefato Ricardo Ryche. Heredibus et assignatis meis imperpetuum ex dono et concessione Domini Henrici Octavi dei gracia Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie Regis ffidei defensoris et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremi Capitis prout per litteras patentes ipsius domini Regis nunc sub magno sigillo suo Anglie confectas gerendas datum decimo nono die Maij Anno regni dicti domini Regis nunc tricesimo sexto inter alia plene liquet et apparet. ET ULTERIUS SCIATIS me prefatum Ricardum Ryche dedisse concessisse et hac presenti Carta mea Confirmasse prefato Iohanni Dean Clerico Rectori Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bartholomei Appostoli magni in West Smithfeild predicta ad sustentacionem ipsius Iohannis Dean et successorum suorum Rectorum eiusdem Ecclesie totum illud messuagium et tenementum meum cum pertinenciis modo in tenuta et occupacione Mathei White Generosi scituatum et existens infra predictum clausum sancti Bartholomei vulgariter nuncupatum Great Saint Bartholomewes Close in West Smithfeild predicta videlicet inter Messuagium siue tenementum

in tenura Iohannis Williams Tayler ex parte Boriali et messuagium siue tenementum nuper dimissum Iohanni Higham et modo in tenura et occupacione Hugonis ap Harry Generosi ex parte australi et abuttans occidentaliter super Duklane vnacum Omnibus domibus, edificijs, aisiamenis, proficuis et commoditatibus quibuscunque eidem Messuagio et Tenemento in tenura dicti Mathei quoquo modo spectantibus seu pertinentibus aut cum eodem vsitatis seu occupatis existentibus. Quod quidem Messuagium et tenementum in tenura dicti Mathei White vt prefertur existens ac cetera premissa eisdem spectancia et pertinencia dicto nuper Monasterio seu Prioratui Sancti Bartholomei predicti quondam spectabant et pertinebant ac parcella possessionum inde extiterunt Et que inter alia nuper habui michi prefato Ricardo Ryche heredibus et assignatis meis imperpetuum ex dono et concessione dicti domini Regis nunc per predictas litteras suas patentes gerentes datum dicto decimo nono die Maij anno xxxvj^{to} Regni domini Regis nunc. Et INSUPER SCIATIS me prefatum Ricardum Ryche Militem vlterius dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse prefato Iohanni Dean Clerico reuerciones quasunque omnium et singulorum predictorum messuagiorum, tenementorum et ceterorum premissorum et cuiuslibet inde parcelle Necnon redditus et annualia proficua quecunque omnium et singulorum premissorum et cuiuslibet inde parcelle ac eciam redditus et annualia proficua quecunque super quibuscunque dimissionibus seu concessionibus de premissis seu de aliqua inde parcella cuicunque persone seu quibuscunque personis quoquo modo factis seu concessis reservata. Necnon omnes et omnimodas libertates franchisesias iurisdicciones privilegia emolumenta proficua et commoditates quecunque premissis seu alicui eorundem parcelle quoquo modo pertinencia sive spectancia michi prefato Ricardo Ryche Heredibus et assignatis meis inter alia per predictas litteras Patentes concessa adeo plene libere et integre ac in tam amplis modo et forma prout dictus dominus Rex nunc per predictas litteras suas patentes sub magno sigillo suo Anglie confectas gerentes datum dicto decimo nono die Maij dicto anno regni sui tricesimo sexto omnia et singula premissa cum libertatibus, franchisesijs, iuribus, iurisdiccionibus privilegijs emolumentis proficuis et commoditatibus predictis Michi prefato Ricardo Ryche militi Heredibus et assignatis meis imperpetuum dedit et concessit. Habendum tenendum et gaudendum omnia et singula predicta messuagia tenementa domos edificia redditus reuerciones libertates franchisesias iura iurisdicciones privilegia proficua commoditates et cetera omnia et singula premissa superius expressa et specificata cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinenciis prefato Iohanni Dean Clerico et successoribus suis Rectoribus dicte Ecclesie parochialis sancti Bartholomei Appostoli magni predicti imperpetuum ad proprium opus vsum et sustentacionem ipsius Iohannis Dean Rectoris Ecclesie parochialis predictae et successorum suorum predictorum imperpetuum. Tenendum de dicto domino Rege Heredibus et successoribus suis per fidelitatem et non in Capite pro omnibus seruicijs exaccionibus et demandis quibuscunque Et ego vero predictus Ricardus Ryche pro me Heredibus et executoribus meis prefato Iohanni Dean et successoribus suis convenio et concedo quod ego idem Ricardus Ryche et Heredes mei tam predictum Iohannem Dean et successores suos Rectores Ecclesie parochialis predictae

quam predicta messuagia tenementa domos edificia et cetera omnia et singula premissa superius per presentes concessa et quamlibet inde parcelлам versus dictum dominum Regem Heredes et successores suos et versus quascunque alias personas de omnibus concessionibus dotibus Iuncturis redditibus feodis annuitatibus et aliis oneribus et denariorum summis quibuscunque de premissis seu de aliqua eorundem parcella exeuntibus seu solvendis vel superinde oneratis seu onerandis preterquam de sexdecim solidis pro annuali decima pro premissis dicto domino Regi quoque modo debitis seu solvendis. Ac preterquam de omnibus dimissionibus pro termino vite vel annorum de premissis ante hec factis seu habitis de tempore in tempus exonerabimus acquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. Et ego vero predictus Ricardus Ryche et heredes mei omnia et singula premissa cum pertinenciis prefato Iohanni Dean et successoribus suis modo et forma predictis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium ego prefatus Ricardus Ryche Miles huic presenti Carte mee Sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo quarto die Maij Anno Regni Domini Henrici Octavi dei gracia Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie Regis fidei defensoris et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremi Capitis tricesimo sexto per me Ricardum Ryche.

MEMORANDUM quod possessio et seisina deliberata fuit per infranominatum Ricardum Ryche Militem octavo die Iunij Anno Regni Domini Regis infrascripti tricesimo sexto infranominato Iohanni Dean Clerico Rectori Ecclesie parochialis sancti Bartholomei infrascripte de omnibus et singulis messuagijs et tenementis infrascriptis in presencia Rolandi Hill Militis, Civis et Aldermanni London, Thome Burgoyne, Ricardi Tyrrell, Ricardi Modye Armigeri, Ricardi Allen, Hugonis ap Harry, Willelmi Glascock, Iohannis Mantyll, Roberti Corbett, Augustini Saling, Roberti Manweryng Generosi Alexandri Wrightlington Iohannis Grene, Thome Tyrrell et aliorum. Ac omnes et singuli Tenentes messuagiorum et tenementorum infrascriptorum dicto Iohanni Deane Clerico Rectori Ecclesie predictae coram prefato Ricardo Ryche Milite se attornaverunt in presencia predicti Rolandi Hill Militis et aliorum supranominatorum.

GRANT. RICH TO QUEEN MARY. A GRANT BY SIR RICHARD RICH OF THE CHURCH AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS TO QUEEN MARY, DATED 17 DECEMB., 2 & 3 PHIL. & MARY, 1555.¹

[Close Roll, 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, pt. xi, m. 28.]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hec presens Carta indentata pervenerit Ego Ricardus Riche Miles Dominus Riche Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Sciatis me prefatum Ricardum Riche Dominum Riche tam ad contemplacionem serenissime principis et domine nostre Marie Regine Anglie quam pro diuersis aliis causis et consideracionibus me moventibus. Tradidi dimisi deliberaui concessi et hac presenti carta mea Indentata confirmavi prefate Domine Regine totam illam ecclesiam parochialem sancti Bartholomei in West Smithfeild in

¹ See above, p. 277, and Vol. II, chap. viii, cloister.

Suburbii London cum pertinenciis modo habitam occupatam et vsitatam vt Ecclesia parochialis ibidem Que quidem ecclesia nuper fuit parcell nuper prioratus Sancti Bartholomei in West Smithfeild predicti ac totum illud fundum et solum super quo templum sive ecclesia predicta fuit constructum sive edificatum ac cimiterium ibidem cum pertinenciis eidem ecclesie parochiali pertinens spectans sive adiacens nuper parcella predicti templi sive ecclesie dicti nuper prioratus. Ac domum sive edificium illud cum pertinenciis nuper Sacrarium sive Vestibulum dicti nuper Prioratus quod modo vtitur vt Sacrarium predictae Ecclesie parochialis. Ac omnia et singula insulas et loca cum pertinenciis sub Cryptis eiusdem Ecclesie parochialis modo vt parcellam eiusdem ecclesie vsitata sive occupata. Aceciam totum claustrum sive ambitum quadratum modo vel nuper vocatum Le Cloyster cum pertinenciis et fundum solum muros et edificia predicti Claustri sive Ambitus cum pertinenciis parcellam dicti nuper prioratus et omnes illas quatuor partes eiusdem Claustri sive Ambitus cum pertinenciis ac eciam omnia et singula domos Cameras Loca et edificia cum pertinenciis super et subter dictum Claustrum sive Ambitum. Aceciam vnam longam Cameram sive deambulatorium cum pertinenciis existens super orientalem partem predicti Claustri sive Ambitus. Aceciam vnam magnam domum Cameram edificium sive locum cum pertinenciis modo vel nuper vocatum Le Dortour nuper Dormitorium dicti nuper Prioratus. Aceciam gradus cum pertinenciis ducentes a predicto Claustro sive Ambitu vsque dictam magnam domum Cameram edificium sive locum vocatum le Dortour. Aceciam vnam longam domum sive edificium cum pertinenciis ex australi parte dicti Claustri sive Ambitus modo vel nuper vocatum le ffratry nuper rectorium predicti nuper prioratus. Aceciam vnam domum sive vnum edificium cum pertinenciis modo vel nuper vocatum Le old Kitchin nuper Coquinam dicti nuper Prioratus iacentem et existentem ad finem occidentalem predictae domus sive edificii modo vel nuper vocati Le ffratry. Ac eciam vnam domum sive vnum cenaculum cum pertinenciis modo vocatum a parlour nuper vocatum Le Misericorde ad finem Orientalem dicte domus sive edificii modo vel nuper vocati Le ffratry. Ac vnam Domum sive edificium cum pertinenciis modo vel nuper vocatum Le Library existentem supra dictam domum sive senaculum modo vocatum a parlour. Ac vnam domum sive edificium cum pertinenciis nuper vocatum a Parlour ad occidentalem partem dicte domus sive edificii modo vel nuper vocati Le ffratry. Ac totum illud edificium fundum et solum cum pertinenciis quo itur a predicta domo sive edificio modo vel nuper Le ffratry ad dictam domum sive edificium modo vel nuper vocatum Le Old Kitchen. Necnon Rectoriam predictae Ecclesie parochialis sancti Bartholomei cum pertinenciis et advocationem nominationem et liberam dispositionem eorundem Rectorie et ecclesie parochialis. Aceciam omnia illa sex messuagia sive tenementa cum pertinenciis scituata et iacencia infra precinctus nuper clausi dicti nuper Prioratus Que ego prefatus Ricardus dominus Riche nuper dedi et ad[]¹ prefate Rectorie in augmentationem stipendii et salarii incumbentis eiusdem Rectorie Aceciam totum ius titulum statum et interesse mea que ego prefatus

¹ Perhaps *adunavi*, used principally by the Christian Fathers.

Ricardus Riche Dominus Riche habui seu habeo tam de et in omnibus et singulis predictis domibus edificiis et ceteris premissis cum suis pertinenciis quam de et in illis predictis sex messuagiis sive tenementis cum suis pertinenciis scituatis et iacentibus infra precinctus nuper clausi dicti nuper Prioratus. Habenda et tenenda omnia et singula predicta ecclesiam, cimiterium Claustrum sive Ambitum domos edificia Rectoriam advocacionem Messuagia tenementa Haereditamenta et cetera premissa cum suis pertinenciis superius data et concessa prefate Domine Regine Heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum ad opus et vsum ipsius domine Regine, heredum et successorum suorum imperpetuum. Et ego prefatus Ricardus Dominus Riche et Heredes mei omnia et singula predicta tenementa hereditamenta et cetera premissa cum suis pertinenciis prefate Domine Regine heredibus successoribus et assignatis suis contra me prefatum Ricardum Dominum Riche et heredes meos warrantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium vtrique parti huius presentis Carte mee indentate Ego prefatus Ricardus Dominus Riche sigillum meum ad arma apposui. Datum decimo septimo die mensis Decembris Annis Regnorum Philippi et Marie Dei gracia Anglie francie Neapolis, Jerusalem et Hibernie Regis et Regine fidei defensorum Principum Hispaniorum et Sicilie Archiducum Austrie Ducum Mediolani, Burgundie et Brabancie et Comitum Haspurgi fflandrie et Tirolis secundo et tertio.

Et memorandum quod die et Annis supradictis predictus Dominus Riche coram Domino Rege et domina Regina in Cancellaria sua personaliter constitutus recognovit cartam predictam et omnia et singula in eadem contenta in forma supradicta.

REGRANT BY QUEEN ELIZABETH OF THE CHURCH AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS TO LORD RICH, DATED 19 FEBY., 2 ELIZ., 1560.¹

[Patent Roll, 2 Eliz., pt. 4, m. 17, 18.]

Regina omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod nos pro summa Ducenatarum Nonaginta octo librarum novem solidorum et quatuor denariorum legalis monete Anglie ad Receptam Scaccarii nostri ad manus Rogeri Alford Generosi vnus numeratorum in dicta Recepta scaccarii nostri ad vsum nostrum per dilectum nobis Ricardum Riche militem Dominum Riche pre manibus bene et fideliter soluta vnde fatemur nos plenarie fore satisfactos et persolutos eundemque Ricardum Riche Militem Dominum Riche heredes Executores et administratores suos inde acquietatos et exoneratos esse per presentes de gracia nostra speciali et ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus et confirmavimus ac pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris damus et concedimus et confirmamus prefato Ricardo Riche Militi Domino Riche scitum Domus sive nuper prioratus dudum fratrum predicatorum vulgariter nuncupatorum Lez Black ffriers in parochia sancti Bartholomei apostoli Magni iuxta West Smithfeild in Suburbiiis London autoritate Parliamenti modo dissoluti et suppressi ac omnia illa messuagia domos edificia terras sola et hereditamenta nostra vulgariter nuncupata et vocata Le Cloyster Le Old Kitchen Le ffrater,

¹ See above, p. 286.

Le Chapter Howse et Le Library et Le Dorter cum eorum pertinenciis insimul scituata et existencia in dicta parochia Sancti Bartholomei Appostoli Magni iuxta West Smithfeild predictam et in clauso vocato Great Saint Bartholomewes Close ibidem necnon omnia domos Cameras et edificia quecumque constructa et edificata supra dictum Claustum et supra dicta domos et edificia vocata Le Chapter Howse et Le Librarie. Ac omnia domos edificia introitus ambulatoria et Gardina ac terras et solum nostra quecumque infra premissa existencia. Ac advocacionem, donacionem liberam dispositionem et ius patronatus Rectorie et ecclesie parochialis sancti Bartholomei Appostoli magni iuxta West Smithfeild in Suburbiiis London. Que omnia et singula premissa quondam fuerunt parcella possessionum et hereditamentorum dicti Ricardi Riche Militis Domini Riche et que idem Ricardus Riche Miles Dominus Riche nuper dedit et concessit precharissime sorori nostre Marie nuper Regine Anglie heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum Et que postea et nuper fuerunt in manibus et occupatione Prioris et Conventus dudum fratrurn predicatorum ibidem nuper commorantium et inhabitantium. Et que postea ad manus nostras devenerunt et devenire debuerunt ac in manibus nostris iam existunt seu existere debent ratione vel pretextu cuiusdam Actus inde inter alia confecti in Parlamento nostro tento apud Westminster Anno Regni nostri Primo Damus eciam et per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi domino Riche omnia et singula premissa et quamlibet inde parcellam adeo plene libere et integre ac cum omnibus et omnimodis tot tantis talibus eisdem huiusmodi et consimilibus franchisis libertatibus iuribus iurisdictionibus privilegiis exemptionibus liberis consuetudinibus proficuis commoditatibus emolumentis quietantiis exonerationibus et hereditamentis quibuscunque quos quanta qualia et quae ac adeo plene libere et integre prout nos aut dictus Ricardus Riche miles dominus Riche vel nuper prior et conventus dicti nuper prioratus dictorum dudum fratrurn predicatorum aut aliquis vel aliqui alii premissa aut aliquam inde parcellam antehac habentes possidentes vel seisiiti inde existentes illa unquam habuerint tenuerint vel gavisii fuerint habuerint tenuerint vel gavisus sit aut habere tenere vel gaudere debuerint aut debuerint ratione vel pretextu alicuius carte doni concessionis vel confirmationis aut aliquarum litterarum patentium antehac quoquomodo factarum aut ratione vel pretextu alicuius prescriptionis usus seu consuetudinis seu quocunque alio modo iure seu titulo Et adeo plene libere et integre ac in tam amplis modo et forma prout ea omnia et singula ad manus nostras seu ad manus dictae praecharissimae sororis nostrae Marie nuper Regine Anglie devenerint seu devenire debuerint ac in manibus nostris iam existunt seu existere debent vel debuerunt quoquomodo iure seu titulo.

[Here follows a grant of tithes in Elton Patchefeld and other places in County Hereford, possessions of the late Monastery of Wigmore and of a meadow called Pungall in the same county, part of the possession of the late Priory of Lymbroke together with the underwood and trees and rents from the same meadow.]

Exceptis tamen semper et extra presentem concessionem omnino reservatis omnibus campanis et toto plumbo super premissis existentibus praeter plum-

bum in gutturis pipis et fenestris eorundem premissorum exceptis etiam omnibus advocacionibus premissis sive eorum alicui pertinentibus spectantibus sive incumbenibus praeter praedictam advocacionem predictae rectorie et ecclesie parochie Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni iuxta West Smythfield predictam superius per presentes datam et concessam Quequidem omnia et singula premissa in predicta parochia Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni iuxta West Smythfield predictam valuantur ad clarum annum valorem sex librarum tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum.

[Here follows the value of the tithes, i. e. at Elton, &c., £25 8s. 8d., and of the meadow at Pungall 13s. 4d. a year.]

Tenenda predictum scitum domus siue prioratus dudum fratrum predicatorum vulgariter nuncupatorum les Black ffryers et cetera premissa in predicta parochia Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli magni iuxta West Smythfield in Suburbiiis London predictam de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris ut de manerio nostro de Estgrenerviche in comitatu nostro Kantie per fidelitatem tantum in libero et communi socagio et non in capite.

[Here follows how the tithes and meadows, &c., are to be held.]

Et ulterius de ampliore gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche militi domino Riche omnia exitus redditus reventiones et profuita predictorum mesuagiorum domorum edificationum ac ceterorum omnium et singulorum premissorum superius per presentes preconcessorum a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo preterito huc¹ usque provenientia sive crescentia habenda eidem Ricardo Riche militi domino Riche ex dono nostro absque compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquomodo reddendo soluendo vel faciendo Et insuper de ampliori gratia nostra volumus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris in perpetuum annuatim et de tempore in tempus exonerabimus acquietabimus et indempnes conservabimus tam prefatum Ricardum Riche militem dominum Riche heredes et assignatos suos quam predicta premissa superius per presentes preconcessa cum pertinentiis et quamlibet inde parcellam versus nos heredes et successores nostros et versus quas-cumque alias personas et aliam personam quamcumque de omnibus et omnimodis corrodiis redditibus feodis annuitatibus et denariorum summis et omnibus quibuscumque de premissis seu de aliqua inde parcella quoquomodo exeuntibus seu solvendis vel superinde oneratis seu onerandis praeterquam de separalibus servitiis superius per presentes nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris separaliter reservatis Ac praeterquam de dimissionibus et concessionibus pro termino vite vel annorum de premissis seu de aliqua inde parcella factis Ac praeterquam de conventionibus conditionibus articulis et omnibus que aliquis firmarius sive aliqui firmarii ratione aliquarum Indenturarum et dimissionum suarum exonerare tenetur seu tenentur volentes enim et per presentes firmiter iniungendo precipiendo tam Thesaurario Cancellario et Baronibus Scaccarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum quam omnibus Receptoribus Auditoribus et aliis officiariis et Ministris nostris, heredum et successorum nostrorum quibus-

¹ Sic in MS. ; probably for *hucusque*.

cunque pro tempore existentibus quod ipsi et eorum quilibet super solam demonstracionem harum litterarum nostrarum patencium vel irrotulamenti earundem absque aliquo alio breve seu warranto a nobis heredibus vel serviciis¹ nostris quoquomodo impetrandum seu prosequendum plenam integram debitamque allocacionem et exoneracionem manifestam de omnibus et omnimodis huiusmodi corrodiis redditibus ffeodis annuitatibus et denariorum summis ac omnibus quibuscunque de premissis vt prefertur exeuntibus seu solvendis vel superinde oneratis seu onerandis (exceptis preexceptis) prefato Ricardo Riche militi Domino Riche heredibus et assignatis suis facient et de tempore in tempus fieri consuebunt Et he littere nostre patentes vel irrotulamentum earundem erunt annuatim et de tempore in tempus tam dictis Thesauraris Cancellaris et Baronibus dicti Scaccarii nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum quam omnibus Receptoribus auditoribus et aliis officiariis et ministris nostris heredum et successorum nostrorum quibuscunque pro tempore existentibus sufficiens warrantum et exoneracio in hac parte. Volumus eciam ac per presentes concedimus prefato Ricardo Riche Militi domino Riche quod habeat et habebit has litteras nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo factas et sigillatas absque fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in Hanperio nostro seu alibi ad vsum nostrum proinde quoquo modo reddendo solvendo vel faciendo Eo quod expressa mencio etc. In cuius rei etc. Teste Regina apud Westminster xix die ffebruarii Anno Regni Regine Elizabethe secundo.

per breve de privato sigillo

OF PROCESSIONS ²

[From *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell*. Translated by J. Willis Clark, 1897, p. 147.]

All the brethren ought to assemble for all the processions on Sundays, and other solemn processions. All those who have been bled, all the officers, and even the infirm or feeble, who can be present without danger, ought to come to the blessing of water, and to the procession. The Prelate, taking the sprinkler from the hand of the priest, will sprinkle with holy water first himself, next the priest and ministers. When the priest hands the sprinkler to the prelate, and when he receives it back again, he ought to kiss the prelate's hand. In the Sunday procession round the cloister the bearer of the holy water ought always to go first ; next those who carry the Cross and the tapers ; after them the sub-deacon with the Book ; the deacon next after him ; lastly the priest. The convent, the juniors at their head, are to follow at a slow pace ; the prelate, turning neither to the right nor to the left, but walking in the middle of the path, will be the last in the procession. The canons regular ought in every procession to take pains to walk, two and two, in such order that each moves straight forward evenly and regularly with respect to the brother opposite to him, and leaves a space of at least four feet between himself and the brother

¹ *Sic* ; probably for *successoribus*.

² Above, p. 86. See also Arch. Cant. xxiv. 82 ; Processions at Rochester ; by Sir Wm. St. John Hope.

who precedes him ; but in outside processions the space is to be of six feet or more.

On Sundays, whether a station he held in the cloister at procession, or not, the procession ought always to take place before Terce is sung, unless it be a double feast or more ; but on double feasts or more, except on the Day of Pentecost, the Hour will always be sung before the procession. The same rule is to be observed whenever a procession is held for fine weather, for peace, or for rain, and at all ferial processions in Lent. On all Wednesdays and Fridays throughout Lent, the convent ought to walk round the cloister in procession without shoes. On the return the Litany is to be solemnly sung by the Precentor for the week ; but, if a feast of nine lessons or more occur, the brethren are not to take off their shoes. On a common feast, if it should occur, the Litany ought to be sung by the two cantors for the week ; but on a double feast, it will be sung by the Precentor and Succentor. This is the rule also on Ash Wednesday ; but, whatever feast occurs on that day, every brother will take off his shoes to receive the ashes, and take part in the procession. On Easter Day, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and on S. Giles' Day, a procession with a shrine and great pomp ought to pass round the cemetery, the brethren all in silk copes, and the ministers of the altar in tunicle and dalmatic. On All Souls Day a procession goes round the cemetery singing the psalms of commendation ; but only the Prelate or his deputy shall be vested in a silk cope, the ministers in albs only. The rest of the brethren shall go in their ordinary habit. On the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, the procession goes first into the Lady Chapel with candles lighted, and afterwards round the cloister : on this occasion all the brethren shall wear albs ; the Prelate shall wear besides a silk cope, and the ministers tunicle and dalmatic. On Palm Sunday a procession of great solemnity is held, on account of which, if weather permit, a cross is to be set up in the outer court, and the convent are to walk round the cemetery as far as that cross. The Prelate alone will wear a silk cope, the ministers tunicle and dalmatic. All the other brethren, the precentors as well as the rest, will wear albs in this procession. On their return, the west doors of the church being shut, when *Gloria Laus* has been sung, the said doors will be opened, and the convent shall enter the church, make a station before the rood, and afterwards enter the quire. If, however, this procession cannot, by reason of bad weather, be held outside, it shall go inside round the cloister, and then the aforesaid cross ought to be set up in the cloister before the Dorter door. It should be further remarked that on all principal feasts of first and second dignity throughout the year a procession shall be made either round the cloister or round the cemetery. On principal feasts of third dignity also the procession is vested in silk copes, but only when these feasts fall on Sundays. Whenever a procession is held to meet a King, an Archbishop, or a Bishop, the seniors ought to go first on starting, but the younger on returning, and the larger bells ought to be rung. Our Bishop, on his first visit after his consecration, ought to be received with a solemn procession. Further, if he have crossed the sea, he ought to be received on his return with a solemn procession. Whenever he passes through

the town the great bells ought to be rung in going and returning to do honour to our Bishop, as also to our Archbishop ; but there is to be no ringing for the Bishop of another diocese. On Rogation Days solemn processions are to be held with tapers, crosses, shrine, the dragon, and banners, but no-one shall wear priestly vestments except the bearers of the shrine, who shall wear albs. In processions held to meet a corpse, or when a corpse is carried into the church, all the brethren are to cover their heads.

The arrangement of all processions is chiefly the province of the Precentor, in consideration of which he may have his own proper place to go to whichever side he pleases. Moreover, it is his business to see that the brethren are well matched, and walk two and two, at an even distance from each other. No-one ought to quit the procession to talk in the parlour, or elsewhere ; nor ought those who form no part of it to insert themselves at an unsuitable moment.

ABSTRACT OF WILLS ¹

IN THE COURT OF HUSTING, LONDON.

(The references are to the Calendar of Wills by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., for the Corporation of London, 1889.)

Elias de Wycumbe.—His house to be sold under the supervision of his brother, a canon of St. Bartholomew's, London. A. D. **1272.** (Cal. i. 58.)

Reginald Canoun.—To the canons of St. Bartholomew, certain rents. A. D. **1292.** (Cal. i. 107.)

Thomas de Brauncestre.—To the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew de West Smethefeud, rents for keeping his anniversary. A. D. **1312.** (Cal. i. 234.) ²

John de Hounesdone, chaplain.—To the p. & c., six shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre. A. D. **1314.** (Cal. i. 245.) (Without licence : pardon granted 14 Edw. II.) ³

Richard de Ewelle, clerk.—To the p. & c., two shops for the maintenance of the work of the church. A. D. **1314.** (Cal. i. 249.) ⁴

Agnes de Stanes.—To the p. & c., rents to keep her anniversary. To Stephen de Clopton, Clerk (and others), houses in the parish of St. Mary de Aldermaneburi. A. D. **1318.** (Cal. i. 278.)

James de Mohun.—To the p. & c., houses for providing one chantry in St. Mary's chapel, St. Sepulchre without Newgate, and another chantry in the church of St. Bartholomew. A. D. **1322.** (Cal. i. 301.) ⁵

Robert de Chiggewell.—To the p. & c., rents in the parish of St. Nicholas de Coldabbey. A. D. **1327.** (Cal. i. 329.)

Master Richard de Gloucestre.—Of a portion of his testament he appoints

¹ The dates given are those when the wills were signed, unless otherwise stated.

² See above, p. 170.

³ *Ib.*, p. 145.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 146.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 155.

the priors for the time being of Holy Trinity, London, and of St. Bartholomew's, to be executors. A.D. 1328. (Cal. i. 342.)

Peter de Newcastle, surgeon.—To the p. & c., all his shops, messuages and gardens, and certain rents in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate in the street called Brettonestrete¹ and elsewhere. Dated at the Priory. A.D. 1329. (Cal. i. 350.)

Stephen de Clopton, janitor of the priory.—To the priory, his shops in the parish of St. Mary Aldermannebury for the maintenance of the work of the chapel of St. Mary newly constructed in the priory. Dated at the Priory. A.D. 1336. (Cal. i. 427.)

John de Oxenford, vintner.—Bequests of measures of red wine for the celebration of masses and money for the convents of St. Mary de Suthewerk, St. Bartholomew de Smethefeld (and many others) in return for their prayers. A.D. 1340. (Cal. i. 460.)

John de Bredstrete.—To the p. & c., the reversion of eight shops for the maintenance of a chantry. A.D. 1341. (Cal. i. 451.)²

William de Erthyngton.—To be buried in the church of St. Bartholomew, London, at Smethefeld, if so be the p. & c. will undertake to provide a chantry there for the good of his soul, in which case he leaves them certain rents. A.D. 1342. (Cal. i. 466.)³

Henry Frere de Iseldon.—To the p. & c., certain houses in the street and parish of All Hallows de Bredestrete. A.D. 1346. (Cal. i. 494.)⁴

Sir Nicholas Hosebonde, minor canon in the church of St. Paul.—To the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, an annual quit rent of eight marks and two doves, for the most part white, and enclosed in a box, which the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew's were bound to pay him annually on account of certain lands and tenements in the church of St. Sepulchre on Holy Thursday, after the Maunday supper in the church of St. Paul, for lighting the Easter taper on Easter Eve; on condition that the dean and chapter appoint a minor canon to celebrate for the good of the soul of himself (and others named). A.D. 1347. (Cal. i. 496.)⁵

Roesia, widow of John de Knopwede, late mercer.—To the p. & c., shops and a garden to keep her soul and the souls of her father, mother and others in remembrance. A.D. 1348. (Cal. i. 508.)⁶

Roger de Creton, chaplain, brother of Robert de Creton, chaplain.—To the p. & c., houses, etc. (in the city), that he may partake of all the spiritual good things done by the p. & c. and their successors. A.D. 1348. (Cal. i. 531.)⁷

William, son of Martin de Isyldon.—To be buried in the priory of St. Bartholomew de Smithfeld. To the p. & c., houses for pious uses for the good of the souls of (various named). A.D. 1349. (Cal. i. 578.)⁸

Edmund de Grymesby, rector of the church of Barewe.⁹ To the p. & c., tenements and shops on condition that they maintain a chantry for the good of his soul. A.D. 1353. (Cal. i. 683.)¹⁰

¹ Now Little Britain.

² See above, p. 157.

³ Ib., p. 170.

⁴ Ib., p. 170.

⁵ Ib., p. 147.

⁶ Ib., p. 157.

⁷ Ib., p. 160.

⁸ Ib., p. 158.

⁹ Barrow-on-Humber.

¹⁰ Above, p. 164.

William Stacy.—Bequests to the priory. A.D. 1361. (Cal. ii. 72.)

Robert de Watford, carpenter.—To be buried in the churchyard of the priory of St. Bartholomew de Smethefeld called 'le Pardon chirchehawe'. Bequests to the priory of rents. A taper to stand before the crucifix in the new work at St. Paul's; the sacristan of St. Bartholomew's to cause the taper to be brought and to have the remains unconsumed. Should the crucifix be removed, the taper to be transferred to the church of the priory. A.D. 1368. (Cal. ii. 115.)

Henry de Yerdelee, 'fellmongere'.—Provision made for chantries in the church of the priory of St. Bartholomew and elsewhere. A.D. 1368. (Cal. ii. 131.)¹

Simon de Hattefeld, potter.—Bequests to each canon of the house of St. Bartholomew. A.D. 1372. (Cal. ii. 155.)

James Andreu, draper.—To the p. & c., remainder, respecting certain tenements, so that they provide two chaplains to celebrate for the souls of his father, mother and others. A.D. 1374. (Cal. ii. 166.)²

Adam Rous, surgeon.—To the p. & c., the reversion of certain tenements and rents in the city. A.D. 1379. (Cal. ii. 207.)

John de Guldeford, 'paneter'.—To be buried, if he happen to die in London, in the priory of St. Bartholomew, at the feet of the prior last deceased. To the priory, remainder, respecting his fee simple rents in London. A.D. 1382. (Cal. ii. 234.)³

John Bathe.—To William Gedeneye, prior of the church of St. Bartholomew de Westsmythefeld and convent of the same, all his lands and tenements in various streets. A.D. 1390. (Cal. ii. 284.)⁴

John Deyster, citizen and 'drouere'.—To be buried in the priory church of St. Bartholomew in Westsmethefeld. A.D. 1415. (Cal. ii. 410.)

Idonia Rote, widow of John, late citizen and sheriff of London.⁵—To be buried in All Saints chapel in the church of St. Bartholomew, near Westsmythefeld. To the p. & c., a tenement in the parish to maintain a chantry in the same chapel for the good of the souls of Roger Walden, John Rote and John Walden esquire, her former husbands. A.D. 1420. (Cal. ii. 442.)⁶

William Estfeld, knt., citizen and mercer, and alderman of the city of London.—Reversion of certain quit rents to the prior of St. Mary de Overy, whensoever the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew's shall make default in maintaining a chantry for the soul of Reginald Colyer, prior of St. Bartholomew's, for himself, his late wives and others. A.D. 1445. (Cal. ii. 511.)⁷

John Don, senior, mercer.—To the rector and churchwardens of St. Mary le Bow, a certain remainder charged with the maintenance of a beam light, a chaplain, etc., with further remainder in case of default to the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew in Westsmythefeld. A.D. 1472. (Cal. ii. 583.)

Peter Hille, cordwainer.—To Master Smyth, clerk and the vicar of St. Sepulchre, land and houses, so that they permit the wardens of the Fraternity of St. Mary, St. Stephen and St. Gabriel within the church to observe the obit of Robert and Alice Guybon; remainder in case of default to the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew's for like purposes. A.D. 1503. (Cal. ii. 616.)

¹ Above, p. 168.

² Ib., p. 169.

³ Ib., p. 177.

⁴ Ib., p. 181.

⁵ Sheriff, 1381.

⁶ Vol. II, p. 98, and above, p. 193.

⁷ Above, p. 217.

ABSTRACT OF WILLS

IN THE COMMISSARY COURT OF LONDON.

Henry Bosele.—To be buried in the church of the priory, before the great cross.¹ He desires one mass before the image of St. Bartholomew.² Leaves two escutcheons of arms to be hung before the said cross and bequeaths to the vicar of the church 6s. 8d. and to each chaplain 40d. A.D. 1371. (82 b, Courtenay.)

Roger de Barneburgh.—To be buried in the chapel of St. Katherine in the nave of the church, at the south end of the altar.³ Bequeaths 20 marks to the p. & c. in case they will include his soul in masses for William de Merfeld in chance he is buried there. A.D. 1375. (18 b, Courtenay.)

John Chishull, priest.—To be buried in the conventual church of St. Bartholomew before the altar of St. Stephen, on the south side of the quire. Bequeaths to the high altar £10 which John Randisch, canon, owed him;⁴ to the altar of St. Stephen, £10 for painting two pictures, one above and the other in front of the altar;⁵ to the prior, the 18s. he owes him of his predecessor's debt; to Walter Faireford, priest, and John Muryfeld, clerk, his executors, 40s. each; and 100s. for necessities for John Bataille, canon of the church. His will was dated in his lodging within the Close.⁶ A.D. 1382. (95 b, Courtenay.)

John Royston.—To be buried in the church before the high altar. Leaves to the prior, 26s. 8d.; to the building of the cloister, £10⁷; to John Rankedych, canon, £20, to be expended round about the high altar; to the prior, his best cloth with the 'tun';⁸ to the master of the hospital, his second cloth with the tun; to Richard Wedon, one furred cloak from the vestments of the prior of the church; and to the master, brethren and sisters of the hospital, small sums each. A.D. 1387. (152 b, Courtenay.)⁹

John Wrighte, janitor of the priory.—To be buried before the high altar. Bequeaths to the work of the church money owed him by the p. & c. for making a vestment for the celebration of masses for the souls of himself and parents, 12 marks; of the same money for the making of a dorsal for the high altar, 26s. 8d. to be paid to John Rankdich; for the service of the altar of St. Katherine in the church, a chalice of silver gilt weighing 30s. A.D. 1393. (288, Courtenay.)¹⁰

Henry Godechepe, citizen.—To be buried in the church next to the body of his wife Agnes. A.D. 1394. (328 a, Courtenay.)

William Thomas, citizen.—To be buried in the cemetery of St. Bartholomew, West Smethefeld, called 'Pardon chirchew'. A.D. 1395. (338 b, Courtenay.)

John Newport, esquire.—To be buried in the chapel of the Venerable Lord Roger Walden, treasurer of England, in St. Bartholomew's; thirty masses to be celebrated in one day immediately after his death for his soul, and thirty in one day for the soul of William Gedeney (the late prior).¹¹ (Roger Walden and

¹ See Vol. II, p. 67.

³ *Ib.*, p. 99.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 93.

⁸ His name being Royston.

¹⁰ Vol. II, p. 99.

² *Ib.*, p. 92.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 250.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 133.

⁹ Above, p. 180.

¹¹ Above, p. 181.

John his brother were supervisors and also witnesses to the will.) A.D. 1396. (370, Courtenay.)

Johanna Lovetoft, widow of Robert Lovetoft of Conyngton.—To be buried in the chapel of St. Bartholomew lately founded.¹ Willed a hundred masses be said for her soul on the day of her death; bequeathed for the support of the said chapel 40s., a cloth and a towel; and the same to the high altar;² to the p. & c., 40s.; to John Walden, her best silver bowl and cover; to his daughter Idonea, her best beaker or her best chalice, two best mazers and a pair of gold paternosters (beads);³ other bequests to Isabella Walden, to Richard Lovetoft, to her maid Alice, to her sister Marjory, and to other maids. A.D. 1397. (401 b, Courtenay.)

John Walden, clerk.—To be buried within the chapel of the Lord Roger Walden founded on the north side of the church of the priory. Bequests to Catherine Hunt, his mother, and William Hunt, his brother, and others. A.D. 1404. (54 a, Brown.)⁴

Agnes Tredehey.—To be buried in the church beneath the image of the Blessed Mary Magdalene which is on the wall on the north side.⁵ A.D. 1409. (148 b, Brown.)

Thomas de Stanlo de London.—To be buried in the church before the altar of St. Bartholomew where the 'Apostilmasse' is sung on the north part of the church. A marble stone to be placed over his grave.⁶ A.D. 1409. (141 b, Brown.)

Margaret Goodcheepe.—To be buried in the cemetery of the priory called 'Pardon chirchew' there.⁷ Bequests to each chaplain to celebrate for her soul, 2d.; to two clerks, 6d. each; to brother John Yonge, canon and sub-prior, and executor of her will, the residue of all her goods. A.D. 1413. (302 b, Brown.)

John Baldwyn, citizen and goldsmith.—Will made within the great south gate of the hospital called Tanhousgate towards 'Dokelane' and next the common cemetery of the hospital. A.D. 1414. (281 a, Brown.)

Richard Brygg, alias Lancaster *rex armorum*.—To be buried in the conventual church. Bequests for masses to be said for his soul here and in two other churches. Witnessed by John Walden. A.D. 1415. (25 d, Moore.) (See also Lambeth Wills, 331 d, Chichele.)⁸

Margaret Deyster, late wife of John Deyster, citizen and drover.—To be buried in the church next to the sepulchre of her husband. She leaves to the prior 13s. 4d., and to the convent, to be equally divided between them, 40s.⁹ A.D. 1419. (37, Moore.)

Alice Mendica, living within the precinct of the conventual church.—To be buried in the nave of the church. Bequests to the fabric of the church 20s., to the convent 9s., to the sub-prior and to John Hall, one of the canons, 6s. 8d. each. (152, Moore.)

John Lugtburgh, citizen, 'dwelling within the priory of St. Bartholomew

¹ Vol. II, p. 92.

² *Ib.*, p. 92.

³ See above, p. 192/3.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 97.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 104.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 92.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 188.

⁸ Above, p. 208; see another copy below, p. 534.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 208.

in smoothfield (*plano campo*) of the city of London.'—To be buried in the conventual church of the priory. Bequests to the fabric of the church 6s. 8d., and to the p. & c. a wood called Cheny Grove, for his funeral and to pray for his soul. A.D. 1429. (222 d, Moore.)

John Illicum, carpenter.—To be buried in the cemetery of the church or priory. A.D. 1431. (277 d, Moore.)

John Morys, citizen.—To be buried in the church of the priory, under a stone provided for him. A.D. 1432. (327 d, Moore.)

Richard Gray.—'My body to be beryed afore ye trinite autre in chirche of seynt bertylmew.'¹ Executor 'Sir William Coventrie, prior'. A.D. 1432. (340 d, Moore.)

John Galby, chaplain.—To be buried in the church of the priory. Bequests, to the fabric, 20s.; to the convent, a book called '*reportorum sacre scriptur*'. A.D. 1433. (350 d, Moore.)

Thomas Belle.—To be buried in the church of the priory. A.D. 1434. (417 d, Moore.)

Alice, widow of **John Mores**, late citizen.—To be buried in the church of the priory before the altar of the cross there.² A.D. 1435. (459, Moore.)

Nicholas Triplow.—To be buried in the church of St. Bartholomew, West Smythfeld. Bequeaths to the high altar 3s. 4d. A.D. 1441. (73, Prowett.)

—**Loughborough**, who had lately died intestate within the Close of the priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, a commission of intestacy issued to Stephen Grove, clerk of Lewisham. A.D. 1441. (74 b, Prowett.)

Richard Fuller, late of Fulham.—To be buried in the nave of the church of the priory of St. Bartholomew. (Bequeaths money for masses and torches.) A.D. 1443. (126, Prowett.)

William Brockhurst.—Bequeaths 100s. to the priory and £10 to the hospital. A.D. 1444. (137 d, Prowett.)

Thomas Specheley.—To be buried in the church or in the cemetery of the same church next to his wife Alice. (Bequeaths money for masses.) A.D. 1446. (189 d, Prowett.)

Randulph Say.—Bequeaths to Reginald (Collier) the prior a yearly rent of a pound of pepper in all his lands and tenements for a certain grant of an easement of a water course by the p. & c. over their lands lately made and granted to Thomas Knolles for the use of the prisoners of Ludgate and Newgate. A.D. 1447. (264, Prowett.)³

John Goldyng, citizen and carpenter, dwelling in the close of the priory.—To be buried in the church before the font under a stone of marble, as he had ordained. A.D. 1450. (39 d, Sharp.)⁴

Thomas Felmysham.—To be buried next the chapel of the lord the prior if agreeable to him.⁵ A.D. 1451. (43 d, Sharp.)

Walter Whytefeld.—To be buried in the cemetery of the priory 'before the entrance of the charnelhous outside the processional path in Westsmythfeld'. A.D. 1451. (52, Sharp.)⁶

¹ See Vol. II, p. 100, and above, p. 209.

³ Ib., p. 193.

⁴ Ib., p. 57.

⁵ Ib., p. 101.

² Ib., p. 67.

⁶ Ib., p. 86.

William Andrewe.—Bequeaths 3s. to the prior and 2s. to the convent. A.D. 1453. (141 d, Sharp.)

Walter Shelley, clerk.—Bequeaths 20*d.* to the high altar for oblations and 10*s.* for his obsequies at the end (*pede*) of the church or in the cemetery called 'Pardonchurche'. A.D. 1453. (130 d, Sharp.)¹

Thomas Battaille.—Bequeaths 20*s.* to the p. & c. A.D. 1455. (171 d, Sharp.)

Richard Ryder.—To be 'buried behynde the funte within the church of the priory of St. Barthelmews'.² Bequeaths 12*d.* to the high altar. A.D. 1455. (183 d, Sharp.)

Thomas Toralde of London, gentleman.—To be buried in the church under the marble stone where his first wife Joan lies interred; twelve torches and four tapers at his funeral; two of the torches to remain to the service of St. Bartholomew's. A.D. 1480. (286 b.)

ABSTRACT OF WILLS

IN THE LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY.

Roger Walden, Bishop of London (the preamble has already been given in full).³ To be buried either in St. Paul's or in his new chapel at St. Bartholomew's according to the choice of Archbishop Arundel.⁴ He bequeathed to the archbishop a book of pastorals of St. Gregory; to Christchurch, Canterbury, a quire cope of red cloth of gold with embroideries of pearls, in which were representations of Archbishops of Canterbury, on the back that of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; to St. Paul's, his best frontal for the high altar; to St. Bartholomew's, two vestments. To his brother John Walden, the manors of Tottenham, Dedham and Bonhunte (or Elmeden), and the advowson of the churches of Ravenhale and Bulmer (both in Essex), on payment of £1,000. If John died without male issue the feoffees to enfeoff the p. & c. of St. Bartholomew's on condition that they found three canons to celebrate for his soul.⁵ The residue of goods for the health of the souls of himself, King Richard II, Queen Anne, John de Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, and of his parents. The consent of his brother John in every act of his executors to be sought by them. Dated at Hadham (Herts), December 31, 1405. Proved January 20, 1405/6. (227 d, Arundel, pt. i.)

Richard Banks.—To be buried in the church next to the body of Margaret his wife. He bequeathed to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for oblations, 100*s.* Dated within the priory. A.D. 1415. (285 d, Chichele.)

Richard Brigge, alias Lancaster king at arms.—To be buried in the church. He bequeaths to the prior, 20*s.*; to each canon, a chaplain 3*s.* 4*d.*, to other canons 20*d.* Witnesses: John Walden, Richard Banks, John Feld, and others. Dated within the priory. A.D. 1415. (331, Chichele.)⁶

John Walden.⁷—To be buried in the new chapel of the church of St. Bar-

¹ Vol. II, p. 188.

² Above, p. 192.

³ See above, p. 532.

⁴ Ib., p. 188.

⁵ Ib., p. 57.

⁶ Ib., p. 190.

⁷ Brother of Roger Walden.

tholomew, West Smithfield, on the north side of the church lately built.¹ On the day of his funeral one hundred and forty masses to be celebrated; seven priests to celebrate, for a whole year after his death, each a trental of St. Gregory. Bequests to John² Coventry the prior, 40s.; to each canon, a priest 20s.; to each canon called a novice 6s. 8d., and to the convent his largest silver cup and cover with his arms on the knob, for their use in the refectory in his memory. To his executors the residue of his goods to make provision for the souls of himself, of King Richard II, of his brother Roger,³ and his parents. His wife Idonea to be one of the executors. Dated at Tottenham, A. D. 1417. (310 d, Chichele.)⁴

Walter Shirington, 'preest unworthy.'—To be buried in 'Waldons chappelle' on the north side of the altar in a marble tomb adjoining the wall 'of the length of two paulesfete' for men 'to kneel and lene upon the tombe for to here masse'.⁵ Bequeaths to the prior, 20d.; to the sub-prior, 10d.; to each canon, 8d.; to each chantry priest, 6d.; and to the clerks among them, 10d. To the high altar on each of three days, 7s.;⁶ among poor men at his obit, £7; to the cathedral churches of Salisbury, Wells, Lincoln, Chichester, Lichfield, and St. Patrick's, Dublin, 7 marks each, for chalices, books, vestments, or other ornaments. His household at St. Bartholomew's to be kept together for a year and a day. His executors: Master Thomas Lisieux, Dean of St. Paul's, and two residentiary canons. Dated at the Manor of 'Bernes' (Barnes) A. D. 1447/8. (170 a, b, 171 a, b, Stafford and Kemp.)

ABSTRACT OF WILLS

IN THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY.

Idonia (Eden) Walden.—To be buried in the new chapel of the church of St. Bartholomew lately built on the north side of the church where John Walden, her late husband, was buried. Masses as in her husband's will.⁷ Bequests to John Coventry,⁸ 20s.; to each canon, a novice, 40d.; to Isabella Beyr, her kinswoman, articles of apparel; to her executors, the residue of her goods to make provision for the souls of herself, of John Walden and John Rote,⁹ her late husbands. Dated at London, A. D. 1424/5. (6, Luffeman.)

Katherine Lancaster.—To be buried before the high altar beneath her husband's¹⁰ stone. Bequests to decoration of high altar, 20s.;¹¹ to each priest of the convent, 3s. 4d.; to each canon not a priest, 20d.; to each clerk who serves there, 12d.; to the prior, 20s.;¹² to pray for the souls of her husband,

¹ Vol. II, p. 97, and above, p. 193.

² See above, p. 193.

³ See above, p. 207.

⁴ Above, pp. 194, 208, of which this is nearly a copy, even to the error in the prior's name.

⁵ She had made a will in 1420 in the name of Idonia Rote.

⁶ Richd. Brigge, alias Lancaster. See above, p. 532.

⁷ Vol. II, p. 102.

⁸ Mistake for William.

⁹ Vol. II, p. 251.

¹⁰ Vol. II, p. 102.

¹¹ See above, p. 208.

¹² Above, p. 208.

herself (and others marked in a list) ; to the p. & c. of the Carthusians, 6s. 8d. ; to the prioress (& c.) of the Minories, Aldgate, 6s. 8d. ; to the p. & c. of the Dominican brethren, 3s. 4d. ; to the m. & b. of the hospital, 6s. 8d. ; to each sister, 4d. ; to each of the poor there, 2d. ; for the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, 3s. 4d. ; to each of two clergy there, 4d. ; to each anchorite in London, 8d. ; to the prisoners of Ludgate, 2s. ; of Newgate, 3s. 4d. ; of the commonalty of Westminster, 2s. ; of the Fleet, 3s. 4d. ; of the Marshalsea, 20d. ; of the King's Bench, 2s. ; to the poor entertained at Bethlehem, 2s. ; for the fabric and treasury of St. Paul's, 6s. 8d. ; to the church of Langton, Lincolnshire, a chasuble ornamented with the king's arms, altar cloths, a missal, and a chalice. A chaplain to be appointed at 13s. 4d. each quarter day, and a good coat or instead 6s. 8d. The occupier of her house and ground in St. Bartholomew's and those named in the list to be commemorated by another chaplain. John Fray, a Baron of the Exchequer, to be overseer, to whom she leaves her gold tablet with a design in pearls ; and to his wife Agnes, her small gold ring with the diamond. To each executor, 4 gold nobles ; to the high altar of St. Bartholomew's, two torches ; to the Lady altar, one torch ;¹ to the altars of St. Michael² and of St. John³ and to the altar selected by the executors, one torch each. A. D. 1426. (24, Luffeman.)⁴

William Thirwall, esquire.—To be buried in the church before the image of the Mother of God by the high altar on the south side.⁵ Bequests to the p. & c. for his burial, for offerings omitted, and to pray for his soul, 33s. 4d. ; to Richard Thirwall, his kinsman, a book and other things. Dated within the close of the priory, A. D. 1432. (15, Luffeman.)⁶

Thomas Russel.—A bequest to the high altar of the priory church and to the fabric of the church for the soul of himself and his wife Alice, 20s.⁷ A. D. 1434. (19, Luffeman.)

Stephen Grove.—To be buried in the church. Bequests to the high altar for its decoration, 20d. ;⁸ to the canons, to pray for his soul, 6s. 8d. ; to each prisoner of Newgate, Ludgate, the Fleet, and Westminster, 7d. A. D. 1450. (12, Rous.)

John Lematon, gentleman.—To be buried in the chapel on the north side of the church. A. D. 1449. (18, Rous.)

Alice Bysshop, alias Derby, widow.—To be buried in the church between the high altar and the quire.⁹ Bequests to the prior for her burial, to the work of the belfry (*ad opus Campanarii*) of the church, 40s. ; to each canon chaplain present at her funeral, 12d. ; to each canon outside priesthood, 6d. ; to each clerk, 4d. ; three torches where her body rests and three to be distributed ; six poor men to hold a torch each and to receive 10d. ; four tapers not exceeding 3 lb. each, one to remain in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, one in the chapel of St. Mary, one before St. Bartholomew, and one (elsewhere). One thousand masses to be said for the souls of herself, her father and mother. A. D. 1458. (26 d, Stockton.)

John Louthe de Louth, gentleman.—To be buried, if he dies within or near

¹ Vol. II, p. 75.

² Ib., p. 103.

³ Ib., p. 100.

⁴ Ib., p. 208.

⁵ Ib., p. 102.

⁶ Ib., p. 251.

⁷ Ib., p. 102.

⁸ Ib., p. 102.

⁹ Ib., pp. 76, 102.

London, in the chapel of the Blessed Mary within the church of the priory near and beside the wall of the chapel on the north side by the licence of the p. & c. by the right formerly had and held. A.D. 1459. (19, Stockton.)¹

John Durem, a late Baron of the Exchequer.—To be buried in the church before the chapel of St. John the Evangelist. Bequests to the high altar for tithes and oblations omitted,² 3s. 4d.; to each canon priest present at funeral, 8d.; to each clerk, 6d.; and for tolling the great bell, 6s. 8d.; provision for torches and torch-bearers. A.D. 1473. (14, Wattys.)³

Elizabeth Durem, widow, late wife of John Durem, late a Baron of the king's Exchequer.—To be buried in the church before the chapel of St. John Evangelist beside her husband. Bequests to the prior for her sepulchre, 13s. 4d. A.D. 1476. (28, Wattys.)⁴

Hugh Atte Fenne.—To be buried in the chancel of the church of Havynghby, Norfolk, next the sepulchre of his mother. He bequeathed to the prior of St. Bartholomew's £15 out of £18 13s. 4d. owed him by the prior for lead.⁵ He willed that every priest secular and religious in London and Southwark should have one penny to pray for his soul on the day of his death or the day following, and that masses be sung in the churches of the priories of St. John, St. Bartholomew and hospital of the same, of the Charterhouse, and in the parish churches of St. Sepulchre, of St. Andrew, Holborn, and of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. He left 100s. for the poor of the hospital and a further sum to 'the poor as they passed through the doors after the service to be held in the priory church. He left to Eleanor his wife all the plate, jewels, and household stuff in London and Hackney, provided she released her dower that she could claim in all his manors and lands. If she would not release her dower and so break his will, then she was to have of his lands and goods as the law willed, but no more. He made provision for his daughter Margaret if the dower were released, and that his wife should have the profits of his place in West Smithfield, called 'the White Bulle', and of his two closes in Kentish Town, as long as she remained unmarried, and he willed that she should have 'a gode sadde preest that it might be convenient for her to say her divine service as well at home as at church at her ease in her age'. For how long Eleanor survived her husband, and whether the matter of the dower had anything to do with her being buried here⁶ instead of by her husband at Havynghby, we do not know. A.D. 1476. (32, Wattys.) (The first part of this will is in Latin, the rest in English.)

Thomas Peerson.—To be buried in the church before St. Christopher 'at the longe stall'. Bequests for breaking up the ground, 10s.; for lights to burn before images of⁷ St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew, St. Anthony, the Trinity, in the Lady Chapel and before the image of St. Katherine; tapers in the worship⁸ of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas the Martyr,⁹ St. John the Evangelist,¹⁰ St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Michael and All Saints. To every canon a priest to sing mass for him for seven days, 2d. every day, and to every novice,

¹ Vol. II, p. 76.

² *Ib.*, p. 100.

³ *Ib.*, p. 100.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 100.

⁵ See above, p. 219.

⁶ For memorial see Vol. II, p. 486.

⁷ Vol. II, p. 92.

⁸ Above, p. 221.

⁹ Vol. II, p. 486.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 100.

4*d.*, beside their duty to say *placebo* and *dirige* for him. To a priest to say mass for him daily at 'Our Lady of the pewe' at Westminster, within St. Stephen's, every day, 4*d.* for a month. Bequests were also made for a trental of masses at the Charterhouse; for the church at Howtey where he was born, at Ebrewell and at St. Sepulchre's, London. A.D. 1485. (Prob. 28 January, 1492/3.) (21, Doggett.)¹

John Cotton, gentleman.—To be buried in the church. A.D. 1494. (12, Vox.)

Alice Hoole, widow, of the parish of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield.—To be buried within the church under the image of St. Bartholomew standing at the cloister door.² A bequest to the p. & c. of a chalice parcel gilt and a corporax cloth of crimson velvet, bordered with two branches of gold, upon the condition that the p. & c. should pray for her and bury her in the place above mentioned. A.D. 1494. (14, Vox.)

John Fitzherbert, Remembrancer to the king in his Exchequer. To be buried in the parish chapel where his first wife was buried.³ His wife Joan to occupy all his house 'within Seynt Bartholomew's Close' which he then inhabited which he had on lease. A.D. 1502. (18, Blamyr.)

John Brampton, of St. Mary, Macfelon, Brecknockshire. Bequeaths to the Charterhouse, ten thousand bricks, and to 'St. Barthilmew's priore four thousand bricks', to be delivered at his cost that the p. & c. might pray for his soul.⁴ A.D. 1504. (17, Holgrave.)

Edward Hungerford, esquire.—To be buried in his chapel of St. Anne where the body of his wife Anne rested.⁵ A bequest of 12 marks 6*s.* 8*d.* to the p. & c. for a thousand masses for the souls of his wife and himself, all the ornaments that appertain to the chapel; his 'psalter booke glosed'; his 'book of vi parts of the bibill' and his book '*speculum exemplore* (*sic*)'; the said books to be teyd w^t cheynes on an yron bolt betwene the doore of Saynt Barthilmew chapell and the Est side of his said chapell.⁶ It. I will that ther be said xx masses for my soule and for the soule of my wife Anne at Westminster in the chapell of *Scala celi* with as convenyent hast as can be after my deth.' 'It. I bequeth to Dyonyse Spark, widow, whom with Godd's grace if it please hym to send me lyff I shall mary and take to my wiff all and every suche goods as she brought to my house as I have of hers freely without interrupcion or lett.' A.D. 1504. (17, Holgrave.) (A duplicate of this will occurs in Reg. 27, Adeane, but date of probate is given 14 October, 1507.)

John Longe (Sir) of London, priest.—To be buried in the church 'without the chappell dore of saint Edmund there' if I dye in London'. Bequests to the prior for his sepulchre, 13*s.* 4*d.*; for being at his 'dirige and masse of Requiem', 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the sub-prior (to the same intent), 3*s.* 4*d.*; to any canon being a priest helping at the mass, 12*d.*; to every canon not a priest so helping, 8*d.*, to be 'a daily and wekely' mass at the altar within the chapel of St. Edmund for three years for the souls of himself, John, Agnes, Margeret, Mawde, Margery

¹ Vol. II, p. 104, where the references to images are set out in full.

² Ib., p. 64, and above, p. 221.

³ See Vol. I, p. 221.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 99.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 98.

⁶ Ib., p. 221.

⁷ Ib., p. 100.

and (another) John, each canon taking a week, at a stipend of 12*d.* a week. Further bequests among others 'to the fraternity of the lx preests in London xx^s'; 'to the fraternity of the clerks of London vi^s viii^d'; 'to the fellowship of the yomanry of Taillours of London, xx^s'; to 'the poor prisoners in Ludgate, Newgate, the Flete, the Kynge Benche and the Marcelsye 33^s' among them; to the p. & c. of the Charterhouse, 6*s.* 8*d.* (etc.). Dated **26 June, 1499**. Prob. 12 November, 1507. (28, Adeane.)

John Clerke of London, gentleman.—To be buried, if he dies at seynt Barthilmewes, 'in the pisshe chapell afore seynt Ursula', his 'avowerie',¹ for which sepulture he bequeathed to the prior 20*s.* His 'grave to be covered and made playne of marble, the same to have a remembrance of his auctorities passed'. If he died at 'Walcompstone' (Walthamstow) 'to be buried against the image of Our Lady in the channell on the north side against the high autler'. Executors, Robert Blagge the Kynge's Remembrancer,² John Burgoyne and others. A.D. **1508**. (12, Bennett.)

John Agmondesham, gentleman.—To be buried within the priory. A bequest to the high altar of the chapel of Allhallows towards an altar cloth to be bought, 20*s.* Witness: 'Master William Bolton, priour.' A.D. **1509**. (15, Bennett.)³

Walter Martyn.—To be buried in the 'pisshe chapell of greate seynt bartylmews priory', where his first wife was buried. A bequest to the said chapel for tithes negligently withholden or forgotten, 12*d.*; to the reparation of the church or priory, £10.⁴ A.D. **1513**. (23, Fetiplace.)

John Alexander.—To be buried in the church before the altar of St. John the Evangelist. A bequest to the high altar for tithes forgotten, 5*s.*⁵ To the convent for carrying his body to the church, 30*s.* Witnesses: the chaplain, Sir Richard Burton, and Robert Blagge, Baron of the Exchequer. A.D. **1514**. (2, Holder.)

John Webbes of 'Sandewych', co. Kent.—To be buried within the church of the monastery before the parish chapel. A bequest to the high altar for tithes negligently withholden, 10*s.*⁶ A.D. **1514**. (6, Holder.)

Barthm (Bartholomew) Westby, 'dwelling within the precinct of Saint Barthii in Westmythfeld.' To be buried in the church of the Charterhouse (where his wife was buried). A bequest to the high altar for tithes and offerings forgotten, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*⁷ A.D. **1521**. (11, Maynwarig.)

Robert Blagge, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.—To be buried 'in the monastery of Seint Barthus', where his wife Katherine was buried. Bequests to the prior 'for his payne and labor to be done in his owne psonn' at his burial and for breaking the ground, 66*s.* 8*d.*; to every canon, 20*d.*; to the high altar for tithes and 'for furnyshing of eight images to be newe painted and there residue be viii. marcs'.⁸ To each of the four orders of friars to pray for him, 10*s.*; 'an honest preest of good conversation' to sing for his soul and for those of his father and mother, of King Henry VII (etc.) in the chapel 'of Witton at the Northwich' where he was born, for three years, for a salary of eight marks.

¹ Vol. II, p. 98.

² *Ib.*, p. 253.

³ *Ib.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 98, and above, p. 227.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 100.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 102.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 102.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 102.

Two trentals of masses to be sung for his soul at St. Bartholomew's and £10 to be distributed to poore people, 'peny mele' or otherwise; to the marriage of poor damsels, 20 marks (and other provisions and bequests). Another will disposes of his manor lands in the shires of Somerset, Wilts, Kent, Middlesex, and the town of Bristol.¹ A. D. 1522. (15, Maynwaryng.)

Heugh Grannger, 'marchaunt of the staple at Cales.'—'A bequest to the high altar' 'within the abbey of saint Bartilmewe's fast by West Smythfelde', 10s. sterling.² After masse a priest to say the *de profundis* and to cast holy water upon his grave. A bequest to the prior, sub-prior, and canons to pray for his soul, 20s. The residue of his estate to Elizabeth Westby, his mother. He made additional legacies on his deathbed 'in the presence of Sir Thomas Truplande, curate of Saynt Barthms' (and others).³ Dated **20 March, 1530** (for 1520). Prob. 16 December, 1521. (19, Maynwaryng.)

Elizabeth Westby of London, widow, late the wife of Thomas Grannger, late merchant of the staple of Calais, deceased.—To be buried in the church of the priory where her son Hugh was buried (see preceding will). Bequests to the 'prior and brethren' for a solemn *dirige* and mass by note £5 sterling; amongst the brethren, 20s.; for the maintenance of the vestments and ornaments of the parish chapel, 10s.;⁴ to the hospitals of St. Bartholomew, of St. Mary Spital, Elsing Spital, to each 100 ells of canvas. A. D. 1524. (31, Bodefelde.)

Nicholas Burgh, of London, gentleman.—To be buried where 'my lord of Saint Barthilmewe's may counsel and advise'. A bequest 'to the convent of the monastery', where he trusted to be buried, to pray for his soul and bring his body to the earth, 20s. 'Lord prior of Saint Bartilmews' to be an overseer of his will; William Bolton, prior, was a witness. A. D. 1527. (31, Porch.)

Nicholas Mynne 'of the parishe of Saint Barthilmews Close'.—A bequest to the high altar of the parish church for tithes forgotten, 3s. 4d.⁵ A. D. 1528. (35, Porch.)

William Martyn, 'dwelling within the close of the monastery of the glorious apostle Seynt Barthilmewe'.⁶ 'To be buried in the monastery before the Image of Seynt Christopher nigh where Alice' his late wife was buried. One trental of masses to be sung for his soul in the Charterhouse of Shene where he was brought up. His patent of brotherhood of the chapel of the monastery of St. Bartholomew⁷ and that of the brotherhood of the Charterhouse, nigh London, to be presented 'unto the chapter house there' (probably St. Bartholomew), to pray for his soul, and to give them better courage so to do he bequeaths to either of the convents 10s. He bequeathed to a young canon called Glasier, whom he had taken for his son adoptive, 6s. 8d. to pray for his soul, and to the Prior of St. Bartholomew for tithes, 6s. 8d. A. D. 1531. (Prob. 1537.) (A long will of over five folios.) (4, Dyngeley.)

Richard Bellamy, within the precinct of the Close, gentleman.⁸—To be buried without pomp or pride in the body of the church between the font and the

¹ Vol. II, p. 253.

² Ib., p. 102.

³ Above, p. 232.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 98.

⁵ Ib., p. 96.

⁶ Ib., p. 252.

⁷ See above, p. 208.

⁸ In full, see p. 255.

image of our Lord near the place where his children were laid. Bequests to the high altar for tithes forgotten, 3s. 4d.¹ A.D. 1538/9. (24, Dyngeley.)

Robert Fuller, priest, 'late abbot of Waltham and prior commendatory of Saint Bartilmewes in West Smythefeld suppressed'.—'To be buried in Corpus Christi chapel within St. Sepulchre's church without Newgate.'² A.D. 1540. (12, Alenger.)

ABSTRACT OF WILL OF KING HENRY VII

IN PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, EXCHEQUER T. R.

King Henry VII. 'The finishing of the King's chapel images, grating and enclosure.'³

And if our said chapell and towmbe and our and oure said wyf's ymages grate and closure be not fully accomplisshed perficely finisshed according to the premisses by us in our lif tyme we then wil that not only the same chapell tombe ymages grate and closure and every of them and al other thinges to them belonging with al spede and assone after our decease as goodly may be doon best by our executors hooly and perfutely finished in our behalve after the manner and somme before rehersed and sutingly to that that is begonne and doon of them. But also that the said chapell be desked and the windowes of our said chapell be glased with stores ymages armes bagies and cognoisaunces as is by us redily divided and in picture delivered to the Priour of Sainct Bartilmewes beside Smythfeld maistre of the work of our said chapell.⁴ And that the walles doores windows archies and vaults and imags of the same our chapell within and without be painted and garnisshed and adorned with our armes bagies cognisaunce and other convenient painteng in as goodly and riche maner as suche a werk requireth and as to a king's work apperteigneth. And for the more sure perfourmance and finisshing of the premisses and for the more redye payment of the money necessary in that behalf we have delived in redy money before the hande the sum of *lvm*^{li} to the Abbott Priour and convent of our said monastery of Westm. as by writing indented betwixt us and them testifieng the same payment and receipte and beinge date at Riche-mount the thretene daie of the moneth of Aprill the xxiii yere of our reigne it dooth more plainlie appiere the same five thousand pounds every parcel thereof to be truly employed . . . about upon the finisshing . . . of the premisses.' (If not enough the Executors to give the Abbot what may be sufficient for perfectly finishing the work.) Dated at Richmond, **31 March, 1509**. (The King died April 21, 1509.)

WILLS. (POST-SUPPRESSION)

IN THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY.

John Burgoyne, gentleman.—'To be buryed in the church of Great Saint Barthilmewes.' Bequests of his lands, leases, etc., to his son Thomas Burgoyne, also to the same son his lease of a messuage and a garden adjoining in 'Great

¹ Vol. II, p. 102.

² Fully set out above, p. 259.

³ Membrane 2d.

⁴ Part of above already quoted, p. 224.

St. Barthilmewe's', wherein he then dwelt, which he had of the lease of the late p. & c. His son Bartylmewe Burgoyne, clerk, to pray for his soul for three years. (Many bequests to churches and people.) His sons Thomas and Robert were executors and his brother Thomas Burgoyne 'clercke parson of Sundaye' (to whom he bequeathed 40s. for his pains) and his son Barthilmew supervisors. Witnesses: 'Sir John Deane, clerck, perishe priest of Great Saint Bartilmewe, John Dodyngton of the same gentleman, John Mantell gentleman, Thomas Adams, of the same,' with others. A.D. 1540. (10, Alenger.)¹

John Bochard, clerk.—To be buried within the church. Bequests towards the building of the church, £6 13s. 4d., to the poor dwelling in the parish, 6s. 8d., and to the building of the steeple and church of Armeskyrke (Ormskirk), Lancashire, £60; to Lady Rich, £10; to Sir Hugh Huxley, priest, his 'best gown Furryd with Foynes'; to the brotherhood of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, £5; to Thomas Hytchyn his cousin, £5, and a new livery; to Mathew White, 'three advowsons in a box in the cupborde to his own use whereof' he gave 'the first that fallith of them thre to Sir Hugh Hill preest and 20s.;' to Sir Awden priest, 40s. Witnesses: Edmund Goodwyn, Mathew White, Thomas Hytchyn,² the curate of the parishe, and Sir Awden priest, with others. A.D. 1542. (20, Spert.)

Robert Adams, 'yeoman.'—To be buried within the church or churchyard. Bequests among others to the high altar, 3s. 4d.;³ to the four prisons, 4s. In the presence of Richard Longstone and 'Sir John Deane, parson of saint Bartilmewes'.⁴ A.D. 1545/6. (13, Allen.)

Richarde Aleyn, gentleman, dwelling within the parish.—To be buried in the church. Witnesses: Edward Fapylby, gentleman, and John Deane, clerk.⁵ A.D. 1545. (10, Alen.)

Robert Burgoyne, esquire.—Bequests for tithes and oblations forgotten to the high altar, St. Barthilmewes, 13s. 4d.;⁶ at Hackney, 5s. 8d.; at Watton at Stone, 10s.; 'for dirige, mass of requiem and trental of masses of the v wounds' to be sung at St. Barthilmewes (etc.), 25s. 8d.; to the poor of the parish, 13s. 4d.; legacies to his son Robert (who was to be brought up by his uncle Thomas), to his daughters Dorothy, Elizabeth, and an unborn child. Bequests also 'to the right worshipfull Sir Richard Riche, Knyghte' his 'speciall good maister to be good Mr. to' 'his wife and children £20', and to his especiall 'good ladye Elizabeth his wife for a remembrannce £5 13s. 4d.' Legacies to his sister Anne Burgoyne (probably sister-in-law, wife of Thomas); to his nephew and godson Robert Burgoyne; to his nephew John Burgoyne his (Robert's) elder brother; to his cousin John Doddington; to several late abbots and many others. He further bequeathed to the church of Hackney, one cope; to St. Bartholomew's one cope and one vestment with the apparel; to Watton at Stone two copes; to Sutton (where he was born) one cope; to four other churches one cope each. Witnesses: John Pamraye, D.D., vicar of St. Michael, Coventry, George Gifforde, esquire, Thomas Catlyn, gentleman, and others. A.D. 1545.⁷ (14, Allen.)

¹ Vol. II, p. 258.² Above, p. 262.³ Vol. II, p. 102.⁴ Above, p. 274.⁵ Ib., p. 274.⁶ Vol. II, p. 102.⁷ Ib., p. 260.

Dorothy Paver (or Paner), widow.—In the name (etc.) ‘the twentie day of September . . . a thousand fyve hundred and fourtie and eight I Dorothe Paver widdowe being of hole mynde (etc.) . . . my body to be buried within the churche or chauncell of Greate Saint Barthilmewe’s in West Smythfeld of London. Item I bequeth to the highe aluter of the parrishe churche of Greate Saint Barthilmews for my tithes and oblatons nechyently forgotten xx*d*.¹ Also to the high Altar of our blessed lady of Watford for like cause xx*d*. Also I will that there be certyne mony to be given for my lying in extremis or ymmediatly after it shall please Our Lorde God to take me to his mercye. Also I bequeth to the pore prysonners of Saint Albons iiis. iiij*d*. Also I bequeath to the pore folks of little Saint Bartilmewes vis. viii*d*. Also I will to the pore prysoners of Newgate iijs. iiij*d*. Also I bequeth to the pore prysoners in the King’s benche iijs. iiij*d*. Also I bequeth to the pore prysonners of the Marsheielsea iiis. iiij*d*. Also I will that there shall be distributed to pore maydens marriages and to my God children and to highe wayes five pounds by the discretion of myn executours. Also I bequeth to Sir John Deane parson of Greate Saint Barthilmewes a gilte pece.² Also I bequeth to Anne Deane a silver bowle. Also I bequeth to Richard Loggesden a silver pece plaine. Also I bequeth to John Deane a silver pece, also I bequeth to Richarde Adams a mazer with knoppes of silver. Also I bequeth to Robert Adams a little mazer. Also I bequeth to Joan Adams a mazer with John uppon the topp. Also to Margaret Bradford a little mazer. Also I bequeth to Sir John Deane parson of Greate Saint Barthilmewes my lease of my house afre my decease. The residue of my gooddes movable and unmovable my debts paide with my funerall expenses and my legacies duly perfourmed. I will that the saide gooddes shal be soulede by myn executours. And that the mony thereof comyng withe suche parte and porcyon of the saide gooddes as they doo not sell shal be by myn executours disposed in dedes of charytie where most nede is, by their discretion for the helthe of our soules as by their charitable discretions shal be thought convenyent. And of this my pñt testament and last will I the saide Dorothe Paver widdowe doo ordeyne and make myne executours Sir John Deane parson of Greate Saint Barthilmewes and Agnes Deane my sarvaunt and Richard Loggisden overseer of this my pñt will. And every of them thereof Sir John Deane, Agnes Deane, Richard Loggesden to have xxs. to see this my pñt testament pfourmed. In witness whereof I the saide Dorothe Paver widdowe unto this my pñt testament and last will have putte my seale in the presence of Sir John Deane my ghostly Father and Thomas Hone, Barbor and surgeon, William Bell yeoman, and dyvers other the day and yere above written. Also I will that Thomas Hone and William Bell and either of theme for their paines to have twentie pence.’ A.D. 1548. (14, Populwell.)

Edwarde Corbett, gentleman.—To be buried in the church. ‘He disposes of his apparel in his ‘chamber where (he lived) in Great Saynt Barthilmewes’. A bequest to Sir John Deane parson of Great St. Bartholomew’s, 13s. 4*d*; to the same £10 which he owed him, who was also a witness to the will.³ A.D. 1548/9. Letter of administration 2 May, 1549. (29, Populwell.)

¹ Vol. II, p. 103.

² Above, p. 274.

³ *Ib.*, p. 274.

Dorothy Martyn of the parish of Stepney.—To be buried if convenient in St. Bartholomew's the Great beside her husband William Martyn¹ deceased, otherwise within the church door of Stepney. A.D. 1549. (44 Populwell.)

Mathew White of the parish of 'Great St. Bartilmewes'.—To be buried in the church of the parish where it shall please God to call him in his mercy. A.D. 1546. Not proved until 1550. (9, Coode.)

Thomas Bill, physician unto the King's Majestie.—A bequest to the poor people of 'Great St. Bartilmewes Close', 6s. 8d.; to Agnes his wife his house and garden within the parish of 'Great St. Bartilmewes Close', for her life and after to 'Margeret' his daughter and her heirs.² Dated 1 June, 1551. Prob. 23 February, 1551/2. (7, Powell.)

John Garatt, citizen and salter.—To be buried within the church between the steps going up to the high altar and the chancel.³ Bequests: to the high altar for tithes, 1s.; 'to the Order of Blacke Friers' then 'being within the house of Greate Seynt Barthilmewes' to keep his yearly obit and praying for the souls of his two wives Agnes and Joan, 12s. yearly; and in addition two tapers weighing 2 lb. each; to the poor of the parish coming to his dirige and mass, 4s. in bread and money, that is 'a peny loofe and a peny in Redie money apece'; to the clerk for ringing, 12d.; to the three prisons, King's Bench, the Marshalsea and Newgate, 6s. 8d. a year each; to his wife Ursula, a house in Red Cross St.; to Philip his son and Ralph Brooke his son-in-law, certain land, and after their decease to the Salters' Company, to keep his yearly obit with two tapers within the priory. His wife Ursula sole executrix; his brother Henry, and Ralph Broke son-in-law, goldsmith, to be overseers. A bequest to St. Giles, Cripplegate, towards making and hanging two new bells, £6 13s. 4d. Witnessed by 'Sir John Deane parson of Great St. Barthilmewes'⁴ and others. A.D. 1556. (23, Ketchyn.)

Richard Bartlett, 'Doctor of Physic'.—To be buried in the church of 'Gt. St. Barthilmewes' if he die in or within six miles of London. Bequests to Sir Walter Mildmay one flat hoop of gold graven within '*ab occultis meis Christe*'; to 'my lady his wief one Rynge with a small Emerade sparke in it'. Executors: 'Mr. William Cooke, Docter of the law and Mr. Thomas Argall.' He divided the residue of his property into three parts, one for his kinsfolk, the other two parts for the relief and comfort of the poor.⁵ Further bequests, to William Hayes 6s. 8d. and a black coat to make his grave in the church; to 'the Fryers of St. Bartilmewes', £6; to Sir John Deane, his worsted gown, furred conditionally that he takes no money for breaking the ground and to see his stone laid over him; to making of the church wall, 20s.; towards making a 'Soller' in the parish church at the discretion of his executors.⁶ Signed by Richard Bartlett and John Deane, pastor of '*Magm. Barthe*'. Later he bequeaths to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, by declaration to his executors, his basin and ewer of silver. In a previous will, 18 November, 1555, he bequeathed to his nephews Thomas, Richard, and John Bartlett, sons of his brother Edmund,

¹ Above, p. 540.

² Ib., p. 101, and above, p. 208.

³ Set out Vol. II, p. 257.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 257.

⁵ Ib., p. 274.

⁶ Above, p. 274.

his land, messuages, and tenements in the Close which he was then inhabiting. A.D. 1556/7. (25, Noodes.)

John Williams of St. Bartholomew the Great, 'Taillour.'—A bequest to Mary his wife of his 'tenement in Great Saint Barthilmewes which he then inhabited' 'with all waynscott portall and one press of waynscott now remayning in and about the same'; to his children two other tenements in the parish. A.D. 1558. (33, Noodes.)¹

Christopher Dodgson, 's. & h. of John Dodgson, late alderman of the city of York and now servant to the Rt. Hon. Ld. Wm. Paget Ld. Privy Seale.'—A bequest, if he died in London at Great St. Bartilmewes, to the parish church, 6s. 8d., and to the poor of the parish, 20s. A.D. 1557. (37, Noodes.)

Robert Urmestone.—To be buried in the church of the 'blake Frayers in Smythefilde' if he dies within the city. A bequest to the church where he is buried, if in the 'blak Fryers', £3 6s. 8d.; if elsewhere, to the church, 20s. A stone to be laid on his grave with his arms thereon.² A.D. 1558. (40, Noodes.)

Wylliam Longland, of the parish of 'Greate Saint Bartylmewes'. A nuncupative will—all his goods left to his wife. Witnesses: Richard Durante and three others. A.D. 1567. (25, Stonarde.)

William Hayes, of the parish of 'Great St. Barthelmew'.—To be buried in the parish churchyard. Witnesses: 'Sir John Deane, parson and his gostly farther,'³ and others. A.D. 1558. Proved 1561. (28, Loftes.)

Percyvall Smallpace, of the city of London, one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth.—(No mention of St. Bartholomew's, although his monument is there.)⁴ A.D. 1559. (12, Chayney.)

John Deane, 'clerke person of the parishe churche of Greate St. Bartilmews nighe West Smithfeilde.'—'I give and bequeathe my soul to Almighty God Christe Jesu my maker my savioure and my most mercifull Redemer and to the blissed Virgin St. Marye his mother and to all the holye Santees and company in heaven and my bodye to be buried by the righte side of the chappell late Mr. Blage's Chappell and now Sir Walter Mildmaye's chappell within the Quire of Greate Saynte Bartilmews where I have allredie made my grave.' (His will has already been epitomized in the text.)⁵ A.D. 1563. (36, Chayre.)

Margaret Burgoyne (daughter of Thomas Burgoyne and stepdaughter of Sir Robert Catelyn).—This will is quoted in the text.⁶ A.D. 1556. (Proved 5 February, 1567/8.) (5, Babington.)

Richard Rich, knight, Lord Rich.—To be buried at Felsted, Essex. (The provisions which refer to St. Bartholomew's have already been quoted;⁷ the rest consists of bequests to his family and others, and of instructions concerning his manors. His heir was his son Sir Robert Rich.) A.D. 1567. (12, Babington.)

John Everton 'of Great St. Bartilmews', London, gentleman.—To be buried in the church. A.D. 1571. (34, Holney.)

¹ Vol. II, p. 225.

³ *Ib.*, p. 282.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 305.

⁷ Above, p. 296.

² Above, p. 282.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 449.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 261.

Robert Catelyn, 'Knighte cheife Justice of the Pleaz.'—To be buried at Sutton, Bedfordshire. Directions that on the day of his burial there be given to thirteen poor men thirteen gownes of black freise and amongst the poor of Great St. Bartholomew's, 26s. 8d. His wife Anne to have the occupation of his house at St. Bartholomew's and the rich hangings, etc., there (already fully described).¹ A. D. 1574. (5, Pychering.)

Thomas Bullman, citizen and draper of St. Olave's, Southwark.—A bequest to the free school, then lately erected by the Queen in the parish of St. Olave, of his four houses in the parish of 'St. Barthlmuse' in West Smithfield. A. D. 1574. (12, Martyn.)

Robert 'Bynckes', clerk parson of the parish church of Great St. Bartholomew's. (As already stated, he left everything to his nephew Robert Bynckes.)² A. D. August 15, 1579. (250, Bullock.)

Thomas Bartlett of Seynbury, Gloucestershire, gentleman.—A devise to Thomas Bartlett, younger son of his brother Richard Bartlett deceased, of his manor of Pendock, if his cousin Richard Bartlett (son of Henry Bartlett) when of age should confirm and agree to such bargains and sales as his said brother Richard and he 'had made to one Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, and to one Vincent Randall of London, mercer, of certain lands and tenements in the close of Great Saint Bartilmews'.³ A. D. 1583. (20, Rowe.)

Robert Burgoyne, of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, gentleman.—To be buried 'within the parish church of Greate Saint Bartholomew' at the discreation of his executors. Bequests: to Lady Anne Catelyn, a gold ring value of 5 marks;⁴ to his cousin Robert Burgoyne, a gold ring; to John Burgoyne his brother, £30 or thereabout; to the poor of the parish, 40s. A. D. 1584. (44, Watson.)

Ursula Garrett, 'of the Close and parishe of Greate St. Barthilmewes,' widowe. To be buried in the church near the place and between the bodies of her late husbands John Mantell and John Garrett. Bequests to the poor householders within the Close 'a peny white lofe and twoe pence in money soe farre as fyve shillings will extende'; to Frannch Mantell her son a silver salt with cover all gilt, a goblet all gilt, a gold ring with a blue saphire, another with a 'roche' ruby and diamond joined together and six silver spoons with 'postells' (apostles); to her son Hugh Mantel a silver salt with the name of her late husband John Mantel (and others, many goblets and apostle spoons); to the same Hugh, her lease of her dwelling house within the Close; to the Salters Company, 40s.; on the day of her burial a dinner for her neighbours and friends to the value of £3 and 13s. 4d. in spice bread; money to the poor in the prisons; to the church of St. Bartholomew, 10s.; to 'Mr. Dee preacher', 10s. Witness of the reforming of certain things in the will, 'David Dee minister'.⁵ A. D. 1581. (Proved 10 September, 1584.) (24, Watson.)

Anne Neale, wife of William Neale.—A bequest to her niece Jane Bottes of a Flanders chest of linnen in the house of William Neale her husband in the parish of Gt. St. Bartholomew 'in the Greate chamber there';⁶ to the poor of

¹ Vol. II, p. 261.

² Ib., p. 309.

³ Ib., p. 257.

⁴ Ib., p. 261.

⁵ Ib., p. 311.

⁶ Ib., p. 271.

St. Martin's in the Vintry and Great St. Bartholomew's, to each parish, 6os. A.D. 1597. (4, Lewyn.)

Sir Walter Mildmay of Apethorpe, Northamptonshire, knight.¹—*In Dei nomine.* Amen.

'For-as-much as all men livinge are subjecte unto death and that the time of their departure hence is most uncerteyne therefore I Syr Walter Mildmaye of Apethorpe in the countie of Northampton Knighte calling to my remembrance the uncerteyne state of mans life that passeth awaye as a shadowe and fadethe as the flower or grasse of the feilde. And thinkinge it my dutie nott to differr from daye to daye butt to prepare my selfe in a rediness agaynst the time that it shall please the Lorde my God to call mee to him selfe doe this seconde daye of Aprill in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundredthe eightie and nine ordeyne and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme hereafter ensuinge ffirst I bequeathe and comende my sowle into the handes of my most gratius and mercifull Lord God the Father the sonne and the holye ghoste thre persons and one Almightye eternall and incomprehensible God beinge most certeynly persuaded that my synnes whiche be greivous and heavie are forgiven and myne election sealed upp in the onlye blood and meritte of my Lorde and Saviour Jhesus Christe by whom and by none other meanes my redemption is made suer and certeyne accordinge to the unspeakable love of God towards mankynde in his eternall and unsearcheable counsell and purpose before the foundations of the worlde weare laide and whiche he hathe revealed in the latter age of the worlde for the comforte of his electe by his most holye scriptures the onlye waye to knowe his goode will and pleasure Secondlye this tabernacle of myne earthelye bodye whearin it hath pleased the Almightye Lorde that I should walke here uppon the earthe created for his honor but mysused by me to his greate dishonor I doe committ to the arthe from whence it came. And the same to be buried and laide upp in suche place as it shall seeme good to my executors ther to remayne untill the day of resurrection of all fleshe when my sowle and bodye shall be joined together in everlastinge incorruptibloness and meetinge my most mercifull saviour in the cloudes shall continue with him in endles joye suche as no eye hathe seene nor eare hathe heard nor harte of man conceyved. In whiche my buriall my request is to myne executors so farr as conveniently they may they will avoyde suche vaine funerall pompe as the worlde by custome in the time of darkenes hathe longe used, a thinge most unfit for us Christains that doe professe sincerely the gospel of Jhesus Christe. But rather I do desire that all superfluous coste may be spared and that the same maye rather be bestowed upon pore preachers pore schollers and poore needye people. And touchinge suche worldly goodes as it hathe pleased the Almightye Lorde withe his moste gratius and bountefull hand to bestowe uppon me most unworthie synner to receyve them I have thoughte it convenient to dispose and distribute them by this my last will now whiles it hathe pleased the Lorde to give me perfecte memorie rather than to trouble my selfe with them at my latter time when it shall be most meete for me to forgett the worlde and all things therin and think only upon my salvation

¹ Vol. II, p. 262.

in the Lorde Jhesus and uppon that heavenly Jerusalem wheare I am sure to remayne in joye worlde without end. And therefore first I give and bequeathe to my sonne Anthoney Myldmay in readye money twoe hundrethe poundes Lawfull englishe money' (also his armour and munition, household stuff and utensils at Apethorpe) 'And I give unto him all my seeling of waynscott fixed to any parte of my howse in the suburbs of London.¹ And the moitie of my stuffe and utensills remayninge ther to be equally devided by myn executors between my two sonnes' (he gives the younger son plate to the value of £400) 'and £600 value of cattell £40 value in horses a standishe of silver and 2 seales of arms silver. And wheare one peece of grounde late parcell of a garden late John Tamworthes lyinge in the parishe of St. Buttolphe without Aldersgate London is leased unto me by Christopher Tamworth for terme of two hundrethe yeares for the yearly rent of fower pence I meaninge and intendinge that the same shall goe and continue in the occupacion of such persons one after another as shall have my dwellinge house in Great St. Bartholomew's from time to time duringe the saide terme doe therefore by this my will give devise and dispose the occupation of the saide peece of grounde to my sonne Anthonye and his assigns for terme of threscore yeares and tenne (if he so long live) he payinge therefore yearlye the saide rent. And after his decease I will and dispose the occupation of the saide peece of grounde and saide terme to suche person and persons as shall have and possesse my sayde house in greate St. Bartholmewes aforesaide. And also I give and bequeathe to my dawghter Grace Myldmaye wife to my saide sonne Anthony £100 of plate 2 coche horses one wagon one coche and a Litter and the horses.' His interest in the manor of Charleton Musgrave in Somerset and the advowson and patronage of the church there, and the land there for which he had given £2,000, he gives to his son Anthony. He gives to his son Humphrey £200 in cash, £300 worth of plate, also his apparel and books, the second half of his stuff and utensils in London, a third of his armour and munition and his 'tente (tenement) first boughte a gold ring with a turquoise a standishe of silver with a cover 2 lesser seales of silver one with arms the other with crest, a pair of silver ballannces and weights in a case', his lease of the hundreds of Stone and Catteshashe, a lease of a wood in Essex near Malden, lease of Shuldhams and Dyers marsh near Barking. He gives to his servant William Swayne his lease of a house and lands in Hackney. He gives his daughter Marie Mildmay, Humphrey's wife, £50 of plate, to Humphrey's son Walter £50 of plate, to his daughter Martha £500 in cash and £520 in plate, to his daughter Winifred £200 in cash and £220 in plate, to his daughter Christian £200 in cash and £300 in plate, also a gold ring with a sable diamond. He gives to Anthony his lease of Apethorpe and Newton in Northamptonshire. 'Also I give and bequeathe unto the Queene's most excellent majestie my most gratius soveraigne Ladye and mistris as a remembrannce of my dutie to her hignes a Jewell to be bought by myne executors of the price of one hundrethe poundes most humbly besecheinge her majestie to accept the same in goode parte whiche ought to have byne farr greater in respect of her favour and goodnes ever showed unto me.' He also makes the following legacies :

¹ Probably St. Bartholomew's.

To Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, a jewel to be bought, £30. To Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, two gilt pots with covers which the late Earl of Sussex had given him. The Earl of Huntingdon, a jewel to be bought, price £30. Sir Francis Knolls, Knight, Treasurer of her majesty's household, in plate £20. Lord Buckhurst and his wife, to each in plate £10. To his sister Lady Pagett, a jewel to be bought, price £10. To his sister Lady Walsingham, a jewel to be bought, price £10. To his brother Sir William Fitzwilliam and his wife, each in plate £10. To Sir Christopher Wraye, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, in plate £10. To Sir Edmund Anderson, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in plate £10. To Sir Roger Manwood, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in plate £10. To John Popham, Esq., the Queen's Attorney-General, in plate £10. Sir Thomas Mildmaye, Knight, his nephew, in plate £20. Thomas Mildmaye, son of above (his grand-nephew), in money £10. Walter Mildmaye, his nephew, in money £20. Henry Mildmaye, his nephew, in money £20. Edward Mildmaye, his nephew, in money £20. Thomas Randolphe, his friend, in plate £10. Frances Randolphe, a god-daughter, in plate £10. Henry Killegrewe, his friend, in plate £10. Dodington, his sister, in money £20 and in plate £20. Wentworthe, his sister, in money £20 and in plate £20. Wymonde Cary, his brother, in plate £10. Thomas Mildmaye, his nephew, son of his brother William M., in money £20. Thomas Mildmaye, his nephew, eldest son of his brother John M., in money £20. Henry Brounker, son of his daughter Martha, in money £40. Mary Brounker, her eldest daughter, in money £100; a little pointed diamond in a ring, valued 30s. Anne Brounker, her younger sister, in money £40. Elizabeth Brounker, another of her sisters, in money £40. Grace Brounker, another of her sisters, in money £40. William Fitzwilliam, his (Sir W. M.'s) godson, in money £40. Winifred Fitzwilliam, his (Sir W. M.'s) daughter, in money £40. Walter Fitzwilliam, her son, in money £40. Anne Fitzwilliam, her daughter, in money £40. Edward Barrett, son to his daughter Christian, in money £20. Walter Barrett, her son, in money £40. Anne Barrett, her daughter, in money £100. John Leveson (son to Sir W. M.'s daughter Christian by her second husband), in money £40. Elizabeth Leveson, daughter to his daughter Christian, in money £40. Marie Mildmaye, daughter to his son Anthonye, in money 1,000 marks; his little chain of gold valued at £15 8s.; his bigger, 'poynted diamond in a ring of gold val. £30'; 'spoon of golde and a large glasse of christall garnished with silver and guilte' which was given him by Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk. Joan Poyton, his sister, in money £40. Mary Howghton, his niece, in money £20. Martha Kirkeham, his niece, in money £20. Thomas Poynton, his nephew, in money £20. Christopher Poynton, his nephew, in money £20. Henry Poynton, his nephew, in money £20. Thomas Fanshawe, his nephew, in plate £10. Walter Fanshawe, his godson, in money £20. Foster Fanshawe, his niece, in money £20. William Bonthier, his nephew, in money £20. Walter Barnard, son of his nephew Richard Barnard, in money £40. William Reade, in money £20. Mr. Peter Osborne, his friend, in plate £10. Doctor Bynge, in money £10. Mr. White, the preacher, in money £20. Mr. Clarke the preacher, in money £10. Marie Noble's three daughters, each in money £10. Parish of his kinsfolk, to be distributed by executors, in money £100.

His servants, according to a schedule subscribed by him of the same date as his will. Also a whole year's wages, in money £345. Hospital of Christchurch for relief of the poor children, in money £40. The prisoners of London and the suburbs, in money £40. Christ's College, Cambridge, in plate £20. Master and Scholars of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, money £200; in plate £30. Poor householders at Apethorpe and other places in Northamptonshire, in money £40. Poor householders in Danbury, Essex, in money £20. Poor householders in Chelmsford, Essex, in money £20. Poor householders in London of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew's and St. Botolph's without Aldersgate, in money £20. 'The parish of Apethorpe to four of the substantiallest men of the same towards the discharge of their fiftenees whearwithe the saide parishe shall be from time to time charged and burdened to the Queene's Majestie her heirs and successors they puttinge in suerties to the Chauncellor of the eschequire,' in money £40. 'Also I will . . . that myne executors shall make over me and my good wife a decent tombe withe as meane a charge as conveniently may be.'

EXECUTORS: 'my very good brother Sir ffrancis Walsingham,¹ Knight, her majestie's principall Secretarie.

'Edward Cary Esquire one of her majestie's privie chamber and William Dodington Esquire.'

'And I give unto my brother Walsingham for his paynes to be taken in the execution of my will and as a remembrance of frendship between us,' in plate £30; in money £30. Edward Carey, his brother,² in money £30; in plate £30. William Dodington, his brother, in money £50. Robert Peeter for aiding his executors, in money £20. Edward Edmond Downinge for aiding his executors, in money £20. His executors to provide rings, ten of 40s. a piece to be distributed to the barons of the court of the 'Eschequirer', Judges and other friends and neighbours at Apethorpe, in money £20. And twenty-one of 30s. to the auditors and other officers of the 'Eschequire' and other friends and neighbours, in money £31 10s. Residue of goods, chattels, and debts to his daughters Martha, Winifred and Christian, Mary Mildmay daughter of his son Anthony.

OVERSEERS: his sons Anthony and Humphrey Mildmay. Lands and tenements called 'Chuldhams Marse and Dyers Marshe' at Barking, Essex, demised by him to Andrew and Thomas Fuller for term of twenty years, the reversion to the Queen, after reserving a rent of £43 6s. 8d. per ann. to his executors.

To his sister Joan Peyton, widow of

Christopher Peyton, Esq.

£10 per ann. of the rent £43 6s. 8d.

To William Chaundler, his servant

£3 " " " "

To Edward West, his servant

£3 " " " "

William Chaundler and Edward West for

supervising

£3 " " " "

His sons Anthony and Humphrey to give bond to executors of £2,000 for paying such annuities.

¹ Sir Walter married Sir Francis's sister Mary.

² Because William Walsingham's widow married Sir John Cary, father of Sir Edward Cary.

His term of years of the premises called 'Thowldhames Marse' and 'Dyers Marshe' be given to Humphrey Mildmay.

Of £200 which he has lent to his son-in-law William Brounker, he leaves £100 to William Brounker's daughter Marie Brounker, 50 marks each to the other daughters Anne, Elizabeth, and Grace at the death of their father.

To Anne Fitzwilliam, daughter of William Fitzwilliam, Esq., his son-in-law, £100 which William Fitzwilliam owes him.

Having already given his son Anthony £40 in value in horses and geldings, he now bequeaths to his son Humphrey five geldings. The rest of his horses, mares, geldings and colts he gives to his son Anthony. To William Brounker, his son-in-law, in plate £20. To William Fitzwilliam, his son-in-law, in plate £20. To John Lovesonne, his son-in-law, in plate £20.

Witnesses: William Neale, Robert Peter, Edmund Downinge, William Twaine, Lawrence Holmes, Barnard Guilpin, Ralph Proby, Jo. Nowett. 2 April, 1589. The schedule for distribution £345 by the will is given in detail.

Codicil, 24 April, 1589, John Walter, gent., owes him £13 6s. 8d.; he releases the same and gives him £20 besides. To his servant John Newett, in addition, £20. To be distributed among the poor preachers in the county of Northampton at discretion of Mr. Johnson, parson of Luffenham, co. Rutland, £20. To Marie Twaine, his servant, six feather beds and six bolsters in his house at Hackney, in addition.

Witnessed by William Twaine, John Kotsey, Ka. Proby, John Newett. Dated 2 April, 1589, Codicil 24 April, 1589, Proved 16 June, 1589. (51, Leicester.)

Walter Moyle, of 'Greate St. Bartholomewes, London, gentleman'. (No further reference.) A.D. 1589. (91, Leicester.)

John Nelson, citizen and leather-seller, 'dwellinge in the parrishe of Greate St. Bartholomewes.'—Bequeaths to the porter of the gate of Great St. Bartholomewes¹ his 'myghte gowne fared² with budge which he last mended' and a black cloak 'layde about with a parchement Lace'. A.D. 1590. (3, Sainberke.)

Elizabeth Manwood, dame, widow of Sir Roger Manwood, Knight.—Bequeathed 'to the poor people of Great St. Bartholomewes, 20s'.³ A.D. 1594/5. (14, Scott.)

Richard Holliland of London, gentleman.—Bequeathed to his wife Jeane a messuage of which he was seized in fee simple in reversion expectant upon the determination of the lease of Anne Perry, widow, then in her occupation, 'situate in the precinct or close in Greate St. Bartholomewes.' A.D. 1597. (46, Cobham.)

Evan Meridith. 4 August, 1601.—'I Evan Meridith of the parish of Great Sainte Bartholomewes within the suburbs of the cyttie of London . . . my will is that my bodie be buried in the churchyarde betwixte my late wieve's tombe and maister Neale's wall, in the part waye, neare unto my saide tombe. Item I give towards the makinge up of the steple⁴ and a new dore for the churchyarde and a faire wicket therein to be barred withe oken quarters and for gravell to be layed in the two waies within the churchyard, and the stone by the church

¹ Vol. II, p. 212.

³ Vol. II, p. 267.

² Furred.

⁴ Ib., p. 97.

dore to be raised, the somme of thirtie poundes to be paid when theis workes aforesaid shalbe don and finished and nott before.' (The bequest of gloves to the mourners has already been given in full.)¹

'Item I give and bequeath unto everie poore man in the saied parish of greate Sainte Bartholomewes and to their wives dwellinge in the precincte of padice (paradise) and pettie Wales three shillings a peece. And to everie widowe there dwelling two shillings and to everie poore childe within the saied parishe six pence, to be likewise distributed at the discrecion of my saide Executrix and overseers' . . .

'Item I give to Robert Remington Clarke of the parishe aforesaide twentie shillings. . . . Item I give to Henry ffarry Scrivener twentie shillings to see the worke aboute the church well performed. . . . I give tenne poundes to be bestowed in a banquet at my buriall. . . . Item I give to David Dee clerke, for him and his children, forty shillings² and the residue of all my goodes I give and bequeathe to Thomasine Hollande my trusted servante whom I constitute and appoint my sole executrix of this my last will and testament. . . . I have hereunto sett my seale . . . the marke of Evan Meredith sealed and delivered in the presence of us per me Davidoni (*sic*) Dee, Rectorem, item.' . . . (four others). A. D. 1601. (54, Woodhall.)

William Neale, of Warneforde, Esquire.—A bequest to the poor of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Great, £5: 25s. the quarter, quarterly from the time of his death.³ (He held a manor at Cranborne, Dorset, and a lease of the parsonage of Fremington, Devon.) A. D. 1601. (81, Woodhall.)

Edward Bolton.—To be buried in the parish church of Great St. Bartholomew. Bequeaths his household stuff lying in his house in the parish to his wife Anna Bolton. A. D. 1605. (71, Hayes.)

William Beauchampe of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.—To be buried in the parish church there. He bequeaths to the poor of the parish twelve dozen bread to be distributed on the day of his burial. A. D. 1606. (44, Stafford.)

Stephen Slany, Knight, Alderman of London. Bequests: to the poor children of Christ's Hospital, £100; to St. Thomas's Hospital, £5 13s. 4d.; to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a like sum.⁴ A. D. 1598. **Proved** 3 February, 1608.

John Greene, citizen, joiner.—Bequeaths to the Company of Joiners, of which he was free, 40s. 'for a drinking or recreation among them'; to his wife Margaret Greene the lease and occupation of his house in Duck Lane. A. D. 1608. (16, Windlebanck.)

Nicholas Granway of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew's and Lullingston, co. Kent.⁵—A nuncupative will. Gave to his master, Sir Percival Hart, Knight, and his lady, forty marks to be bestowed in plate; to each of his master's six children, 20s. a piece of gold; to William Knockston, whom he called his son, £20 and all his apparel; to his burial, £10; to three parishes in Kent, St. Mary Cray, Orpington, and Kingsdown, each 20s.; to two of his ancient fellow servants he left 10s. each, to one 5s., and to one 1s. 6d. If Sir Percival would

¹ Vol. II, p. 312.

³ *Ib.*, p. 156.

² *Ib.*, p. 312.

⁴ Above, p. 75.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 79.

undertake his trusteeship he was to be executor, otherwise William Knockston, who proved the will as executor. A.D. 1611. (105, Wood.)

William Knockston (above mentioned), servant to Sir Percival Hart.—His brother Philip Knockston his executor to perform the will of Nicholas Granway his fellow servant. Signed by 'the mark of William Knockston'. A.D. 1613. (1, Capell.)

Mathew Dale, of St. Bartholomew the Great. To be buried within the church. Bequests to the relief of the poor of the parish, 40s. ; to Dr. Westfield, preacher of the parish, for a sermon on the day of his burial, 40s.¹ A.D. 1614. (97, Lowe.)

John Orme of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great. (No other reference to St. Bartholomew, where his tombstone gives the date of his death as 10 January, 1616/17.)² A.D. 1617/8. (5, Meade.)

Mary Orme of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, widow. Proved 8 April, 1618.³ (31, Meade.) (Tombstone says died 16 April, 1618.)⁴

Sir Edward Carye, 'now of Greate Saint Bartholomews, Knight and Master and Treasurer of His Majesties plate and jewells'. Bequeathed to his son Henry Carye all his household stuff, linen, white plate, brass and pewter in his house in Great St. Bartholomew's and in his house at Aldenham, co. Herts.⁵ To the poor dwelling in the Close, £5. A.D. 1618. (75, Meade.)

John Rivers of London, coachman.—A bequest to Dr. Westfield to bestow upon the poor of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew's, 40s. A.D. 1620. (114, Soame.)⁶

Arthur Bladwell of Great St. Bartholomew's, gentleman.—To be buried in the parish church. Bequeaths to the well-being of the poor of the parish, £5. Refers to a bond of £100 in his trunk in his chamber in St. Bartholomew's. A.D. 1621. (5, Saville.)

Francis Anthony, Doctor of Physic.—To be buried in the parish church. He bequeathed to his wife his estate at Barnes, the mansion houses, garden, orchard, stables, and the grove and two closes ; also to her £10 a year out of his dwelling-houses in St. Bartholomew's and moneys in the hands of Sir Stephen Le Sure, Knight, and Mr. Richards ; to Martha as her dowry, £300 ; to his son Francis his dwelling in St. Bartholomew's ; to his youngest son Charles his copyhold lands in Barnes ;⁷ to Francis his eldest son his plate at Barnes ; to his sons Francis, John, and Charles, his thirty shares in Virginia ; to his wife the silver basin and ewer and other plate in her possession at the time of her marriage ; also the arras hangings and the best taffeta bed at Barnes for her life ; to his daughter Richards, his daughter Smith and his daughter Martha, £20 each ; to his sons John and Charles all his books ; to Charles alone his written books and medicines ; to his son John his wearing apparel ; to the poor of St. Bartholomew's, 40s., and to the same of Barnes. Executors : Sir Stephen Le Sure and his wife ; Overseer : Mr. Humphrey Sellwood. A.D. 1623. (60, Swann.)

William Chapman, of the parish of St. Bartholomew.—To be buried in the parish church. He bequeathed to the poor of the parish, £20 to be put into

¹ Vol. II, p. 315.

² *Ib.*, p. 459.

³ *Ib.*, p. 459.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 459.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 269.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 315.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 284.

the church chest, to be disposed of by the churchwardens for an increase of the stock for the poor ; also to the poor £10 and twenty dozen of bread to be distributed on the day of his burial. He desired Mr. Thomas Westfield, minister, to preach at his burial and to have 20s. for his pains.¹ He disposes of the leases of three houses in Cloth Fair let to him by Robert Lord Kensington, deceased, and Henry Lord Kensington ; one called 'The sign of the Holly Bush', another which he himself inhabited called 'The Eagle and Child', and the third in the back part of the last mentioned. He bequeathed to Thomas Hande sometime beadle of the parish, 20s. A. D. 1623. (106, Swann.)

Edward Daynes, of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, gentleman.—To be buried in the parish church. A. D. 1625. (77, Clarke.)

Johan Holliland, alias Sibthorpe, of the Close of Great St. Bartholomew, widow. (No other reference to St. Bartholomew's.) A. D. 1625. (126, Clarke.)

Stephen Potts, citizen and joiner.—To be buried in the church. He bequeaths to his wife Sarah the lease of the house in which he dwelt and of a messuage in Duck Lane ; to the building of the steeple of Great St. Bartholomew's, above what he had formerly given, 20s. ;² and to the poor of the parish, £5. A. D. 1629. (14, Ridley.)

John Shields, an inhabitant of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.—Bequests to Anne Buckley, widow of the parish, 40s. ; to the poor of the parish, 40s. ; to be distributed at the discretion of the churchwardens and his overseers. A. D. 1629. (111, Ridley.)

William Carmichell, late of the parish of Leith in Scotland, gentleman.—To be buried in the parish church of Great St. Bartholomew's, where he was then lying. He bequeathed for funeral expenses £5 and to the poor of the parish, 20s. A. D. 1626. (54, Hele.)

Lady Elizabeth Say and Seale.³

'Item I give and bequeathe unto the parish of Great St. Bartholomew's all the three houses tenements that I have built in the Cloth Fair upon grounds I have also bought this year of the Lord of Holland and placed three widow women in them. Item I give likewise, for the maintenance of these three widows, that my desire is shall always dwell in them, and unmarried people, unto the parish church and parish of Great St. Bartholomew one house and tenement that I have also bought this year the corner house as you go by the church and bought of one Perry and now let for £7, to be given to these three widows dwelling in these tenements for their maintenance. But my meaning is that if the benefit of all these four houses and tenements be not hereafter or at any time bestowed and given to those uses aforesaid without any default and fraud that then the said ground, houses, and tenements shall return to the right heirs of Oliver Lord St. John, Earl of Bollingbrooke. Also if this be not made fast and sure to the parish of Great St. Bartholomew in my life time according to the intention thereof, that then my heirs shall make it sure according to my true intent and meaning thereof. Also I give unto Dr. Westfield five pounds in money and a mourning gown. Item to the Reader of the parish church of

¹ Vol. II, p. 315.

² He subscribed at first £4 : see App. II.

³ Vol. II, p. 244. Now spelt Sele.

Great St. Bartholomew's twenty shillings and a mourning cloak. Item I give to the clerk of the same Parish ten shillings and a mourning cloak. Item I give unto so many women as my years shall attain unto at my burial in Great St. Bartholomew's each of them a mourning gown and twelve pence a piece in money.' A.D. 1632. (51, Laud, or 5, Charity.)

Thomas Westfield, D.D., Bishop of Bristol, Rector of St. Bartholomew the Great.¹ 'In the name of God Amen. I Thomas Westfield being weake in bodie (yet of perfitt memorie and understanding thanks be unto God) do make my last wil and testament in manner following. First I bequeathe my soule into the hands of Almighty God my Heavenly Father and my bodie to ye earth (in hope of a ioefull and a blessed resurrection at the last day) to be decently buried, and that if it shall please God, that I die within Bristol or neere it, in the North-East ysl of ye Cathedral church there, next (or as neare as conveniently may be) to the tomb of Paul, ye first Bishop of that See. And as for my worldly goods (wherwith God hath endowed and blessed me) which (at the time now are) I know not well, where they be, nor what they are, I give and bequeath them all to my deare wife Elizabeth Westfield; in confidence that she will make a loving mother to my children, and a good mistresse to my servants, according to her abilitie, and their deserts. Which my said wife I also do make my sole executrix of this my will and Testament. And for ye better performance thereof I do appoint my overseers to be Edward Meetkerke Doctor of Divinity (my said wife's brother) and Timothie Crusse the Elder, Merchant, together with his nephew John Crusse, Master of Arts. In witness of all which premisses I have unto these presents sett mine hand and seale; and acknowledged the same to be my last will and testament this seaventeenth day of March, Anno Domini 1643.

Thomas Westfield Epis.
Bristolensis.

17 May, 1643. (Oxford Will, 32.)

John Millett, of Wandsworth, Surrey, mariner.²—To be buried in the parish church of Great St. Bartholomew's as near as may be to the grave of his father, mother, and deceased children, and 'to have a broad stone layed over with an epitaph ingraven thereon'. He bequeaths to his wife Judith Millett for life his messuages, brewhouses, dyehouses, lands (etc.) in Cocke and George Yard or Abbey in the parish of Allhallows the Less, Thames Street; rents about £200 per ann. After her death to his son Nicholas, or if he died before his mother without issue, to his daughters Elizabeth and Judith; to his wife £400 in money and to his son Nicholas £500; to his daughter Elizabeth the lease of two houses in Long Lane ending in West Smithfield then in the occupation of William Ridge, Esq., and William Crossfield, which he held of Mr. Humphry Warne at £20 per ann. and received £55 per ann. Witnesses: John Whiting (and another). Dated **20 October, 1658**. Proved 6 January, 1661/2. (8, May.)

John Whiting, of the Tower of London, citizen and draper.—To be buried

¹ Vol. II, p. 313.

² Ib., p. 465.

in the church of Great St. Bartholomew's where his father, mother, and other relations lay buried. He made the following bequest: 'I doe give devise and bequeath unto my well beloved wife Mary all my freeholds copyholds Land houses and estate in the parish of Navestock and Weale in the county of Essex which I purchased of Paine To have and to hold the same and the rents issues and profits thereof for and during the naturall life and from and after her decease I doe give devise and bequeath the said lands, houses, and estates to the minister churchwardens and overseers of the poore of the parish of Great St. Bartholomewe's before-mentioned where I was borne upon condition and to the intent and purpose that the said minister, churchwardens and overseers of the poore do pay out of the same to my niece Sarah Wright wife of Joshua Wright without any accompt of her husband the summe of tenne pounds per annum during her naturall life. And likewise do and shall from time to time for ever pay for the teaching and instructing of twenty poore children borne in the said parish to learne to read English until they can read the English Bible and be instructed in the catechisme and as they or any of them shall be so taught and instructed the said number to be filled up from time to time for ever and the surplus (if any shall be remaining) I give to the use of the Poore of the said Parish for ever for Bread.'¹ He also devised to his wife his lands, tenements, etc., in East Greenwich for life and after to his nephews John, Francis and William Tomson and William Reede, his wife's son; to the governors and master of Bluecoates Hospital houses in Romford, Essex; to his brother Henry Whiting £5 to buy mourning. His wife Mary was sole executrix. A. D. 1702. (245, Ash.)

Anthony Burgess, 'clerk, parson of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.' (Particulars of this will have already been given.)² A. D. 1709. (187, Lane.)

Richard Thomas Bateman, 'clerk, chaplain on board H.M. ship of war at Monmouth.'—Bequeathed to his friends Erasmus Owen of Southwood co. Pem. Esquire and Robert Gosnell of Haverfordwest, gentleman all his goods, chattels, credits pay, prize money and other personal estate and effects in trust, firstly, to buy each a ring in memory of their friendship, and secondly to invest the residue for the benefit of his wife Sarah Bateman during her widowhood afterward to that of his grandson Robert Prust and in certain eventualities to that of his son Thomas Bateman. Dated 11 August, 1756. Proved 20 February, 1761. (47, Cheslyn.)³

The Rev. John Moore (Rector of St. Bartholomew the Great).—He bequeathed to his wife Sarah his goods, plate, and furniture for her life and after to be sold and proceeds divided equally among his three children John, Nathaniel, and Susanna; to his son Nathaniel his books, papers, and MSS. except such books as his wife, John, and Susanna shall choose for their own use, not exceeding twenty volumes each; to his son John the lease of his house in Charterhouse Square and the mortgage of a house in Carter Lane 'In trust that he' (here the will breaks off). On 21st July, 1768, 'appeared Mason Chamberlain of Stewart Stewart in the old artillery ground within the liberty of the Tower of London and Stevens Cotton of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate' who testified on oath that

¹ Vol. II, p. 340.

² Ib., p. 331.

³ Ib., p. 346.

they were well acquainted with the Rev. John Moore, late of the parish of St. Sepulchre, and had seen him write and subscribe his name, etc., so that letters of administration were granted to the widow. A. D. 1768. (291, Secker.)¹

Frederick John Withers, of 17 Mornington Row, Bow Road. He bequeathed to his brother Henry Thomas Withers all the property which he possessed. Should his brother predecease him, then two-thirds of his estate he bequeathed for placing a stained-glass window into the church of St. Mary Overy (St. Saviour's), Southwark, to the memory of his father Henry Withers; the remaining third to the restoration fund of the church of St. Bartholomew the Great. (But his brother did not predecease him.) **Proved 20 May, 1892.**

¹ Vol. II, p. 351.

